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Internalizing Immigration Policy within the Nation-State: The Local Initiative of Aguaviva, Spain

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I.

Introduction: Approaching Local-Level Immigration Policy

Introduction

The contemporary nation-state is widely understood as the sovereign arbiter of territorial entry. Immigration policy-making, in turn, traditionally lies within the centralized state's authority. As Virginie Guiraudon observes, "controlling who enters, who stays, and who leaves national territory has long been emblematic of national sovereignty and considered a founding prerogative of the modern nation-state" (2001: 31). The state's dominance over immigration policy is often made clear at the constitutional level. In Spain, for example, Article 149 of the 1978 Constitution dictates that the state has exclusive jurisdiction over "nationality, immigration, emigration, alienage, and the right of asylum." Nevertheless, the creation of groups like the European Union has contributed to an upwards trend of immigration policy-making at a supranational level. Much has been made of this shift towards the externalization of immigration and asylum policy, especially in

terms of the EU's 1985 Schengen Agreement[1] (Soysal 1994, Guiraudon and Lahav 2000, Zolberg 2003, Lavenex 2006, Betts and Miller 2006).

Despite this interest in the "Europeanization" of immigration policy, little scholarly attention has been paid to the emergence of immigration initiatives at the *local* level. In Spain, for example, municipalities throughout the nation's rural interior are openly forming community-level immigration policies. Much of this process began with the 2000 journey of the conservative mayor of Aguaviva, a remote municipality in Aragón, to Buenos Aires, Argentina. As a first step towards combating the negative demographic trends that plague his municipality, Mayor Luis Bricio sought to recruit Argentines of Spanish descent to repopulate his town. Later, he initiated partnerships with local employers eager for cheap migrant labor in order to recruit Romanians to Aguaviva. The preferential immigration policy-making of Aguaviva's municipal leaders has been especially influential: today 85 towns throughout rural Spain have developed and implemented their own local-level policies to selectively recruit immigrants, initiating migratory flows and establishing new immigrant destinations in an attempt to curb rural depopulation. Beyond Spain, the Veneto region of Italy and the state of Iowa in the United States have attempted—with varying levels of success—to implement local pro-immigration policies of their own.

This internalization of immigration policy indicates a new shift in the site of policy-making. Community-specific immigration initiatives move the realm and

[1] The European Union's 1985 Schengen Agreement allows for the abolition of internal border controls between European member states while attempting to harmonize control of the EU's external borders.

scope of immigration policy downwards and create an important, unexplored tension between national and sub-national levels of government within the state. The migration literature frequently addresses the supranational pressure that buffets nation-states "from above" in terms of immigration policy. I argue that local immigration initiatives are especially significant because they indicate that nation-states are also increasingly subject to sub-national pressure "from below." Local actors are contributing to the progressively complex realm of immigration policy. This study will focus on immigration policy-making at the local level within Spain to analyze how and why these new sub-national policy pressures emerge.

Local immigration policies occur when the central state's migration agenda appears inattentive to local needs on the ground. Struggling with the effects of low birthrates, rapidly aging natives, and internal rural-urban migration, many leaders of Spanish municipalities claim that the state neglects rural areas' need for population and labor. The local immigration policies of Spain, then, are sub-national attempts to exercise control over state policies that are considered weak or absent. But given the central-state's dominance over immigration policy, how do sub-national levels of government form local, selective immigration initiatives? The means that allow for this shift in the site of policy-making remain unexamined.

I hold that local governments engage in immigration policy-making by taking advantage of national level citizenship and immigration policy and extending it to meet community-specific needs. A primary feature of functional sub-national migration policies is that they fall within the state's legal

constructions. In Spain, for example, municipalities openly recruit migrants of Spanish descent by taking advantage of the state's citizenship policy preferences for co-ethnics. By staying within the state's framework, these sub-national governments legitimately engage in immigration policy-making, an activity normally reserved for the central state. But local immigration plans go beyond a simple replication of national-level policies. Rural municipalities in Spain also extend the state's policy preferences by developing unique local mechanisms that distinguish sub-national immigration policies from those of the central state. They subject incoming migrants to contractual residency requirements, for example, and tap the state's immigrant work visa system by partnering with local employers to recruit non co-ethnics. Because these components of local migration initiatives still take place within the frame of state policy, national level policy is not directly challenged. Instead, local immigration plans put pressure on the nation-state "from below" by highlighting the deep disparity between national immigration policy and the needs of communities on the ground.

Predominant Explanations and their Limitations

There are two explanatory frameworks that address how the local becomes involved with immigration policy, an issue traditionally attended to at the national level. The first involves the state's shifting of its immigration policy downwards. In this case, the central-state incorporates both sub-national levels of government and non-state actors into the central administration's policy implementation

process. France's 1993 immigration law, for example, implicates mayors in the reporting suspicious marriages involving foreigners to the central-state's *Procureur de la Republique*. The United State's 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Responsibility Act also reflects this downward shifting to local governments: it permits local police officers to enforce national immigration laws (Guiraudon, 2001: 37-38). Non-state actors have also become involved in the implementation of the state's immigration policy. Central states implicate the travel industry in migration controls, for example, by mandating that employees require and verify passengers' passports and distribute state immigration forms (Torpey, 2000). More recently, new post-9/11 regulations in the United States, Canada, and Australia require universities to report information on foreign students to the state. Such delegation of the central-state's immigration policy to sub-national government and non-state entities is emblematic of the incorporation of new actors in the policy process.

A second way local governments have gained a role in immigration policy-making is by their taking charge of immigrant policy, or incorporation measures aimed at the social integration of immigrants within their receiving communities (Tsuda, 2006: 7). For example, the U.S. city of New Haven, Connecticut plans to adopt municipal identification cards to facilitate migrants' access to city services and bank accounts in the summer of 2007 (Wuncker, 2007: 1), and regions within Spain's Catalonia began implementing integration programs for immigrants in 2000 (Calavita, 2005: 95). In Spain, non-governmental organizations are also

especially active in the formation of immigrant policy (Agrela and Dietz 2006; Calavita 2005; Cornelius 2004). This sub-national government and NGO involvement in immigrant policy often occurs because national leaders of "new" countries of immigration largely avoid the social needs of immigrants, which then commonly fall—or are directly divested—to local levels of government. Tsuda claims that this leads to a "de facto division of labor" in many recent countries of immigration: While both struggle to address the challenges of migration flows, national governments control *immigration* policy and sub-national governments largely manage *immigrant* policy (2006: 7). Local development of immigrant incorporation policies and the downshifting of the state's immigration policies are common explicative frameworks that explain how sub-national actors have begun to address immigration, a policy issue traditionally dominated by central states.

While the contributions of the downshifting and immigrant policy-making frameworks illuminate how the local can become involved in this central-state issue, their explanatory power is seriously limited when applied to the immigration policy currently emerging at the sub-national level. The case of rural Spanish towns with their own local immigration policies cannot be fully understood through either of these approaches. Sub-national immigration plans are not the simple result of the central-state delegating its immigration policy downwards; rather, in Spain the state and the local are clearly working towards different ends. Whereas the central government is struggling to tighten external immigration controls—by militarizing the borders of Spanish North African enclave cities, for example—

rural municipalities like Aguaviva are engineering new immigrant flows to non-traditional destinations and creating environments that encourage chain migration. Municipalities like Aguaviva that formulate community-specific local immigration policies, in addition, do not fit neatly into either the category of state/immigration policy or local/immigrant policy. Instead, in these cases municipal leaders are creating immigration policy at the local level, effectively straddling both poles of Tsuda's "division of labor" (2006: 7).

Most significantly for my analysis, the downward shifting and immigrant policy explanations do not address the preferential aspect of local immigration policies. Selection according to ethnicity or national-origins is a key feature of sub-national immigration policies, and one that local-level initiatives in various countries have in common. In Spain, for example, rural municipalities enact local policies of preference for Latin American migrants of Spanish descent and Romanians. In Veneto, Italy immigrants from Latin America of Italian descent are preferentially selected, while in the U.S. state of Iowa local policies were developed to recruit Mexican-dominant Latino immigrant flows. Given the prevalence of selection in sub-national immigration plans and the limitations of these explanatory frameworks, examining the state of the scholarly debate on preferential immigration and citizenship policies is particularly useful here.

Immigration by Design: Preferential Policies of Immigration and Citizenship

The literature on preferential immigration and citizenship policies based on ethnicity and national-origins is not widely developed. Christian Joppke notes that academic studies of such selectivity are "scattered," appearing only "at the margins of other concerns, most notably about the status of minority cultures in liberal states" (2005: 12). Indeed, when ethnicity is included in the study of migratory processes in Europe within the last century, the focus is generally on migration as a "heterogenizing process" that increases ethnic or national-origins diversity in receiving countries (Brubaker, 1998: 1047). Preferential policies, in contrast, attempt to build what Rogers Brubaker terms "ethnic affinity" within nation-states by promoting the migrations of post-colonial subjects and the resettlement of former emigrants and their descendants (1998: 1047). These groups are viewed as holding a common and distinctive racial, national, religious, linguistic, or cultural heritage with non-foreign born natives. Such perceptions of commonality sometimes result in preferential treatment for certain potential migrants via ethnic affinity policy, a subset of a larger family of migration policies that use ethnic, racial, and/or national-origins criteria to screen potential migrants. In Europe, this sort of preferential policy influences significant and legally sanctioned migration flows.

A primary challenge to the study of ethnic affinity in Spain is distinguishing between immigration and citizenship policy preferences. Both categories of preference fall under the umbrella of affinity policy and positive discrimination,

and as such they frequently overlap and support each other. Nevertheless, the Spanish state has been "more or less capable of clearly distinguishing between pan-ethnic schemes," or immigration preferences, and "ethnic return schemes," or citizenship preferences (Joppke, 2005: 121). In this study I similarly differentiate between preferential immigration and citizenship policies in order to focus more extensively on the ethnic affinity preferences for Spanish descent migrants within Spain's citizenship framework. The latter offers more advantages to migrants, and my analysis shows that citizenship policy is particularly relevant to Aguaviva's efforts to repopulate by implementing the central-state's preferences for co-ethnic migrants on a local level.

Spanish preferential immigration law has positively discriminated for individuals of certain national-origins based on colonial history and *Hispanidad,* the construction of a "pan ethnic" Iberoamerican or Hispanic community born out of Spanish colonization[2]. Unlike national-origins immigration preferences that revolve around colonial ties, contemporary preferential policy in Spain today functions around the citizenship principal of *jus sanguinis*, which attributes nationality by virtue of descent[3]. This construction ensures the durability of Spanish citizenship for the descendants of Spain's emigrants. Today, Spanish

[2] General consensus has not been reached on the proper term to refer to the Spanish "state-transcending community that has found expression in preferential immigration and citizenship rules" (Joppke, 2005: 114). A variety of expressions have been used, including *Hispanidad*, Iberoamerica, *comunidad hispánica*, and historic community of Hispanic nations. In this paper all references to these terms are based on, in Joppke's words, "the space carved out by the Spanish colonization of Latin America" (2005: 114). This includes linguistic, cultural, institutional, religious, and historical ties between Spain and Latin America.

[3] In contrast *jus soli* recognizes as nationals any individual born within state territory.

citizenship law allows the children and grandchildren of native citizens to officially claim Spanish nationality and, in the case of Latin Americans, to do so without losing birth citizenship (Cook, 2005a: 13). Through this preferential extension of citizenship rights, the Spanish state has "the biggest migration potential" of all recent European emigration legislation (Joppke, 2003: 453). Indeed over time, the *comunidad hispánica* has lost ground in Spanish immigration law[4] while strengthening its "legal foothold" in nationality law (Joppke, 2005: 121).

Although some democracies still partially select immigrants based on ethnic descent or national origin, the global post-World War II trend has been to move away from immigrant selection based on ethnicity or national origins and towards selection based on human need, family ties, and the receiving country's demand for certain highly skilled migrants[5] (Joppke, 2005: 2). Current tolerance for preferential policy hinges on the positive character of its discrimination: It is generally still acceptable to treat all non-citizens equally while "positive derogations" are made for certain ethnicities or national origins (Joppke, 2005: 22).

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[4] Preferential immigration policy in Spain has been reduced to differentiating between Latin Americans and other immigrants in terms of the number of years of legal residence necessary before being eligible to naturalize. It also is essential to differentiate between official policy preferences and unofficial, administrative or even "street-level" preferences for Latin American migrants in Spain. Thus while Joppke (2005) and Calavita (2005) note that bureaucratic preference is seen in the high rate of approval among Latin Americans' applications during Spain's last amnesty in comparison to other immigrant groups, this nevertheless does not necessarily reflect a formal preferential policy of the state.

[5] Countries commonly cited for currently maintaining ethnic and national-origins policy preferences include Israel, Germany, Japan, South Korea, Spain, Italy and Portugal. One should note that before the 1965 reform of the national origins quota, the United States also prominently practiced positive and negative discrimination in immigration policy, as did Canada, Australia, and virtually every nation in Latin America.

Nevertheless, the preferential policy-making of the state faces significant opposition at both the domestic and supranational level.

In the domestic domain, selection policies based on ethnicity and national origins are challenged by both liberals and restrictionists[6]. Because liberal nation-states are conceptualized as fundamentally "agnostic" regarding "truth doctrines and substantive forms of living or cultures," liberals claim that selecting immigrants according to an ethnic fit with the native population violates the nation-state's public neutrality (Joppke, 2005: 18; Joppke and Rosenhek, 2003: 329-330). In this view, preferential polices are a question of equality—the "pluralistic and pluralizing" characteristics of liberal states and the many ethnically heterogeneous societies within them cannot tolerate state ethnic preference-setting. As an extension of the liberal critique, it is clear that positive derogations for specific types of immigrants can function to discriminate against those not included in the category of preference (Joppke, 2005: 23; Skrentny et al., 2005: 2). Arguing along different lines but towards the same anti-ethnic migration end, domestic restrictionists note that preferential national-origins or ethnic immigration policies nevertheless create considerable migrant flows. As such, for restrictionists these policy preferences entail undesirable economic and cultural costs to the receiving society and the disadvantaged groups within it (Joppke and Rosenhek, 2003: 330).

[6] In Spain, however, there has been relatively little domestic opposition to the preference regime because ethnic affinity policies are "politically correct" in the sense that preference is given to all sub-categories of post-colonial immigrants and are progressively framed as a justifiable "redemption of historical injustice" (Joppke, 2005: 113).

At a supranational level, the European Union especially challenges member states' practice of preferential ethnic affinity immigration policies. Ultimately, the Europeanization of immigration polices forced Spain to pare down its preferential pan-ethnic ties to Latin America more than any challenge on the domestic front (Joppke, 2005: 113; Cornelius, 2004: 404). Spain's 1985 bid for entry to the European Community increased pressure "from above" on the Spanish state to conform to supranational EC immigration policy, which it did with its 1985 immigration law. In marked contrast to its 1969 law that exempted immigrants from Latin America and the Philippines from standard work permit requirements, Spain's 1985 immigration legislation was essentially restrictionist. This new legislation created a complicated system of work and residence permits and, most significantly, required work visas for nationals of several Latin American states for the first time (Joppke, 2005: 119). In 1992 the Spanish government bowed to supranational pressure once again, backing away from its previous emphasis on preferential immigration policy considerations for Latin Americans to pass new tourist visa requirements for nationals of several high-immigration Hispanic countries, namely Peru and the Dominican Republic, in order to be in accordance with European Union Schengen legislation (Joppke, 2005: 122). Despite this supranational chipping away at Spain's preferential immigration policy, the EU leaves citizenship preferences based on ethnicity largely to its member states. This tolerance allows Spain's citizenship preferences for migrants of Spanish descent to remain firmly in place.

Despite the lack of a wide literature from which to draw, scholars of affinity policy preferences ground their arguments in existing conceptualizations of nationhood (Joppke 2005; Joppke and Rosenhek 2002; Brubaker 1994 and 1998; Zolberg 2006; Skrentny et al. 2005). In this analysis, the selection of immigrants in liberal nation-states revolves around the "built-in tension" between the liberal state component, which commands "nonascriptive, universalistic criteria and equity," and the national component, which sees preferential policy as a way to reproduce the "particular beliefs that constitute a political community" (Joppke, 2005: 18). Thus far, the study of ethnic preferential policy has been, as Skrentny et al. note, an examination of "a category of practice of nationhood" (2005: 2).

The emergence of selective immigration policy at the local level, however, complicates the evaluation of preferential policy in terms of nationhood. While valuable for understanding the basis upon which policies of preference are developed, often analysis of *why* nation-states positively discriminate for co-ethnics overshadows the equally significant study of *how* these preferences get played out in immigrant-receiving communities. I argue that the traditional academic focus on the causes of ethnic affinity policy preferences must expand to actually attend to the on-the-ground effects of these preferences. The development and implementation of selective, sub-national immigration initiatives are deeply related to central-state policies that positively discriminate for co-ethnics. By turning attention to these local policies, the point of analysis shifts away from the struggle over ethnic affinity between the liberal and national poles of the nation-state to the

emergence of new sub-national actors that are shaping an increasingly complicated realm of immigration policy-making.

Methodology and Data Collection

Aguaviva, the site of my field research, is a small municipality in the province of Teruel, located in the extreme south of the Autonomous Community of Aragón (see Map 1.1 below). As will be discussed in Chapter Two, Aguaviva's remote geographic location greatly contributes to its depopulation. The nearest cities to Aguaviva are Teruel, the capital of the province of the same name, and Zaragoza, Spain's fifth largest city. Reaching both of these cities from Aguaviva involves an almost three hour drive through mountainous and mainly secondary rural roads. Travel to Barcelona requires close to four hours mostly on the same sort of poorly-maintained byways, and a trip to Madrid, the capital of Spain, involves almost five hours on the road. In addition to its geographic isolation, public transportation in this region of Spain is notoriously poor. Access to a private automobile is essential for most journeys out of Aguaviva, and cellular phones are unreliable in the area.

The municipality's remoteness is part of what makes its immigration experience intriguing: the vast majority of studies about immigration to Spain are focused on traditional immigrant destinations—large cities or agricultural

communities—whereas "new destination[7]" migration to small towns in isolated, rural areas of Spain is a growing yet under-studied phenomenon (Miguel Luken and Solana 2004, Haffar and Laclaustra 2002, Moren-Alegret and Solana 2005). Aguaviva's leadership of 85 other municipalities with sub-national immigration policies throughout rural Spain makes it a prime site from which to analyze local actors' engagement with immigration.

Map 1.1: Location of Aguaviva, Spain

This study is based on qualitative research in Aguaviva, including ethnographic observation and interviews with a purposive, non-randomly selected sample of 26 key informants in the municipality. The subjects included in my field work were identified through the snowball technique (see Cornelius 1982) with the

[7] The term "new destinations" has become a more frequent subject of migration research in the United States as scholars investigate the movement of immigrants away from traditional destinations, like Texas and southern California, to new, often rural destinations in the Midwest and south. See, for example, Victor Zúñiga and Rubén Hernández-León, 2005; Ann Millard and Jorge Chapa, 2004; and Jeffery Passel and Wendy Zimmermann, 2001.

intention of accessing diverse viewpoints regarding immigration in Aguaviva. My fieldwork focused on three groups in the municipality: community leaders, various immigrant groups, and prominent *Aguavivano* business leaders who employ immigrant labor[8]. Interviews were conducted with five local leaders, two elderly Aguaviva natives, seventeen immigrants—including three immigrant business entrepreneurs—and the two principal immigrant employers in the municipality. The average length of these tape recorded interviews was one and a half hours. I spent just over a month and a half in the field, from July to mid-August, 2006.

In order to understand the emergence of local-level selective immigration policy in Aguaviva, I interviewed prominent municipal leaders. This group included the mayor, the town's priest, the municipal worker in charge of the town's population register, Aguaviva's social worker, a local *gestor*[9] and the secretary of the Spanish Association of Municipalities Against Depopulation (AEMCD), the organization that encompasses the 85 other localities in Spain with immigration policies. Here my questions were focused on the conditions prompting the exodus of natives out of Aguaviva and the creation of selective local immigration policy. Interviews with two elderly native *Aguavivanos* contributed to my understanding of municipal depopulation and the formation of community-level immigration policy from a local perspective. The great variance of the relationships these local leaders have with Aguaviva's repopulation plan and with the immigrants in the community

[8] These categories are not exclusive, however. Some informants fit into more than one of these categories, as is the case of Argentine immigrant entrepreneurs in Aguaviva who employ Romanians.

[9] A *gestor* is a professional dedicated to assisting clients with bureaucratic procedures in Spain by acting as an intermediary between clients and various official government bodies.

encouraged me to employ a relatively open-ended interview format to allow me to explore topic of special importance to those being interviewed. The local social worker, for example, provided valuable information on her experience advocating for Romanians who had complaints of employer abuse in the workplace, while the *gestor* explained the documentation process necessary for legal immigrant employment in detail. I continued this semi-structured approach to interviewing throughout my field work.

To evaluate the differences between co-ethnic Argentine and non co-ethnic Romanian migrants in Aguaviva, I sought out both groups in equal numbers. While the size of my immigrant sample is too small to be representative of the entire groups, the results suggest that ethnicity is related to documentation status, labor market participation, and incorporation into Aguaviva's local immigration plan (see Table 1.1 below). A number of Uruguayan immigrants also reside in the municipality. Having already migrated to Argentina, they heard about Aguaviva's repopulation plan and decided to continue their migration. Uruguayans are included in my sample because they fall somewhere in the two main groups of migrants in Aguaviva: As South Americans, they are often categorized along with co-ethnic Argentines, but, like the Romanians, they largely lack Spanish citizenship. The issues I probed with immigrants residing in Aguaviva included personal migration histories and Spanish ancestry; opinions of and experiences with the repopulation plan, including citizenship preferences and residency contracts; and labor market experience in the municipality and other areas of Spain.

Table 1.1: Characteristics of Immigrants Interviewed in Aguaviva

Country of Origin	Total	Municipal-Sponsored Migration	Labor Market Participation		Current Documentation Status	
Argentina	6	83.3%	Entrepreneur Factory Truck driver Clerical	3 1 1 1	Dual national Resident visa	4 2
Romania	8	37.5%	Gravel Pit Service Construction Factory	3 2 2 1	Work visa Resident visa Undocumented Tourist visa	3 2 2 1
Uruguay	3	0%	Factory Elder care Rabbit farm	1 1 1	Resident visa Tourist visa	2 1

Finally, to explore the partnership between municipal authorities and local employers in recruiting immigrants to Aguaviva, I interviewed business leaders in the municipality who rely heavily on migrant labor. I also place in this business leader category two immigrant-owned businesses in Aguaviva, including a cable factory and restaurant, which employ other immigrant workers. These interviews were also helpful in evaluating role of the local labor market in converting Aguaviva into an unlikely immigrant destination within Spain for a wide range of newcomers, both co-ethnic and not. Within the entire province of Teruel economic activity is considerably depressed in comparison to other areas of Spain[10]. Yet despite the small scale of the regional and municipal labor market, the owners of Aguaviva's most important businesses—representing the construction, architectural restoration, and gravel industries—all attract immigrant labor. Employers also

[10] For more on this province's economic situation, see the OECD's 2001 territorial review on Teruel.

provided invaluable information and opinions regarding immigrant labor market integration, local reliance on both documented and undocumented immigrant labor, and the scale of nationality or ethnicity preference when contracting immigrant labor.

The small size of Aguaviva made it possible to carry out in-depth field research within my time and financial constraints. Most potential informants were quite cooperative. However, perhaps due to the undocumented status of many Romanian migrants in Aguaviva and because the municipality's attempts to repopulate by recruiting immigrants have received a relatively large amount of local, national and international media coverage, I encountered one local immigrant employer (commonly accused of abuses towards his undocumented laborers) and two immigrants who refused interviews. Another complicating factor I experienced in the field was that the local leaders with whom I began my interviews tended to direct me to a select group of immigrants willing to recite a relatively pleasant, positive account of Aguaviva's repopulation plan and their experiences in the town. From having read numerous media reports on Aguaviva before arriving, many of these immigrants' names were already familiar to me. It appeared that a few members of the Argentine and Romanian immigrant communities served as unofficial "spokespeople," so I expanded my sample of informants beyond these select few. I believe my sample to be a balanced one that includes new voices not frequently represented in journalistic reports about Aguaviva.

Apart from qualitative interviews and researcher observations, this study also draws on other primary sources. For example, I gathered data from Aguaviva's Padrón Municipal, the local administrative register that includes all inhabitants living in a municipality, from the year 2000, when immigrant recruitment began, to 2006[11]. The Padrón is especially useful for detailing the growth of immigration to the municipality and the shift from Argentine to Romanian migratory flows. Another important source that informs this study is Mayor Bricio's archive of video recordings from his migrant recruitment travels to Argentina and Romania. Footage of interviews with potential migrants has aided my understanding of the role of selection in Aguaviva's repopulation plan. Finally, copies of original contracts between municipalities and recruited immigrants, initiated by local governments to encourage permanent settlement and debt repayment, assisted my analysis of how sub-national governments develop and implement local-level immigration policies.

Conclusion: Organization of the Study

The larger goal of my field work and of this study is to use locally-based research to better understand how the locus of immigration policy-making is shifting downwards and why sub-national immigration policies emerge to pressure the centralized state "from below." Chapter Two explores population decline in

[11] Researchers of immigration-related issues in Spain commonly refer to these records for the most accurate numerical reflection of municipal immigrant populations available, because Padrón registration is necessary to access local services, like education and medical care, which are available to both migrants and natives (Calavita, 2005:104). The Padrón Municipal does not, however, make an attempt to identify immigrants' documentation status.

Aguaviva to show that municipal frustration with the state's neglect of its rural interior stimulated the development of local immigration policy. In this chapter I also ground my study historically by recounting the development of Spain's citizenship policy in the context of mass emigration to Argentina and other "new world" destinations. I analyze how Aguaviva took advantage of national level citizenship and ethnic policy preferences to form the first stage of its local immigration initiative around migrants of ethnic affinity. In this way the municipality stayed within the legal confines of the state as it facilitated co-ethnic migration.

In Chapter Three, I argue that Aguaviva's immigration policy does more than simply replicate the state's preferential policies. While the adoption of Spain's citizenship construct is important, the municipal immigration mechanisms initially developed in Aguaviva also extend national level policy, distinguishing this local approach from that of the central-state. Chapter Three describes and evaluates Aguaviva's requirement of residency contracts to geographically root immigrant recruits to the town after financially indebting them through municipally-facilitated migration. In Chapter Three I also evaluate the outcomes of Aguaviva's co-ethnic immigration policy. I show that the state's granting of Spanish citizenship to co-ethnics collides with municipal residency requirements and contributes to a mismatch between Argentine recruits and Aguaviva's labor market.

In Chapter Four, I explore a significant shift in Aguaviva's repopulation plan. In this second stage local leaders, responding to employer demands, formulated a new method to deliberately tap Romanian migrant flows. But because non co-ethnics were not at the receiving end of any state citizenship preferences, Mayor Bricio formed key partnerships with area employers in order to recruit Romanians through Spain's "*pre-contrato*" system of immigrant work visas. Here, the municipality matches the local labor market demand for flexible migrant workers with the town's need for population. This additional municipal mechanism taps the state's legal immigration framework for its own purposes, but nevertheless remains within central-state constructs. Chapter Four also assesses the results of Aguaviva's non co-ethnic immigration policy. I show that collaborating with local employers to meet labor market demands with immigration has significantly expanded Romanian settlement in Aguaviva, but has also resulted in undocumented chain migration streams and the abuse of migrant labor.

In Chapter Five, I conclude the study by briefly examining other examples of local immigration policies and offering a typology of their components. Here I detail how 85 other rural municipalities formed the Spanish Association of Municipalities Against Depopulation (AEMCD) to duplicate Aguaviva's immigration initiative. I discuss the cases of the U.S. state of Iowa and the Veneto region of Italy to establish the wider prevalence of preferential policy-making at the sub-national level outside of Spain. Along with AEMCD municipalities that are following Aguaviva's immigrant recruitment lead, these U.S. and Italian localities'

implementation of local-level immigration policy works to circumvent traditional state dominance over the issue. I conclude by developing the argument that local pursuit of municipally-defined interests through immigration policy does not in itself imply that sub-national governments will become more important, or that the state will weaken. In discussing the wider significance of local immigration policy-making, I instead maintain that this trend points to divergence between the immigration policies of the central-state and the needs of localities on the ground.

II.

Aguaviva's Immigration Initiative: Co-Ethnic Recruitment and the Policy Preferences of the Spanish State

Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to the development of sub-national preferential immigration policies in Spain. What explains their emergence, and what is the relationship between local immigration policies and their central-state counterparts? My research indicates that community-specific migration policies in rural Spain develop out of frustration with national policies that appear to ignore local demographic and labor needs. In this way, the rise of municipalities as actors in immigration policy-making is due to a lack of state efficacy for population management. The first section of this chapter explores why immigration policies are attempted at the local level, showing that central-state neglect of rural Spain's depopulation issue factors heavily into the creation of sub-national immigration policies.

After establishing the impetus behind municipal migration initiatives, I dedicate the following sections of this chapter to evaluating how the local gains legitimate access to the national-level dominated realm of immigration policy. This chapter especially focuses on the first stage of Aguaviva's immigration project. Here, the municipality adopted the central-state's citizenship policy and ethnic preferences to facilitate co-ethnic migration, which was intended to alleviate depopulation. Because of the primary role that Spain's citizenship construction

plays in the formation of local immigration policy, this chapter also explores the historical development of Spanish citizenship. Aguaviva's community-level immigration initiative—including both the adoption of the state's framework and the extension of it, as evaluated in Chapter Three—exemplifies a sub-national government's employment of central-state policy to meet its own local ends. This approach adds an important dimension to understanding how immigration policy-making in Spain is becoming more decentralized.

State Neglect and Depopulation: The Impetus for Local Immigration Policies

Many rural areas of Spain feel abandoned by central-state polices that seem to take a *laisser-faire* approach to interior regions. The local leaders of these declining rural localities claim the state has accepted that they cannot compete with other less isolated regions. In the name of cost-effectiveness, these leaders maintain, the central-state is phasing out its support of the interior (Bricio, 8/2006). Because rural regions perceive a lack of benefit from the traditional diversion of state investment their way, the traditional exchange relationship between the central-state and its sub-national governments is undermined, prompting the entrance of localities into the policy issues of the state (Keating, 1999: 3).

Throughout Teruel, the province in which Aguaviva is located, public sentiment about central-state neglect runs particularly high. In 1999, citizens there formed a group dubbed "*Teruel Existe"* in order to call attention to the lack of central-state investment in the area. In terms of infrastructure, Teruel is the only

provincial capital in Spain without direct train service to Madrid, which contributes greatly to its isolation (see Appendix Photos 1 and 2). According to an OECD study, the present transportation system in Teruel falls short in terms of improving inhabitants' quality of life and does not provide access to areas of the province that have development potential (2001: 12). Nevertheless, given the province's small population, it is not likely that the state will launch new major infrastructural projects in the province (OECD, 2001: 12).

Also widely denounced throughout Teruel is state inaction in the face of the region's strong depopulation trend, which has lead to a loss of workers and a weakening regional economy. A *Teruel Existe* statement claims that "the worrisome and growing depopulation that our provinces face along with the increasing inequality in interior regions … are evident, unjust, and troublesome" (Coordinadora Ciudadana, Teruel Existe 2007). In Aguaviva and the other rural municipalities that have followed in its footsteps, local policy makers have focused on turning themselves into immigrant destinations to counteract central-state neglect. "I've done this all on my own," Bricio says in reference to Aguaviva's immigration plan, "because no other politicians—not those from the national government or the Autonomous government—would bother" (Bricio, 7/2006).

Since the 1960s, rural-urban internal migration in Spain has increased steadily, making depopulation especially pertinent to small towns in isolated, rural areas. As Table 2.1 shows below, 57 percent of Spaniards lived in rural tareas in 1960. By 2003, however, the number of Spaniards living these communities

dropped to just 35 percent (The Spanish Ministry of Agriculture, Fishing and Alimentation, 2004: 24). In some areas, this sort of rapid depopulation has led to concern over outright abandonment: Spain's National Statistics Institute recently reported that over 7,500 Spanish municipalities are either completely depopulated, or have only four or fewer inhabitants. As in many rural communities across Spain, the fear in Aguaviva is turning into a virtual ghost town[12] (see Appendix Photos 3 and 4).

Table 2.1: Rural-Urban Internal Migration in Spain per Population Size

Year	**Rural** ≤2000 inhabitants		**Intermediate** from >2000 to ≤10,000		**Urban** >10,000	
	millions of inhabitants	*percent of population*	*millions of inhabitants*	*percent of population*	*millions of inhabitants*	*percent of population*
1960	10.525	34%	6.938	23%	13.050	43%
1970	8.719	25	6.689	20	18.632	55
1981	7.589	20	6.445	17	23.650	63
1991	6.996	18	6.605	17	25.272	65
1996	6.821	17	6.893	17	25.296	66
1999	6.432	16	6.835	17	26.935	67
2003	7.782	18	7.147	17	27.645	65

Source: Spanish Ministry of Agriculture, Fishing and Alimentation, with data from the National Statistics Institute.

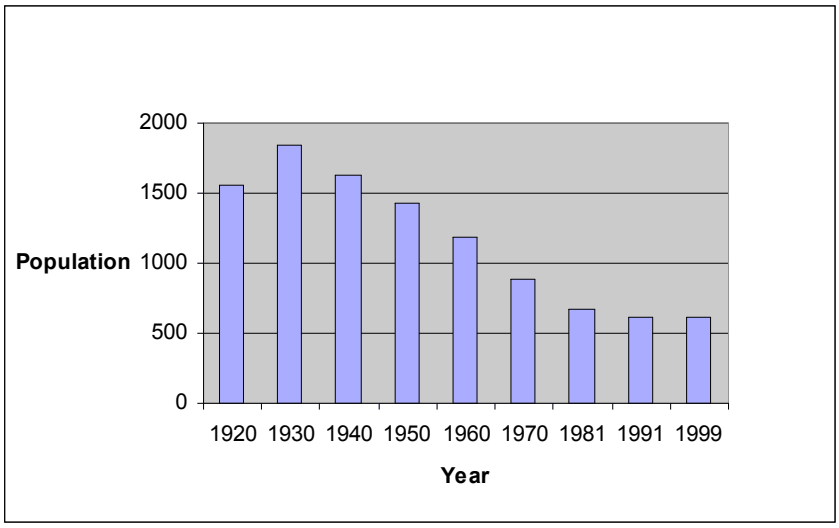
Aguaviva is certainly not the only interior municipality in Spain threatened by rural-urban internal migration. But unlike some towns that are demographically

[12] The downward demographic trend in rural Spain mirrors a similar situation at the national level. As a whole the country is experiencing a population dilemma that reaches far beyond rural-urban internal migration. Spain's birthrate, at less than 1.2 children per couple, is considerably below the replacement level of 2.1. Low birthrates go hand in hand with the rapid ageing of the Spanish population. By 2050, Spain is predicted to be one of the two oldest countries in the world, with a median age of over 54 (Calavita, 2005: 48). This negative demographic outlook is expected to put increasing strain on the state's social welfare system (Corkskill, 2001: 829).

shriveling in relative silence, local population decline has long been raising alarm in Aguaviva. In the 1930s, the municipality reached its historical high of approximately 1,800 inhabitants, but by the mid 1980s this number had dropped close to 600, shrinking to a third of the town's previous size in about fifty years (see Graph 2.1 below). Since he first became mayor of Aguaviva in 1991, Bricio discussed this threat of depopulation with other *Aguavivanos*, arguing that "It's not just that we need infrastructure, right? We have to do something so that this town doesn't die" (Bricio, 8/2006). By the late 1990s, however, the issue took a more urgent turn—it was around this time that the town's population dipped close to 600 inhabitants, producing a "terrible panic" in Mayor Bricio[13] (Bricio, 8/2006). "With that," the Mayor reports, "I thought well, in just a bit we'll be at 400, right? And if we cross that line of 400 inhabitants then there's no solution to this" (Bricio, 8/2006).

[13] At the same time, the ratio of births to deaths in Teruel, at -6.24 in 1999, were the fourth lowest of all 52 provinces in Spain (National Statistics Institute).

Graph 2.1: Demographic Decline in Aguaviva



Source: Spain's National Statistics Institute

Natives of Aguaviva explain that local depopulation occurs as younger *Aguavivanos* begin to search for better places to live—larger towns or cities that offer more educational opportunities, greater employment possibilities for women, and improved infrastructure, services and entertainment. Zaragoza and Barcelona are especially popular urban destinations. The steady out-migration of younger generations strips the town of opportunities to increase its population through new births. Indeed, the flow of population out of Aguaviva creates a dynamic that, according to Bricio, functions to perpetuate rural-urban migration: "Why are you leaving?" Bricio recalls asking a townsperson. "Well, I don't know," the man replied. "But since everyone's leaving I'm going to go too" (Bricio, 8/2006). Because the high level of out-migration in Aguaviva influences the migratory decisions of others, the process of depopulation becomes a debilitating cycle: young families leave and their elderly parents follow as nursing homes and

hospitalization become necessary. As the municipal population dips, local business, industry, and schools feel the effects. "The town looses its unity," Bricio explains. "Stores aren't viable, bars close, and bit by bit this becomes a ghost town" (Bricio, 8/2006). Municipal budgets are made on the basis of population, and so out-migration increases as the availability of services declines (Bricio, 8/2006). The constant threat of school closings and the curtailment of basic government services make life in depopulating municipalities like Aguaviva even less palatable.

It is arguable whether an increase in immigration flows would truly generate the population levels policy makers envision. Reliance on replacement migration alone to solve demographic deficits at the national or sub-national level is not likely to reverse strong depopulation trends. When Bricio came into power in Aguaviva in 1991, the locality had already settled into a pattern of low birthrates and a rapidly aging population. The Mayor contends that as repopulation with incoming migrants increases population, the growth will function as a trigger to improve overall opportunity in the municipality and to discourage native emigration (8/2006). But in choosing to focus on curbing depopulation with local immigration policy instead of improving its economic and educational opportunity structure, Aguaviva's approach may very well prove ineffective in the long run. Immigrant recruitment at the sub-national level is likely not the ultimate solution to the municipality's demographic slump, because it unrealistically assumes that immigrants would want to remain in Aguaviva while natives leave.

Since the mid-1980s, Spain has been a country of net immigration (Cornelius, 2004: 387). The primary destinations of these unprecedented incoming migration flows, however, have been Spain's urban areas and agricultural centers, not remote towns like Aguaviva. Indeed, Spain's 2001 Census shows that only 17 percent of immigrants reside in rural areas, the majority of whom are concentrated in regions of high agricultural production like Alicante, Murcia, and Almería (Kasimis, 2006: 181). Responding to what he felt was inaction by higher levels of government regarding his municipality's negative demographic situation, Bricio first attempted to tap the migration flows to Spanish cities. Yet as he recounts, "It was very difficult to make contact with them [migrants in urban areas]. We were in contact with an immigrant association in Madrid … They proposed sending us a list of families, but that list never arrived" (Bricio, 8/2006). Upon the failure of this one-time effort to redirect urban migrant flows towards his municipality, Bricio shifted his approach, focusing instead on developing a detailed local immigration policy specifically tailored to the needs of Aguaviva. With the issue of immigration firmly within the centralized state's power, Bricio's local immigration plan enters the realm of state policy territory.

In Spain, the emerging prevalence of sub-national immigration policies is the result of local frustration with state policies that fail to address the needs of communities on the ground. As a response to the depopulation trend and the appearance of state neglect in rural Spain, many interior municipalities are pro-actively implementing their own immigration policies as repopulation tools.

Building upon this explanation of why municipalities become involved in immigration policy-making, my research seeks to address how local governments form immigration policies. Given the central-state's traditional dominance over immigration policy, an evaluation of local policy-making methods helps to explain the emergence of sub-national immigration initiatives.

Policies of Preference in Spain: An Overview

As I will demonstrate throughout this study, local governments form community-level policy within the national immigration framework. It is the preferential aspect of the state's policies, however, that gives municipalities access to selective immigration policy-making. Local immigration initiatives conform to the central-state's legal framework by using national ethnic affinity citizenship policy as a basis to develop local preferential migration policies. In this way, the plans implemented by Aguaviva and the other Spanish municipalities following its lead replicate the central-state's ethnic preferences. Given that sub-national governments use Spain's ethnic affinity policies as a key mechanism to create their own immigration agendas, the historical development of preference at the level of the central-state merits considerable attention.

Spain's preference for Latin American immigrants fully developed in the context of fascist Spain. By reviving a "romantic recognition of *Hispanidad*," Franco sought to strengthen ties with Latin America to compensate for Spain's

isolation in postwar Europe[14] (Skrentny et al., 2005: 16; Joppke, 2005: 116). In doing so, a law was passed in 1954 that allowed for twelve dual nationality treaties with Latin American countries on the basis of historical ties and Spain's "spiritual mission," as noted in the law's preamble, in Latin America (cited in Joppke, 2005: 116). Later, Spain's preferential 1969 immigration law exempted immigrants from Latin America and the Philippines from standard work permit requirements. Even democratic post-Franco Spain sought to maintain preferential policies for Latin Americans, although the focus eventually shifted from overcoming geopolitical isolation through preferential immigration policy to forming links with emigrants and their descendants abroad through preferential citizenship policies (Joppke, 2005: 116-117). Over time, and especially due to Spain's membership in the EU and participation in the Schengen Agreement, the *comunidad hispánica* has lost ground in Spanish immigration law while strengthening its "legal foothold" in citizenship law (Joppke, 2005: 121).

Spain's citizenship framework first emerged in 1889 in the context of heavy out-migration of Spaniards to the "new world." In response to the challenges presented by emigration, the Spanish state sought to forge new relationships with emigrants on foreign soil and their descendants born outside of Spain's borders by forming a strong *jus sanguinis* policy that determined citizenship by descent. But this effort was not made in isolation; rather, it was executed in direct response to

[14] The first legal articulation of *Hispanidad* is actually found in Article 24.2 of the Republican Constitution of 1931, which called for dual nationality between the citizens of Spain, Portugal, and the Hispanic countries of America, including Brazil. This article was never implemented, however, and it was under Franco's rule that Spain's preference scheme was formally and formidably launched (Joppke, 2005: 115).

the claims of receiving states, specifically Argentina, who likewise sought to make nationals out of incoming migrant flows (Cook, 2005c: 2). Today, as migration flows between Spain and Argentina shift in response to the turning tables of financial fortune, the centuries-old policies of these sending and receiving states continue to inform the construction of citizenship in Spain. This provides the basis for Spain's preferential co-ethnic citizenship policy, the adoption of which gives municipalities like Aguaviva the opportunity to step into the central-state realm of immigration policy-making. In the following sections, I explore the development of Spain's citizenship policy in order to give historical depth to Aguaviva's local adoption of the central-state's ethnic affinity citizenship preference.

Spanish Emigration to Latin America

While the Spanish presence in Latin America generally sparks images of the conquistadors and explorers of the sixteenth century, far more Spaniards reached America's shores as emigrants—fleeing from push factors like rural poverty, conscription, mounting population surplus, untenable land distribution, and displacement—than as colonizers[15] (Moya, 2003: 9). During the colonial period, Spanish settlers chose silver-rich Mexico and Peru as their primary destinations (Moya, 2003:10). In the mid-nineteenth century, however, Spanish emigrants began to exit their native country en masse due to pressures from demographic

[15] A substantive analysis of migration reveals struggles over categorizations that, depending on perspective, define the same people as emigrants or immigrants (Cook, 2005c: 14). To clarify make my discussion here, the word "emigrant" will describe migrants from the perspective of the Spanish state, while the word "immigrant" will reflect the Argentine state's perspective. Of course, it should be noted that while these words change, the group of people to which they refer does not.

growth and Spain's poor economy. Many of these emigrants were drawn to Argentina by the newly-established nation's stabilized political situation, subdued indigenous population, wide availability of land for agricultural production, and its quickly expanding economy (Cook and Viladrich, forthcoming: 8; Devoto, 2003: 33; Moya, 2003: 20). Argentina's programs to recruit European settlers to "whiten" the native population and build the Argentine nation-state created additional attractive incentives for Spanish emigrants[16] (Cook, 2005c: 41). This first wave of Spanish emigration to Argentina did not subside until the early 1930s (Cook, 2005c: 15), but in the nineteenth century alone some six million Spaniards left their native homeland (Siracusa and Acacio, 2004: 326). A second major wave of Spanish emigration to Argentina began in 1945, at the end of World War II, peaking during the Peronist industrial boom of 1947-1951 and continuing strong through the mid-1960s. Almost one million Europeans migrated to Argentina from the end of World War II through 1965, the majority of whom were of Spanish or Italian national origins (Cook, 2005c: 70, 48).

The nineteenth century's mass transatlantic migrations sparked tensions within nation-states on both sides of the Atlantic over the naturalization and citizenship of immigrants and emigrants. European sending states, alarmed at the

[16] Competition with other settler states, such as the United States and Brazil, fueled Argentina's efforts to recruit European migrants (Cook, 2005c: 54-55). The perceived need for European population was so great that Argentina created the Argentine Emigration Committee in 1824 to entice European labor migration (Cook, 2005c: 61) and administered a short-lived government program to offer subsidized fares to the country in order to recruit Spaniards (Devoto, 2003: 33, 40). A preference for Europeans was first included the nation's 1853 Constitution in Article 25, which stated that "the Federal Government will foment European immigration." This constitutional preference remains intact today after numerous reforms. See http://www.georgetown.edu/pdba/Constitutions/Argentina/arg1860.html.

exit of their citizens, sought to "maintain a claim on their absent citizens" while destination states in the New World were "bent on assimilating them" (Fitzgerald, 2006: 92). The large migration of Spaniards out of Europe destined for Argentina created intense strain between these two political powers as each sought to subject the same migrants to their distinct nationalizing processes (Cook, 2005c: 12). Before the nineteenth century, Spanish authorities reacted to emigration with a mercantilist perspective: Because native populations were considered a source of wealth and stability, emigration was a considerable threat to the central-state. According to this logic, permitting the exit of nationals meant that Spain ran the risk of losing citizens to permanent settlement in host countries, especially those like Argentina where large numbers of emigrants united to form strong communities (Siracusa and Acacio, 2004: 328). The Spanish state viewed emigration through the "logic of hoarding population in competition with other states" (Fitzgerald, 2006: 92) and consequently tried to prevent exit by outlawing free movement across national borders and establishing a system of travel permits. While certainly not thwarting emigration altogether, these measures worked to circumvent mass exit flows (Moreno Fuentes, 2001: 119).

Significant out-migration began during a contentious time of colonial loss and political struggles among the Carlists and Republicans. At the same time, the Spanish working class began to emerge (Cook, 2005c: 38). These issues, along with rapid population growth, helped ease restrictions on emigration out of Spain. In 1853, the prohibition on emigration to former American colonies or other

destinations was abolished (Moreno Fuentes, 2001: 119; Cook, 2005c: 33). The state's priorities increasingly shifted away from concern over population loss and towards worry about the pressures of its sharp demographic upturn. Consequentially, in 1903 Spain loosened exit restrictions even further by abolishing its previous requirement of formal state permission to emigrate (Zolberg, 2006: 203). While the Spanish state no longer enforced tight exit restrictions, it nevertheless did not turn a blind eye to the great number of Spanish natives leaving the homeland. In order to deal with its emigration dilemma, Spain's political actors approached the issue of nationals abroad in terms of nation-building, of "mak[ing] Spaniards or consolidat[ing] their allegiance" despite great distance from the native state[17] (Cook, 2005c: 37).

With emigration serving as an escape valve for the mounting pressures of a rapidly increasing population, why was it advantageous for the Spanish state to foster relationships with its nationals abroad? It is important to note that migration was often understood in Spain's elite political circles as a way of spreading empire and nation (Devoto, 2003: 29), a perhaps convenient cover for underlying preoccupations with geopolitical weakness[18]. As Balfour notes, "the challenges of modernization encouraged a renewal of traditional views about Spanish history and

[17] By the 1950s, Francisco Franco, the 1939-1975 Spanish dictator, created a plan of economic expansion that had as its base tourism, foreign capital investment, and—most important for the discussion at hand—the export of labor. Emigration in Spain was soon lauded as a "state-promoted remedy" to the state's many economic and social problems (Siracusa and Acacio, 2004: 327-328), and in 1956 a new state-run *Instituto Español de Emigración*, or Spanish Institute of Emigration (IEE), was formed in order to manage all aspects of emigration. Slowly but deliberately, emigrants became a motor of Spain's twentieth century quest for modernization.

[18] Cook notes that this may be understood as "a strategy to reconcile not only with Spain's imperial demise, but also with the massive departure of its citizens to former colonial holdings" (2005c: 39).

the nature of Spanishness" (1996: 115). According to this standpoint, "emigrants were not being lost to the nation, but were its representatives among the extended Hispanic community" (Cook, 2005c: 39). Politicians saw Spanish emigration to "free" colonies as a "useful instrument for cultural penetration"[19] (Devoto, 2003: 29). Predictably, emigrant remittances also played a large role in prompting the Spanish state to maintain ties with its emigrants abroad in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Such remittances represented a "reverse flow" of the resources that are associated with the exit of labor[20] (Cook, 2005c: 31).

Spain's *Jus Sanguinis* Citizenship Construction

Countries of emigration are forced to rely more on persuasion than coercion in order to maintain relationships with emigrants because they hold little power over nationals in foreign territories (Fitzgerald, forthcoming: 9). The heavy migratory flows exiting out of Spain and into Latin America from mid nineteenth to the mid twentieth century created a significant challenge for the Spanish nation-state because migration complicates the connection of people to any national community. In order to "manage the effects of their [emigrants'] departure and return," nineteenth century Spain employed a range of tactics to maintain ties with emigrants abroad (Fitzgerald, forthcoming: 1). Alvarez Junco claims that processes

[19] Some scholars today take this notion one step further, suggesting that while Spain maintained linkages to Latin American countries for reasons of nationhood in the nineteenth century, these relationships are currently sustained for economic reasons, specifically in terms of Spain's leadership in advancing trade with the region (see Skrentny et al., 2005 and Baklanoff, 1996).
[20] In 1920, emigrant remittances to Spain from the Americas totaled almost 130 million dollars. The high-emigration region of Galicia alone was receiving over 37 million every year by 1926[20] (Kenny, 1976: 100).

of "nationalization of the masses" were necessary for the survival of traditional European monarchies as modern nation-states (1996: 105). The Spanish central-state's development of citizenship policy to "embrace" emigrants and their descendants abroad worked to this end on an institutional level, creating a citizenship construction with such long-term salience that it continues to play an integral part in ethnic affinity migration to Spain today[21].

The first steps that legally attended to Spanish citizenship directly addressed the late colonial settlers that were placed in "ambiguous situations" regarding their nationality as American colonies gained independence in the nineteenth century (Moreno Fuentes, 2001: 119). As part of "peace and recognition diplomacy," Spain negotiated treaties with newly independent American nation-states to regulate the citizenship of Spanish nationals within those republics (Cook, 2005c: 38) and to maintain the right of continued Spanish migration to and settlement in former colonies (Moreno Fuentes, 2001: 120). Later asserting its ties to emigrants, Spain sought to embrace exiting nationals and their descendents by forming citizenship law to avoid losing Spaniards to destination countries like Argentina (Moreno Fuentes, 2001:120; Cook, 2005c: 122). The first official Spanish citizenship policy, the Civil Code of 1889, was enacted during a time of massive

[21] The use of "embrace" throughout this study is drawn from John Torpey's work on the construction of links between states and citizens. In order to understand the nature of the relationship between states and their members, it is necessary to analyze how these ties are achieved: States embrace society, "surrounding and taking hold of their members" in order to penetrate them, or extract what is necessary for state survival (2000: 6, 11). In the case of depopulating rural communities that develop sub-national preferential immigration policies, local manifestations of the state subject co-ethnics to a particularly tight embrace in order to augment their population through immigrant settlement.

emigration outflows to the Americas just as Spain was branded by colonial wars and defeat (Moreno Fuentes, 2001: 118). The main characteristic of the Civil Code of 1889 was its strong component of *jus sanguinis*—all those born of a Spaniard held Spanish nationality, regardless of where they were born (Moreno Fuentes, 2001: 124-125). This policy followed the principal of "family unity" in that it derived the nationality of family members from that of the male household head[22] (Cook, 2005c: 63). In effect, the 1889 civil code regulated the ways in which Spanish nationality was attributed, passed on, and—most important to the state's efforts to embrace emigrants—maintained. This is clear even today in Aguaviva, where the majority of Argentine families recruited to the municipality petitioned for Spanish citizenship based on the male head of households' documented Spanish ancestry (Gilda, 7/2006).

In response in part to the twenty-first century reversal of migration flows between Argentina and Spain, the Spanish principle of *jus sanguinis* established in 1889 has become an increasingly important and debated aspect of Spain's citizenship laws. Two nationality reforms in 1990 and 1995 capped claims of Spanish citizenship by foreign-born descendants of Spaniards at the first generation, with emigrants' grandchildren regulated by the same naturalization procedures as ordinary immigrants. As recently as 2002, however, legislation was introduced to strengthen intergenerational ethnic return migration to Spain. This

[22] While Spain's Civil Code of 1889 gave women the right to pass on their nationality to their descendents, it also stated that a Spanish woman marrying a foreigner lost her nationality and had to acquire that of her husband (Moreno Fuentes, 2001: 125). It was not until 1982 that women were allowed to keep their Spanish nationality regardless of that of their husbands and to pass on nationality to their children (Moreno Fuentes, 2001: 131; Cook, 2005c: 167).

made it even easier for emigrants' children and grandchildren to claim citizenship: the law waives the former one-year residence requirement for emigrants' children to recover their Spanish citizenship, while reducing the residence requirement for grandchildren to one year (Joppke, 2003: 452). Today contemporary Spanish nationality law allows the foreign born children and grandchildren of Spanish citizens to claim state membership and, in the case of Iberoamericans, to do so without losing birth citizenship (Cook, 2005a: 13). The Spanish Foreign Ministry estimates that the 2002 reform has put about one million descendants of Spanish emigrants—850 thousand Latin Americans, of which 400 thousand are Argentines—on a "fast track" to Spanish citizenship (Joppke, 2003: 453).

It is in the realm of nineteenth century citizenship policy development that the competition between the Spanish and Argentine states is most evident: While Spanish policymakers wrote *jus sanguinis* laws to attribute nationality by virtue of descent, ensuring Spanish nationality for the offspring of emigrants, these efforts did not go uncontested. In response to Spain's efforts to embrace its exiting nationals, Argentina passed liberal naturalization provisions[23] and developed a

[23] In 1880, Argentine policymakers passed Law 346 of 1869 which stipulated that Argentine citizenship could be requested after only two years of residency, with minimal paperwork and no fees. Newly naturalized citizens were also released from Argentine military conscription for ten years after their naturalization (Cook, 2005b: 18). In response to the lack of interest immigrants showed towards naturalizing in Argentina, several politicians proposed automatically bestowing Argentine nationality on newly arriving immigrants in the mid 1880s (Moreno Fuentes, 2001: 124; Cook, 2005c: 65). Later, under Perón's leadership, Argentina's 1949 Constitution stipulated that immigrants "will acquire nationality automatically after five years of continuous residence in the country" (cited in Cook, 2005c: 65-66), but this mandated naturalization was later repealed along with the Constitution itself.

policy of *jus soli*, or birth place-based citizenship attribution[24], to nationalize newly arriving immigrants and their descendants (Cook, 2005a: 9). These past claims on the same group of migrants through citizenship policy today endow Latin Americans of Spanish descent with preferential citizenship status and facilitated migratory options, providing the legal space for municipalities like Aguaviva to develop local-level plans of co-ethnic migration.

The Enduring Consequences of Nineteenth Century Membership Ties

States' policy responses to past emigration shape modern migration flows, like that of Latin Americans to Spain or, more specifically, Argentines to Aguaviva. Clearly, the "long-term salience" of citizenship constructs is highly susceptible to shifting economic and political conditions in both sending and receiving nation-states (Fitzgerald, 2006: 103). The murky consequences of the Spanish state's fashioning of membership ties with its nationals abroad became clear between the 1960s and the mid-1970s, when the relative economic fortunes of Spain and Argentina switched (Cook, 2005c: 49). Since the late 1980s, Argentina, a nation quintessentially characterized for its incoming immigration flows, has transformed into a country of emigration while Spain, on the other hand, has

[24] Law 346 of 1880 subjected the descendants of Argentina's immigrant population to a *jus soli* framework, which functioned to attribute Argentine citizenship to all those born within national territory (Cook, 2005b: 17). Spain passed its opposing *jus sanguinis* citizenship policy nine years later. Eventually these conflicting claims over the membership of immigrants' children were resolved through agreements signed by both parties at the end of the nineteenth century that implicitly (although not overtly) accepted dual nationality (Moreno Fuentes, 2001: 124). Through these agreements, migrants were Argentine while they remained in Argentina and Spanish if they returned to Spain (Cook, 2005c: 63).

become a country of immigration through its democratic transition, rapid economic growth, and entry into the European Community (Cook, 2005c: 178; Cornelius, 2004: 389). When Argentina's economic and political crisis exploded in 2001, the power of Spain's nineteenth century embrace of its nationals abroad re-emerged. With 55 percent of the Argentine population falling below the poverty line and unemployment rising to 21.5 percent, life in Argentina became untenable for many (Jachimowicz, 2003: 1). Emigration was an increasingly popular decision, especially for those with documented Spanish ancestry whose petition for Spanish citizenship and legal migration to the "ethnic homeland" was greatly facilitated[25].

The exit of Argentine nationals has risen significantly, with over one million Argentines living abroad as of March 2005—double the number twenty years ago. Whereas 64,020 native-born Argentines were legally residing in Spain in 1999, in just five years the number more than doubled to 157,323 (Jachimowicz, 2006: 1). In response in part to the reversal of migration flows between Argentina and Spain, the Spanish citizenship principle of *jus sanguinis*—established in 1889 as a means to embrace emigrants and their descendants—today provides the legal basis for ethnic affinity migration. Argentines seeking to escape economic misfortune in the early twenty first century take advantage of Spain's citizenship construction, because these laws currently function as preferential policies that enable those within two generations of Spanish descent to apply for their ancestors' nationality and legally migrate to destinations throughout Spain, including

[25] In the late twentieth century Argentines also migrated to Italy, and continue to do so today, because of Italy's *jus sanguinis* citizenship framework, which bestows the nationality status of its former emigrants on their descendants.

Aguaviva. This preferential citizenship policy serves as a launching point for the development of local immigration plans that adopt and extend the central-state's preferential policies for "desirable" co-ethnic immigrants.

Local Adoption of State Preferential Citizenship Policy

Adopting the state's citizenship policy preference for co-ethnics eventually became a way for Aguaviva to legitimately access the state-dominated realm of immigration policy. "Ever since I became Mayor in 1991 I've wanted to bring people here," comments Bricio (8/2006). "When I was younger, it was clear that people were leaving town," he continues, "but when I became politically involved I saw things more clearly, and we started to realize that immigrants were actually coming to Spain. We saw that this was going to be a pretty important phenomenon in Spain, and wanted to take advantage of it" (Bricio 8/2006). Interestingly, Bricio claims that the issue of adhering to state-level immigration regulations, especially in terms of documentation for his future migrant recruits, did not occur to him in the early stages of policy development. This changed when a native Spaniard with emigration experience in Argentina and from the Mayor's own political party, the conservative *Partido Popular*, asked him how he would handle the necessary residency and work permits for incoming migrants. As Bricio explains, "This guy thought that we should go to countries that have dual nationality with Spain … I had the idea of bringing another kind of Iberoamerican, not necessarily Argentines. But he came and convinced me not to even consider that, that I should look into

[recruiting] Argentines because they were going through hard times and they didn't have hardly any problems with getting dual nationality" (Bricio, 8/2/2006). With Argentina's economic and political crisis looming, Bricio's advisor recognized the power of Spain's nineteenth century attempt to embrace its emigrants through *jus sanguinis* citizenship to translate into a sub-national mechanism of preferential facilitated migration in twenty first century.

Because writing and enforcing immigration policy is traditionally the prerogative of the central state, Mayor Bricio's attempt to recruit migrants to Aguaviva had the potential to clash with Spanish immigration regulations. In order to accomplish the recruitment of migrants legally and avoid directly opposing the state's grip on immigration policy, Bricio realized that promoting affinity preferences for immigrants of Spanish descent, a feature of national level policy, would legitimize his own local immigration agenda. Consequently, Aguaviva's immigration policy was structured within the confines of the national immigration framework. It focused on the exclusive recruitment of co-ethnics by adapting and extending the central-state's preference for "desirable" newcomers. Argentines of Spanish descent wishing to go back to their ancestral homeland faced a Spanish state prepared to endow them with citizenship and a remote Spanish municipality eager to make their trans-Atlantic migration possible. With this, facilitating the "return of the descendents of [Spanish] emigrants," as Bricio puts it, quickly moved to the forefront of Aguaviva's local immigration policy (Bricio, 2002: 8).

Spain's citizenship preferences for co-ethnic migrants became a mechanism that facilitated Aguaviva's sub-national recruitment of "desirable" immigrants on the ground. The decision to repopulate Aguaviva with Latin Americans of Spanish descent led Bricio to consider recruiting out of Buenos Aires, the single most important emigrant destination in Argentina during the nineteenth and twentieth century[26]. By coordinating with the Argentine branch of the *Partido Popular* headquartered in Buenos Aires, Bricio secured assistance with publicizing and coordinating his municipal recruitment effort[27]. A press release about his intentions was distributed to media outlets in this capital city in advance of his 2000 trip, and two members of the Argentine *Partido Popular* went on Radio Gallego, a station catering to Spanish emigrants and their descendents, to promote Aguaviva's repopulation program to potential recruits (Bricio, 8/2006). This broadcast was extremely influential—more than half of the Argentines I interviewed in Aguaviva first heard about the municipality's plan this way. Over 7,000 individuals lined up in Buenos Aires to submit applications in hopes of gaining access to Aguaviva's repopulation scheme through mandatory individual interviews. Although Bricio estimates perhaps only 10 percent of these applicants actually had access to or documentation of Spanish nationality, the massive turnout

[26] Although the Argentine government attempted to direct the flow of incoming migrants to populate the *pampa*, the majority of Spanish immigrants settled in Buenos Aires and other urban areas (Germani, 1960), which made the Argentine capital a logical place for Bricio to conduct a search for Spanish co-ethnics.

[27] The *Partido Popular*, along with the other major Spanish political parties, provides political representation to the large number of Spaniards that continue to reside in Argentina. Spanish citizens living outside of their native country have the right to participate in Spain's political and electoral processes.

gave him the impression that "everyone in the world wanted to leave Argentina," which intensified the selection process (Bricio, 8/2006).

The strong desire to migrate to Spain that Bricio observed during his Buenos Aires recruitment is partially explained by the deteriorating situation in Argentina. As one Argentine recruit remembers, "If you opened a window and didn't have bars on it, it was impossible to leave it open—you'd have someone inside robbing you! … And my children couldn't go anywhere alone" (Marissa, 7/2006). Another notes that "Here [in Spain], you know that what costs fifty today will cost fifty tomorrow, and the next month and the following. You can't wake up one morning to have what cost fifty the other day now costing one hundred fifty. That's not life" (cited in Tensón, 2006: 26). Every Argentine I spoke with in Aguaviva vividly recalled the same sorts of push factors in their country of origin.

While Argentina's economic and political crisis had yet to explode, the nation's instability was growing quickly enough to make the recruitment incentives Bricio offered to the "right" kinds of immigrants highly attractive. This additionally influenced Argentines' desire to migrate to Spain. The municipality proposed to cover entire cost of co-ethnic recruits' travel to the municipality in advance, for example, making migrants responsible for only 20 percent of their families' travel to Spain upon arrival to Aguaviva. The considerable cost of these incentives were covered by provincial funding Aguaviva received from the *Partido Popular*, Bricio's conservative political party, which was facilitated by the Mayor's

position as a representative on the provincial council[28]. Bricio also motivated potential recruits with offers of loans for necessities in the resettlement period, like refrigerators and furniture, which were directly paid for with municipal funds. In addition, the municipality committed itself to providing affordable housing in Aguaviva and assisting immigrants with connections to potential local employers. The financial agreements recruited migrants entered into with the municipality are especially important because they formed the basis upon which Aguaviva expanded the state's policy framework to form its own municipal immigration mechanisms. These unique features of local-level immigration policy in Spain will be further explored in Chapter Three.

Endowed with strong incentives to provide increasingly uneasy co-ethnics with subsidized exit out of Argentina, Aguaviva's local leaders were in a position of considerable power during their recruitment in Buenos Aires. "The ones who wanted to come were the ones we brought, because they didn't have any other option. It was either come to the pueblo, or don't come," Bricio explained (Bricio, 8/2006). The selection process was tedious, with the mayor individually interviewing numerous potential migrants in the *Partido Popular*'s headquarters in Buenos Aires after having sifted through over 7,000 applications. In a room decorated with photos of Jose María Aznar[29], Bricio described Aguaviva to co-

[28] This funding was lost when Bricio later left the *Partido Popular*, after which the municipality only assisted recruited migrants with the location of housing and employment. Bricio's departure from the PP arose out of the media publicity he received from Aguaviva's repopulation plan and accusations from higher ranking politicians that he planned to use his new-found notoriety to launch a bid for a more powerful position within the party.

[29] Aznar was the conservative *Partido Popular* Prime Minister of Spain from 1996-2004.

ethnic Argentines while quizzing them about the reasons they sought to migrate to Spain, their families, and their commitment to the repopulation project (2000 video recording). Eventually seven Argentine families were recruited from Bricio's summer 2000 journey, with an additional four families later selected out of the Argentine city of La Rioja (see Appendix Photo 5). "Nobody thought this would be possible," the mayor commented after the selection process (2000 video recording).

The effort to recruit new inhabitants to Aguaviva was immediately felt in the municipality's demographic outlook. When Bricio journeyed to Argentina in July 2000, he left behind a population of just 592 inhabitants in Aguaviva[30] (Padrón Municipal, 2000). In the fall of 2000, just six months after Bricio's recruitment trip, selected co-ethnic Argentines began to arrive to Aguaviva. The male household heads traveled ahead of their families, with wives and children arriving several months afterwards. These newcomers boosted Aguaviva's population to 651 inhabitants, encompassing both recruited Argentine families and those who followed them through newly established migrant kinship networks. This much sought after spike in local population allowed for quick cries of triumph over decades of demographic downturn, and illustrates the power local immigration policy-making can have in influencing incoming migratory flows.

By tapping into the preferential citizenship policies for co-ethnics produced from past Spanish emigration to the Americas, Bricio's plan to select migrants of Spanish descent on the eve of great instability in Argentina allowed him to quickly

[30] Of these, the only non-natives were a German family of seven who resided in the municipality during the summer months (Silvia, 8/2006).

and legally recruit migrants of ethnic affinity to repopulate Aguaviva. Yet Bricio's emphasis on co-ethnicity did not entirely revolve around adhering to state immigration policy to facilitate the Argentine's migration process. It also supplied Aguaviva's leaders with a legal way to select new inhabitants for the municipality that were "culturally similar," and thus likely more palatable to the towns' native inhabitants. Ethnic affinity migration fit well with the Mayor's desire to circumvent the socio-cultural threat that traditionally accompanies foreign immigration.

Central-State Ethnic Preferences in Local-Level Government

In Spain, formal ethno-cultural preference has traditionally taken place at the central-state level through preferential rhetoric and official policy preference—for Latin Americans generally and foreign-born individuals of Spanish descent more specifically. This legal codification and institutionalization of preference in the central-state shaped Bricio's concept of the characteristics of desirable migrants. The municipal decision to commandeer central-state preference for co-ethnic immigrants in Aguaviva is a significant example of rendering national preference policies malleable to similarly selective local purposes.

Preferences for Latin American immigrants in Spain are based on the perception that Latin Americans are more culturally similar to the native-born population than other immigrants (Skrentny et al., 2005: 16). This reasoning is derived from ethnic preferences institutionalized at the level of the central Spanish

state, and often invokes similarity hand in hand with the notion that ethnic affinity ensures immigrant integration and a minimal disruption to the native population (Joppke, 2005: 123; Cornelius, 2004: 420). The Spanish Prince Felipe de Borbón, for example, recently claimed that Hispanic countries share with Spain "cultural roots that are the backbone of our identities, independent of our national origins" (cited in Calvo, 2006: 1).

Even before local leaders recognized the necessity of forming Aguaviva's repopulation plan within central-state constructs, their immigration strategy began with the idea that the townspeople would only readily accept culturally similar newcomers. As he first pondered developing and implementing local-level immigration policy, for example, the Mayor asked himself "what kinds of people do we bring here?" (Bricio, 8/2006). Bricio decided to pursue "Iberoamericans" to repopulate Aguaviva because of their ethno-cultural affinity with natives—their "similar culture, the same cultural setting, the language, the religion" (Bricio, 8/2006). As Bricio explains it, "This town is like a society … and because of that you've got to be really careful with the townspeople, right? Because we have a very concrete way of life" (Bricio, 8/2006). Municipal leaders were invested in preserving the town's customs and traditions, especially in order to remain in favor with townspeople while bringing immigrants to a municipality unaccustomed to outsiders, and so they sought out Latin American migrants who would presumably "integrate rapidly" without fundamentally changing the town (cited in Ghazvinian, 2003: 43).

The municipality's leaders anticipated that a favorable reception of recruited co-ethnic migrants would promote assimilation and permanent settlement, thereby building municipal population to ensure local growth, thriving area businesses, and schools with open doors. Bricio recounts the logic behind his municipal immigration plan in just these terms: "We would be doing them [co-ethnic recruits] a favor by giving them a future for their family, for their children, and they would give us a future in terms of population levels" (Bricio, 8/2006). The focus conserving Aguaviva's social, cultural, and ethnic homogeneity recruiting only co-ethnic migrants—those who could be accepted as "neighbors"—strongly contributed to municipality's embrace of ethnic affinity newcomers.

The flip side of selective policies that give preference to ethno-culturally similar groups is the exclusion of other, less socially-desirable immigrants (Joppke, 2005: 23). The issue of preference takes on a heightened significance in the increasingly multi-ethnic context of immigration in Spain today. Lurking within Aguaviva's logic of preferential policy based in the inoffensive presence of co-ethnic immigrants is thinly veiled discrimination against Moroccan immigrants that reside in nearby towns. Throughout the development and implementation of the town's immigrant recruitment plan, the focus of repopulation in Aguaviva has been on manufacturing "socially acceptable" migrant flows to settle in the municipality. In an indirect reference to the Muslim religion of Moroccan immigrants, Bricio especially emphasizes the role of Catholicism in these terms, arguing "It's important that in a town the religion is the same, or at least similar" (Bricio,

8/2006). Even after Bricio recognized the mismatch between the embraced co-ethnic recruits and the local labor market's needs, he turned to Romanian migrants—the majority of whom are Orthodox Christian—and not to the larger presence of Moroccans in surrounding areas to extend Aguaviva's selective immigration policy. Moroccans have always been notably absent from the municipality's favored groups of compatible immigrant neighbors, just as the predominantly Muslim Moroccan state has never been included in Spain's "historical and cultural links construct" or its preferential policies despite colonial ties[31] (Joppke, 2005: 115 and 126). In this way, the central-state's implicit exclusion of Moroccans through its preferential policy for and exclusive embrace of co-ethnics affects similar exclusions in Aguaviva.

Conclusion

The ability to regulate borders and migration flows is commonly viewed as a fundamental element of the contemporary nation-state. Nevertheless, in Spain immigration policy is emerging at the sub-national level in response to perceptions of state neglect of the country's rural interior. These allegations revolve around a lack of infrastructure, widespread depopulation, and need for manual laborers. While scholarly attention is typically directed to the external formation of immigration policies at the supranational EU level, the development and implementation of local immigration agendas throughout Spain also imply an

[31] Primarily for politically symbolic purposes, even Sephardic Jews are incorporated in to the *comunidad hispana* because of their 1492 expulsion from the peninsula, while Muslims, who also were expelled, are again markedly excluded (Joppke, 2005: 126).

internalization of immigration policy. This shift indicates that the local is beginning to engage this traditionally state-dominated policy area. The central-state and its immigration policy are increasingly buffeted by such sub-national pressure "from below" in addition to supranational pressure "from above."

Although local immigration policy forms in response to frustration with central-state policies that appear ineffective or absent, municipalities are legally obligated to form their migration initiatives within the legislative boundaries of the state. In order to do so, Aguaviva and 85 other localities throughout Spain adopt the state's citizenship policy preferences for co-ethnics in order to facilitate migration and local settlement. While Spanish citizenship policy was initially created in the nineteenth century to maintain ties between the state and its emigrants abroad, today municipalities use this construction for their own selective, community-level repopulation purposes. The emergence of immigration policy does not simply revolve around emulation of the state's preferential citizenship policy, however. As will be seen in Chapters Three and Four, Spanish municipalities also extend the state framework to create a local embrace of incoming migrants, and collaborate with employers to facilitate the migration of non co-ethnics.

III.

Beyond State Preferences: Residency Contracts and the Labor Market in Aguaviva's Co-Ethnic Immigration Policy

Introduction

While immigration policy is traditionally dominated by the central-state, the activities of Aguaviva and other rural Spanish municipalities are circumventing the standard division of responsibilities between national and sub-national levels of government. As seen in the previous chapter, a primary component of local immigration policy-making in Spain is municipal adoption of the state's ethnic affinity citizenship framework. The local application of preferential state citizenship policies for Spanish descent migrants on the ground allows municipalities to attempt repopulation through selective co-ethnic migrant recruitment.

The sub-national immigration policies of rural Spain not only adopt the activities of the central-state, however, but also significantly extend them with unique municipal immigration mechanisms. The "family permanency contracts" used by Aguaviva and other municipalities, for example, create a strong local embrace of "desirable" co-ethnic Argentines that works to restrict migrants' exit and forcibly instate settlement. This community-level policy has the potential to clash with the establishment of freedom of movement within the Spanish state. Throughout this chapter I explore this aspect of the locality's immigration initiative, leaving Aguaviva's second municipal-level immigration mechanism—

collaboration with employers to recruit non co-ethnics—for analysis in Chapter Four. Municipalities throughout Spain with local mechanisms that both adapt and extend the central-state framework are engaging in formal immigration policy-making at the sub-national level. These local immigration policies are more than simple microcosms of the Spanish state's preferential constructs. Because of this, I maintain that the universe of immigration policy is broadening. As the local emerges as a significant third level to immigration policy-making, states and supranational institutions are no longer the sole actors in this realm.

My discussion of how the local-level develops its own immigration policy in this traditionally state-dominated arena alludes to the issue of outcomes. Are sub-national immigration initiatives more efficient than those of the central-state? The second half of Chapter Three is dedicated to a detailed critical analysis of the results of Aguaviva's first stage of immigration policy—the recruitment of co-ethnics—and the experience of Spanish-descent Argentine immigrants on the ground. Clearly, their migration to the remote municipality was greatly facilitated by the local adoption of the *jus sanguinis* construct of Spain's citizenship law. Ironically, co-ethnic migration in Aguaviva has faltered for precisely this reason: The Spanish citizenship awarded to them by the central-state's preferential framework gives these co-ethnics wide employment opportunity and significant workers' rights. Thus the Argentines that Bricio recruited were not especially disposable, cheap, or pliant employees, which made them too inflexible to serve as a desirable and reliable migrant labor source in the area. At the same time, the

municipality's residency contracts limited Argentines' mobility, technically restricting them from leaving Aguaviva in search of find better work.

A Smothering Local Embrace: Aguaviva's Residency Contracts

While Aguaviva adopted Spain's preferential citizenship to recruit co-ethnics, this national policy does not anchor migrants to any specific location within Spain. After Bricio's recruitment trip to Buenos Aires, his desire to subject incoming Argentine migrants to a local embrace extended out of the concern that the much-coveted newcomers would leave Aguaviva shortly after arriving. Because the central-state gives preference to immigrants of Spanish descent through its citizenship policy, Bricio's Argentine-born migrant recruits have access to Spanish citizenship and the opportunity to legally live and work wherever they choose within the country. Certainly, these co-ethnic migrants would not be formally bound to reside in Aguaviva.

The potential exit of migrants selected for Aguaviva's repopulation program was complicated by the effort that the municipality put forth in the recruitment process. As discussed in Chapter Two, the municipal expenditures to fund the recruitment were especially heavy: As an incentive to migrate, the municipality paid for the entire cost of co-ethnic recruits' travel to Spain in advance, with the agreement that migrants would reimburse Aguaviva for 20 percent of the expense upon arrival to the town. The considerable cost of this incentive was covered by provincial funding Aguaviva received from the *Partido Popular*, Bricio's

conservative political party, which was facilitated by the Mayor's position as a representative on the provincial council. Loans for necessities in the resettlement period, like refrigerators and furniture, were also provided to arriving migrants directly out of the municipality's own funds. Because of the great lengths Aguaviva's leaders planned to go in order to sponsor the "right" kind of immigrants, they were deeply invested in facilitating Argentines' successful settlement and permanent residency upon their arrival to the municipality. Consequently, Mayor Bricio created a formal means of embrace at the municipal level in order to encourage permanent settlement in the town by restricting immigrants' exit. This took the form of "family permanency contracts[32]" which were signed by both Argentine recruits and the mayor before trans-Atlantic migration (see Appendix Document 3).

The introduction of compulsory residency contracts was Aguaviva's first attempt at not only adopting the state's co-ethnic preferential policy but also expanding upon it to meet local needs. The contractual restriction of co-ethnic Argentines' movement is a policy unique to this sub-national level of government—Spain's central-state currently makes no effort to control the geographical movement of natives or immigrants within the nation. The local restriction movement shows the extent to which Aguaviva extends national policy. Today, the use of residency contracts as a municipal immigration mechanism is

[32] The residency contract found in the Appendix of the study is from Cañada de Verich, a small town close to Aguaviva that is a member of the Spanish Association of Municipalities Against Depopulation (AEMCD).

widely practiced throughout other rural municipalities in Spain that have developed similar local immigration policies.

There are three primary features of the residency contracts implemented in Aguaviva with the co-ethnic recruits that began arriving from Argentina in 2000. The first involves geographically rooting migrant recruits in the municipality by requiring they reside in Aguaviva for at least five years. Bricio claims that the function of this five year time period is to allow migrants' children to become fully adapted to their new environment, which in turn is expected to discourage the exit of recruited immigrant families (8/2006). In this way, Aguaviva's leaders extended Spain's ethnic affinity citizenship preferences by planning to settle their Spanish descent Argentine recruits.

In terms of the development of immigration policy at the local level, the residency requirement established in these contracts is significant especially in that it mimics the actions of nineteenth and twentieth century settler states. In Venezuela, for example, a decree passed in 1875 established that newly arriving immigrants could not leave the country within one year of their arrival (Pellegrino, 1989: 116), and in Costa Rica the central government signed contracts with recruited Spanish emigrants that stipulated at least three years' residency (Araya, 1999: 16). A 1924 decree in Guatemala also instructed the Secretary of Exterior Relations to deny naturalized immigrants the passports necessary for travel outside of the country until they had been on the Civil Register for at least one year (Mendez, 1925: 58). Here Aguaviva, a remote and rather forgotten Spanish town,

is not simply adopting policies of the central-state. Instead, the municipality is expanding upon state ethnic preferences in new ways by subjecting migrants to a restrictive immigration mechanism intended to foster the local settlement of "desirable" newcomers.

The contracts co-ethnic Argentines were required to sign upon their recruitment into Aguaviva's repopulation plan do not only regulate residency, however. The issue of migrant debt is the second significant aspect of the contracts, and one that further facilitates this unique local immigration mechanism. According to the contract terms, all municipally-sponsored Argentines were obligated to reimburse Aguaviva for 20 percent of their relocation costs through monthly payments made during the five year residency requirement. Included in the contracts was an additional stipulation requiring migrants to repay all non-travel loans made by the municipality, regardless of whether they fulfilled the five year residency stipulation. These contracts enveloped recruits in a municipal embrace that created a situation of unequal power akin to indentured servitude: Indebted to the municipality from their travel to Aguaviva, migrant recruits were contractually obligated to "work off" their debt by residing in town for an extended period.

Aguaviva's contracts required co-ethnic Argentine recruits to legally bind themselves to residence in the municipality. Mayor Bricio gave these contracts teeth with the inclusion of serious financial penalties for those who broke them. This third significant feature of the contracts stipulated that migrants who left Aguaviva without completing their five year residency requirement would be

contractually bound to pay the municipality a pure fine equivalent to almost six thousand dollars[33]. In addition to this formidable sum, co-ethnic recruits choosing to leave Aguaviva would also be required to reimburse the municipal coffers for resettlement loans and *all* relocation costs—not just the 20 percent to which they were originally obligated. These stipulations were laid out in the residency contracts set up before migration, but upon arrival to Spain the Argentines signed IOU documents predetermining payments to the municipality if the contract was broken (see Appendix Documents 3 and 4). International exit was not as restricted as domestic municipal exit, however. The residency agreements migrants signed stipulated that the only way to avoid the financial penalties of broken contracts was to return to their native Argentina and remain there for at least one year.

The co-ethnic Argentine recruits in my sample have a somewhat ambivalent reaction when asked about these residency requirements. The contracts did not function only to restrict movement but also provided incoming migrants with a guarantee of suitable, affordable housing in Aguaviva along with the municipality's efforts at helping them find employment upon arrival. "It didn't bother me too much," says Marissa of signing the residency contract, "because at least I knew we'd have a place to stay when we got here" (7/2006). Some co-ethnics even appear to have fully engaged with Bricio's repopulation efforts. Marcelo, one of the first Argentines to arrive to Aguaviva, claims that he came to the town "to repopulate, to not let this little town die. My parents were Spanish, and I know

[33] This monetary calculation is based on a historical conversion of the Spanish peseta to the U.S. dollar in 2000 and was made according to the Economic History Services website, http://eh.net/hmit/exchangerates.com.

they'd approve of me doing this" (8/2006). In a similar manner, Bricio's immigration initiative has received accolades from media sources who paint the Mayor as a heroic defender of forgotten rural towns (Lungescu, 2006: 2; Ghazvinian, 2003: 43). Nevertheless, some of Aguaviva's original co-ethnic Argentine recruits express skepticism about the residency requirement. "I can understand why the municipality wanted to put the contracts in place," says Pedro, "but at times I felt trapped here—like there was no way out, because I signed the thing and I couldn't afford the penalties they'd charge me if I left" (7/2006). This sentiment indicates frustration with the municipality's controlling embrace.

The use of residency contracts is a noteworthy aspect of Aguaviva's immigration policy because it highlights how a sub-national government not only adopts the state's legal framework but also expands upon it to meet local needs. The establishment of immigration policy, exit restrictions, residency requirements, and indentured servitude are activities that have traditionally belonged to the central-state. Nevertheless, by basing its local immigration program on central-state ethnic affinity, Aguaviva's leaders are able to create a contractually-based municipal embrace that penetrates far deeper than its national counterpart. Sub-national mechanisms of immigration policy-making are also a result of the Spanish state's neglect of its rural interior, especially at the hyper-local level. Aguaviva is essentially licensed to create its own immigration policy, including contractual agreements that establish fairly formal indentured servitude within a liberal state, because of a lack of scrutiny from higher levels of government. While the central-

state's policy preferences for co-ethnics enable sub-national governments to establish immigration mechanisms, its lack of attention to the rural interior in general creates a climate in which municipal migration policies and even their most restrictive features are not challenged by higher governmental authorities.

The Outcomes of Aguaviva's Co-Ethnic Immigration Policy

1. Co-Ethnic Migrant Recruits and the Local Labor Market

By drawing on the central-state's preferential citizenship policies and developing municipal mechanisms of embrace, it seemed that Bricio had led Aguaviva to a "happy encounter" between the population needs of dying Spanish towns and the out-migration desires of struggling Spanish descent Argentines (Cook, 2005a: 26). The municipality's population certainly benefited from Bricio's Buenos Aires trip: it increased from 592 inhabitants in the winter of 2000 to approximately 651 after the recruitment (Padrón Municipal, 2000). This increase of almost 10 percent in population for the dwindling town was a significant achievement and one with an immediately visible impact in the municipality.

What effect does sub-national adoption and expansion of the state's policy framework have on "desirable" co-ethnic migrants on the ground? My fieldwork in Aguaviva suggests that municipal actions have played a powerful role in creating migratory flows. But the municipality's focus on co-ethnics, in both its recruitment of immigrants with access to the state's preferential citizenship and its restriction of their movement, has also created a mismatch between contracted Argentine

newcomers and local employers. Despite the initial rosy assessment of Aguaviva's repopulation-driven immigration policy, the Argentines—documented Spanish citizens according to *jus sanguinis*—struggled to find satisfactory local employment in a limited market that values immigrants as an exploitable labor source, not new co-ethnic neighbors. These locally-maneuvered migrant flows are incompatible with the flexible immigrant workers, those that are disposable, cheap, and pliant, that the local labor market demands. With Spanish citizenship in hand, Argentine migrants in Aguaviva were ironically "over qualified" to work in the municipality's 3D (dirty, difficult, and dangerous) labor market, but their ability to search for more favorable employment was limited by contractual residency requirements.

Even before immigrants began to arrive in Aguaviva, the municipality's local employment structure was deeply segmented among native inhabitants[34]. The dynamic of urban-rural migration contributes greatly to this segmentation, as townspeople in Aguaviva often feel as though they are viewed as "backwards" both by Spanish city dwellers and urban migrating *Aguavivanos* themselves (Juan Carlos, 8/2006). "It's not true that only the poor and the stupid are [left] here" a flustered native of Aguaviva explains (Pascual, 7/2006). Yet due to the town's extremely limited local economy, this sort of stereotype grows out of the division between the few *Aguavivanos* who stay in the municipality, those who "generally didn't do well in school and stay around here as manual laborers in construction, or

[34] My analysis of dual labor markets and labor market segmentation in Aguaviva is strongly influenced by Piore's 1979 *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies*.

sheep pastors, or in agriculture if their parents had land," and the majority who seek higher education and improved labor opportunities in more urban areas (Juan Carlos, 8/2006).

Many relocated *Aguavivanos* simply settle in cities after completion of schooling, especially due to the employment difficulties they would face in Aguaviva's small, primarily blue-collar labor market (Bricio, 8/2006; Juan Carlos, 8/2006). However, those who do return to Aguaviva—along with a few socio-economically privileged natives who never left— become employed in top tier jobs as local officials, small business owners, teachers, bankers, accountants, and other professionals. Thus a resulting segmentation between *Aguavivanos* in their economically productive years—blue collar natives who now mainly work familial lands and white collar natives in a small number of more prominent professional and leadership roles—has been evident in the municipality's employment structure since the 1970s, when depopulation began in earnest (Juan Carlos, 8/2006).

As recruited co-ethnic migrants began to arrive to Aguaviva in 2000, employment opportunities in the municipality were narrow due to the region's depressed economy. Agriculture, the traditional backbone of many rural local economies in Spain, has declined in Aguaviva along with the municipality's population, and is no longer a sustainable source of employment[35]. Aguaviva's

[35] Despite the presence of several rivers in the area, most properties lack irrigation systems and, as remaining *Aguavivano* farmers grow too old to work the land, many of these plots lay fallow. Whereas peach growing used to be prominent in the area, about ten years ago prices fell heavily at the same time that illnesses spread through the groves. Now the sight of abandoned or uncultivated peach groves around Aguaviva is common. Those that continue to base their livelihood in agriculture today produce mainly grain and alfalfa.

small service sector is at the forefront of the town's weak local economy during the summer months, when the rural-urban migration dynamic in town is temporarily reversed as many *Aguavivanos* return for vacation and the town's annual festivities. The inherently temporary nature of this sector, however, eliminated it as a stable source of primary employment for incoming Argentine immigrant families in Aguaviva. Industry is also negligible in Aguaviva. "There almost isn't any [industry] here," says one local business leader (Juan Carlos, 8/2006). "And businesses," another employer adds, "People don't open businesses here. There aren't any" (Manuel, 7/2006).

The most prominent exception to the overall lack of industry in the municipality is a gravel extraction company that produces cement, gravel and asphalt. Construction is another significant factor in Aguaviva's industrial sector (see Appendix Photos 6 and 7). There are three construction companies in town: one general contracting company run by the owner of the gravel pit, another specializing in restoration run by a distant relative of Mayor Bricio, and a small construction company on the receiving end of accusations of egregious migrant labor abuses. While undersized, Aguaviva's industrial and construction sectors nevertheless were in need of entry-level manual laborers as migrants began to arrive to the municipality, and so the bulk of employment offered to recruited Argentine household heads was in these areas (Bricio, 8/2006).

Municipal leaders channeled co-ethnic Argentine recruits towards 3D positions in the local gravel pit and construction industries. As one Argentine

migrant remembers, "When we came, at first we were just the men … So we all lived together and the mayor started getting us jobs. The work was really hard" (Marcelo, 7/2006). Employment in the secondary sector is undesirable due not only to the low status of such work but also to poor wages, difficult working conditions, and instability (Piore, 1979). The dwindling number of employment-age natives in Aguaviva—even those at the bottom of the primary sector—generally shun the work available in construction and the gravel pit, especially entry level positions. "Pick and shovel work?" exclaims a local business leader. "You won't find one Spaniard—not one—willing to do it!" (Manuel, 7/2006). Co-ethnic Argentine migrants, on the other hand, were expected to readily, and gratefully, accept employment in the secondary sector, the "least skilled, most physically demanding, most dangerous, and most temporary jobs with no promotion ladder" (Cornelius, 2004: 398). Indeed, because of the contractual agreements with the municipality that restricted exit, co-ethnics were bound to Aguaviva's manual labor market.

Despite the expectations set up by Aguaviva's repopulation plan—the easy integration of co-ethnics into the town and their facilitated employment due to their legal status—the reality that emerged as Argentines began working in town was much different. Most male household heads quickly found employment in construction or the local gravel pit, but were unhappy with the difficult manual

labor their jobs entailed[36]. The initial work experience of Marcelo, the first Argentine recruit to arrive in Aguaviva, reflects this. He recounts, "I started to work as a cement truck driver at the gravel pit … The company had financial problems … Back then the guy [owner] didn't want to invest in the company, so the trucks were really old, with bad brakes, without this or that" (Marcelo, 7/2006). One local employer remembers a similarly negative reaction of an Argentine recruit to his job: "This specific guy that I'm telling you about started off driving one of those compact steam rollers on the highway. And the second day he came to tell me that on the steam roller it was really hot. And of course—hot? Sure it's hot. But it's a job, right?" (Carlos, 7/2006). While the arrival of recruited Argentines was first greeted with fanfare and proclamations of a downward demographic trend reversed, after only a few months' residency in Aguaviva it was clear that there was a serious mismatch in expectations between the co-ethnic recruits and local employers.

With such extreme focus on co-ethnic selection during the recruitment process, Argentines were not prepared for the manual labor that awaited them in Aguaviva. One *Aguavivano* puts it this way: "Well, with this project people came that I think were sold something that wasn't real … I think they [the Argentines] came here a little bit mistaken" (Juan Carlos, 8/2006). While reflecting on his initial employment in the gravel pit, one of the few original Argentine migrants

[36] Because the majority of the original Argentine recruits have left Aguaviva for different destinations within Spain, I was unable to include most of them in my research sample. Though a wider incorporation of the original Argentines' perspective was impossible, my interviews with the few remaining Argentine recruits in Aguaviva, along with immigrant employers and natives, provide me with adequate material to analyze this issue.

recruited into the repopulation program who still lives in Aguaviva recalls, "And me, coming from Argentina, I came here thinking things were going to be better. And then I find myself with this" (Marcelo, 7/2006). The implementation of local-level ethnic affinity immigration policy obscured the primarily economic motivations of Argentine recruits.

An examination of Argentine migrants' employment backgrounds sheds additional light on the labor mismatch in Aguaviva: The co-ethnic recruits were from middle class backgrounds with urban employment experience, which further contributed to their poor integration in the local rural labor market. In their native Argentina, several migrants worked as taxi drivers, while others held professions as salesmen, pharmacy assistants, and employees in the tourism industry. As these Argentines migrated to Aguaviva in the hopes of bettering their economic situations, the manual labor jobs available to them in the municipality clashed with their urban-orientated, middle class employment backgrounds. This sort of "socio-professional downgrading" in Spain is common for migrants with previous employment experience in their home countries (Reyneri, 2001: 17).

Soon Argentine co-ethnics found the employment conditions of the 3D positions they held in Aguaviva untenable. As migrants of Spanish descent, these Argentines held Spanish citizenship, which made them too inflexible for work in Aguaviva's manual labor-based industries. The advantages of having Spanish citizenship—like the legal ability to work in any labor sector and not being attached to any one employer to get legal papers or to maintain them—rendered many

Argentines almost as unwilling as *Aguavivanos* to hold in 3D jobs. Nevertheless, the residency contracts considerably restricted recruits' ability opportunity to seek employment outside the general area of Aguaviva, while migrants' debts to the municipality made buying a vehicle—imperative for movement in an area with negligible public transportation—more difficult. Some Argentine recruits, unsatisfied with their initial employment, managed to search for jobs close to Aguaviva that offered better working conditions and higher wages. Marcelo, the same Argentine mentioned above who first worked as a cement truck driver, notes of his initial employment in Aguaviva, "Well, it was all there was. So I took it, you know? … But I couldn't stand that job. Physically, it was very hard. So I found a different job, in Alcañiz[37]. A candy and snack food salesman. And of course, I went around with a computer, well dressed, with my little car. It was a better job" (7/2006).

The aversion of co-ethnic recruits to entry level manual labor and the kind of maneuvering of employment opportunities in the immediate Aguaviva area they engaged in did not enamor these Argentine migrants to local employers. One *Aguavivano* immigrant employer remarks that the Argentines "tried to find jobs that didn't work them too much" (Juan Carlos, 8/2006). Another local employer remembers recruits as constantly skipping between different jobs: "They were fifteen days doing this, fifteen days doing that" (Manuel, 7/2006). In general, the perception was that the Argentines were simply too lazy to work as manual

[37] Alcañiz is a much larger town located about twenty five miles (an approximately forty five minute drive) from Aguaviva.

laborers. Juan Carlos, the owner of the gravel pit, says of one Argentine employee who soon quit, "But he was employed as a driver! And for that job to seem hard, well, I don't know exactly what he came here for" (Juan Carlos, 8/2006). Quite quickly, the once desirable Argentine co-ethnics became rather unpopular with local employers. The owner of an architectural restoration company in Aguaviva claims that "all those South Americans were adorable for chatting, having coffee or a few beers. But putting forth effort on the job, and the continuation of that effort—that wasn't possible" (Manuel, 7/2006). The employers' negative view of Argentines recruited to repopulate Aguaviva—who are painted at turns as indolent, unreliable, irresponsible and ungrateful—revolved around frustration at the inability to harness and exploit the new migrant flows in the local labor market.

The outcomes of Aguaviva's co-ethnic immigration policy-making show that action at the local level certainly influences migration flows. The labor market dynamics of receiving communities, however, are also powerful. Aguaviva's immigration experience indicates that local immigration policies of preference can clash against market demand for pliable immigrant labor. The lack of cohesion in Aguaviva between recruited co-ethnics and the labor market eventually prompted most of the migrants Bricio recruited out of Buenos Aires to look to other areas of Spain for better opportunities, breaking their residency contracts and leaving Aguaviva behind.

2. Breach of Contract: Co-Ethnic Migrant Exit

Despite the formidable mechanisms of embrace developed to deter migrants' exit, the majority of Argentine recruits did abandon Aguaviva within about a year of their relocation to the town. Of the original eleven Argentine families sponsored by the municipality, only three remain in Aguaviva[38] (Gilda, 7/2006). Not quite native Spaniards yet set apart from other immigrant groups because of their Spanish citizenship, co-ethnic Argentines struggle to find their niche in Spain's labor market regardless of their level of human capital: those highly qualified enter into direct competition with favored native Spaniards, while less qualified dual nationals are reluctant to accept 3D jobs at the bottom of the secondary sector (Sarrible 2000, 2004).

The exit of recruited co-ethnics—the selection of whom Bricio had labored over intensely—incensed the mayor to the point of taking one family to court to demand payment of municipal funds used to sponsor them, just as the residency contract stipulated (Bricio, 8/2006). Bricio singled out these "agitators" because they allegedly created a "small revolution" in the town, encouraging other recruited migrants to also break their municipal contracts (Bricio, 8/2006). The regional court that heard the case ruled in Aguaviva's favor, at once legitimizing the municipality's permanency contracts as legally binding and inherently approving this local form of quasi-indentured servitude. The recruited Argentine family who

[38] It is difficult to ascertain the ultimate destinations of those Argentine recruits that left Aguaviva. Nevertheless, according to natives and the remaining Argentines, most of these migrants headed for much larger Spanish towns and cities in search of better employment opportunities within a familiar urban environment.

broke the contract was obligated by the court to repay Aguaviva the cost of their migration and establishment in town, and this currently occurs in the form of monthly payments to the municipality (Bricio, 8/2006). Due to the time and money necessary to legally prosecute all recruited co-ethnic Argentines who decided to leave Aguaviva, Bricio choose not to press charges against any others who broke the residency contract terms (Bricio, 8/2006).

The mayor had a deeply negative reaction to the Argentine recruits' exit. Because of the time, effort, and funding he put forth to create the municipality's immigration policy, it was not easy for Bricio to see his co-ethnic Argentines—those he envisioned as the town's future—leave for other destinations within Spain. "They were brought here not to be princes, but to work and earn their own way," the Mayor says. Cleary distressed by these unexpected outcomes, Bricio remembers the Argentine recruits with some rancor: "We gave them everything, and they thanked us by spitting on our hand," he exclaims (8/2006).

Co-ethnic Argentines' struggle with the 3D employment offered them in Aguaviva resulted in the departure of many recruits. But just as the majority of Bricio's select Argentines left Aguaviva, a smaller group continued on in the town, floundering to find an acceptable and accessible niche in the local labor market. Entrepreneurship emerged as an employment solution for those migrants wishing to stay in Aguaviva. Two original Argentine recruits have circumvented the confines of market segmentation altogether by opening their own small businesses. Despite small scale production, an Argentine family-owned cable factory has contributed to

Aguaviva's industrial profile, and an Argentine-owned restaurant on the outskirts of town has added to the town's service sector[39]. Each of these immigrant small business owners initially worked as entry-level manual laborers upon their arrival to the municipality but, unlike other migrants, forged open an entrepreneurial labor market niche that allowed them to stay in Aguaviva instead of relocating in search of better employment opportunities.

Conclusion

Spain's *jus sanguinis* allows Argentines of Spanish descent to access citizenship, which facilitates Aguaviva's direct recruitment of co-ethnics. Local immigration policy valued these Argentines for their putative similarity, and intended to use them to repopulate the municipality. Yet the power of citizenship renders these "desirable" recruits a less vulnerable workforce, ironically hindering their integration in Aguaviva's labor market. With the out-migration of its recruits, Aguaviva experienced the rude awakening that even though Spanish descent Argentines "had the language [and] the common history," not even putative ethnic affinity, expansive local-level immigration policy, and a smothering local embrace would guarantee their successful integration and settlement in the municipality (cited in Ghazvinian, 2003: 43).

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[39] These Argentine migrant entrepreneurs claim that Aguaviva's remote, rural location makes doing business in the municipality difficult. Expansion of the Argentine factory is limited by a lack of funds to invest in machinery as well as the limitations of regional infrastructure (Marcelo, 8/2006; Silvia, 8/2006). The Argentine-owned restaurant struggles due to lack of clientele; during the summer months, however, it is converted into a disco at night to attract returning *Aguavivano* vacationers and supplement income (Graciela, 7/2006).

Many Spanish descent Argentines in Aguaviva's repopulation plan appear to have employed a version of Aihwa Ong's "flexible citizenship" for themselves and their families, using state-granted access to Spanish citizenship and municipal-level recruitment to facilitate their migration out of a troubled Argentina and into the European Union. Responding fluidly and opportunistically to changing political-economic conditions, co-ethnic Argentines sought out a flexible position among the "myriad possibilities (and problems) found in the global economy" (Ong, 1999: 6, 123). Despite Bricio's careful selection and embrace of co-ethnics, the majority of his Argentine recruits decided to relocate to Aguaviva not as a final, permanent migration but rather as the initiation of a stepping stone process towards desired economic progress. Forced to take the reality of Argentines' exit into account, the municipality's leaders sought to create a second stage of community-specific immigration policy that would more fully attend to the dynamics of the local labor market.

IV.

The Municipality-Employer Relationship: Collaborative Recruitment of Non Co-Ethnic Romanians

Introduction

The legitimacy and legality of Aguaviva's immigration policy is based on adopting the Spanish state's ethnic affinity polices and preferences. For this reason, the municipality initially tapped into Spain's *jus sanguinis* citizenship policy to recruit co-ethnic Argentines. As seen in the previous chapter, however, local-level policy approaches to immigration also expand upon the state's preferential framework with unique municipal immigration mechanisms. Argentines of Spanish descent, for example, were subjected to contractual residency requirements. The unexpected exit of these co-ethnics pushed Bricio to consider labor market dynamics as he reconfigured the community's immigration policy. To this end, he developed a second municipal immigration mechanism—collaboration with area employers in order to recruit non co-ethnics to Aguaviva with immigrant work visas. These features of Aguaviva's immigration policy make it more than a mere microcosm of Spain's legal constructions, offering further evidence of the emergence of full-fledged immigration policy-making and implementation at the local level.

The first section of Chapter Four will evaluate the municipality's policy shift towards Romanian recruitment and the local partnership mechanism developed for this purpose. Given that Spain's citizenship construction benefits

only those of Spanish descent, the way Aguaviva's leaders legitimately incorporated Romanian immigrants into their local migration policy is significant. By working with leaders of Aguaviva's labor market, the municipality began recruiting non co-ethnic immigrants under the central-state's "*pre-contrato*" system, which allows employers to offer work visas to immigrants outside of Spain for hard-to-fill positions. Aguaviva still engages in this approach to local immigration policy today, as do many of the municipalities that make up the AEMCD. The development of this second municipal initiative highlights sub-national governments' active pursuit of locally-defined interests through immigration policy. This extensive local engagement with immigration policy, once only formed at the state or supranational level, shows how sub-national actors engage in immigration policy-making.

The following sections of Chapter Four will evaluate the outcomes of this second stage of local immigration policy in Aguaviva, comparing the results of co-ethnic Argentine recruitment to that of non co-ethnic Romanians. The municipality's initial policy adopted the central-state's citizenship preferences and extended them with residency contracts in order to recruit and embrace Spanish descent Argentines. Nevertheless, because co-ethnics were reluctant to perform heavy manual labor, this approach fell short of its desired goal of repopulation. In reconfiguring its immigration policy, Aguaviva collaborated with local employers to recruit non co-ethnics by tapping into the state's work visa system. This initiative has proven more successful in terms of population growth and immigrant

settlement, but has also resulted in widespread undocumented migration to Aguaviva and the abuse of flexible Romanian labor.

Aguaviva's Policy Shift: Turning to Romanians and the Local Labor Market

After forming specific local-level immigration policies to select co-ethnic migrants, Mayor Bricio observed the Argentines' departure from Aguaviva with displeasure. Illustrating the "folk sociology" applied to Aguaviva's venture into immigration policy-making, Bricio comments, "Look, we all make mistakes. Sometimes these errors come from an idea that seems logical. But logic sometimes isn't very realistic" (Bricio, 8/2006). "We made a big mistake because successful integration doesn't depend on the language, and it's not guaranteed by shared Hispanic heritage either," he concludes (8/2006). Aware that his repopulation plan was badly faltering, Bricio's conviction that Aguaviva's needs could be met by municipal immigration policy did not diminish. Instead, the presumed advantages of facilitating co-ethnic migration with local policies came under doubt. Initially, the municipality adopted the state's preferential citizenship policy to facilitate the migration of Spanish descent Argentines, which was intended to reproduce cultural, linguistic, and religious behavior in Aguaviva. But as co-ethnics began leaving the municipality for outside jobs less than a year after arriving, Bricio realized the importance of immigrants' fit with local labor market demand. "What really matters is the work ethic and that the skills they come with match the sort of jobs we can offer here," he says (8/2006). Accordingly, the Mayor shifted towards a

focus on reproducing a "rural work ethic" with other immigrants (Bricio, 8/2006). Here, he attempted to create migrant settlement in Aguaviva by refocusing the municipality's immigration policy to match local labor market demands.

The arrival of immigrants of differing national origins in Aguaviva, a town without intimate knowledge of outsiders, contributed to this reevaluation of local immigration policy. Dorel was one of first two Romanians to arrive uninvited to the municipality in the summer of 2000. His reasons for migrating reflect the same economic push factors that weave through the migration stories recounted by other Romanians in my research sample. In the 1990s Dorel struggled to maintain a small family-owned shop in his home town, but his economic outlook was steadily declining. It was during this time that Romania's economy began to collapse, leading to very low per capita incomes and high unemployment (Sandu et al., 2004: 19). The situation was "every day worse and worse, without anything, without being able to improve things for myself. Or to have the hope that things would get better … there was lots of corruption," Dorel explains (Dorel, 7/2006). As the gap between the wages and living standards of Romania and Western European countries widened, Romanians like Dorel began to emigrate in increasing numbers (Sandu et al., 2004: 19).

Various Bucharest University research studies indicate that the first Romanian emigrations to Spanish destinations occurred in the early 1990s, almost immediately after the 1989 fall of communism (Sandu et al., 2004: 19). Today, an estimated 2 million Romanians are external migrants (Amariei, 2005: 3), and the

number of them destined for Spain has climbed continually. In 1998, Romanians made up less than 1 percent of the migrant flow to Spain, but by 2006 almost 10 percent of immigrants were Romanian (see Table 4.1 below). It is clear that Romanian migration to Spain is an increasing phenomenon—in 2007, they are the third largest immigrant group in the country, just behind Moroccans and Ecuadorians (National Statistics Institute). An official March 2007 count reports that over 400 thousand Romanians are in Spain (National Statistics Institute), and estimates of irregularity among this migrant flow range up to almost 74 percent (Viruela Martinez, 2006: 4).

Table 4.1: Romanian Migration to Spain

Year	All Immigrants	Romanian Immigrants	Percent Romanian Immigrants
1998	637,085	3,066	0.48%
1999	748,954	4,038	0.54
2000	923,879	7,543	0.82
2001	1,370,657	33,044	2.41
2002	1,977,946	68,561	3.47
2003	2,644,168	134,811	5.10
2004	3,034,326	203,173	6.70
2005	3,730,610	308,856	8.30
2006	4,144,166	397,270	9.60

Source: National Statistics Institute, 2007. Included in the category of Romanian migrants are all individuals born in Romanian and registered on the Padrón Municipal.

A strong motivation to leave Romania does not explain why Spain is a popular immigrant destination for Romanians, however. Dorel cites both his brother, who was awaiting him in Castellón, an agriculturally important province of Valencia, and Spain's booming economy for his decision to migrate there.

"Spain's improved a lot," he comments. "And there's work here … that's why everyone comes here" (Dorel, 7/2006). Indeed, all the Romanian immigrants in my sample referred to either family networks[40] or the impression that Spain's labor market is easily accessed—with or without proper documents—when asked why they chose to migrate to Spain. In a journey that ultimately introduced Aguaviva to its first Romanian migrants, Dorel reunited with his brother in Spain and began working as an undocumented crop picker. The Romanians soon met a Spanish banker who moonlighted as a migrant labor contractor for employers in the region. He offered the brothers jobs in Aguaviva's gravel pit, work that they quickly accepted because of its slightly higher wages. "They came to look for us in the town where we worked in the fields," Dorel recounts. "They brought us here … and I learned how to work with a pick in two or three days" (Dorel, 7/2006). The Romanians' arrival to Aguaviva clearly did not involve the municipality's co-ethnic immigration policy. Precisely because it gives preference to ethno-culturally similar groups, the town's plan actually worked against migrants who lack co-ethnicity. Instead, the entrance of Romanian migrants in Aguaviva indicates that the labor market strongly influences migratory flows even when central-state and local policies give great advantage to co-ethnic immigrants. Bricio's second municipal mechanism attempted to harness the power of local labor market dynamics and incorporate it into the community's immigration policy.

[40] Cornelius (2004: 389) notes a recent survey in Spain in which one out of five immigrants interviewed reported having chosen Spain as a destination because of relatives already living in the country.

Although there were only two Romanians in Aguaviva, Bricio quickly became aware of the favorable impressions they were creating. When asked to compare his Argentine and Romanian workers, the owner of a restoration construction company in Aguaviva answered, "They're complete opposites" (Manuel, 7/2006). At the local gravel pit, where Argentine co-ethnics and the new Romanians labored side by side, drawing conclusions about each group also came easily. Dorel, the Romanian migrant pioneer in Aguaviva, remembers the situation this way: "We were working at the gravel pit at the same time as the Argentines. They worked there too. And they didn't last even a week or two. Most left to look for other work … The job was very hard. Not for us, though. We held up well, and we won the approval of everyone, of the townspeople" (Dorel, 7/2006). The gravel pit owner, Juan Carlos, agrees: "With the Romanians, their approach [to work] was totally different" (8/2006).

Local municipal leaders began to consider "diversifying the recruitment of [immigrant] families a bit," as Bricio explains, because "we saw that this [Romanian migration] was an important immigration flow, right? It wasn't possible to stop it, so we wanted to take advantage of it" (Bricio, 8/2006). "We realized that the Romanians that we had here, that those two guys had an ability to adapt, because we were dealing with the Argentines' difficulty in adapting" he recounts (Bricio, 8/2006). The departure of selected Argentines from Aguaviva and the arrival of uninvited Romanians pushed Bricio to recognize the flaws of his initial exclusive co-ethnic immigration policy and work to develop a different

municipal mechanism to match immigrants' qualifications with the municipality's labor market needs.

Bricio opened up to the possibility of recruiting Romanians to take part in town's program through a chance meeting with Dorel and his brother in the hotel's bar in late fall of 2000, just several months after selected Argentine families arrived to the municipality. There the two Romanian migrants were chatting after their shift at the gravel pit. "He [Bricio] already knew about us," recounts Dorel. "He was very open with us from the beginning, and we struck up a conversation" (Dorel, 7/2006). The way in which the mayor eventually incorporated the Romanian brothers into the municipal immigration policy illustrates a remarkable shift away from affinity based on ethnicity and towards a civic and moral notion of commonality. "Well, at first we started with those from Latin America, from Argentina. But look, the townspeople want you," the Mayor told the Romanians (Bricio, 7/2006). It quickly became clear that Argentine migrants were slipping into general disfavor because of their poor job performance: "Everyone wanted us, asked for us because Romanians—we're hard workers," Dorel remembers (Dorel, 7/2006). As a relationship slowly formed between these Romanian migrants and Mayor Bricio, Dorel suggested the municipality switch from recruiting Argentine co-ethnics to selecting Romanians from Unirea, his rural hometown. "It wasn't necessary to convince him much," the Romanian claims (Dorel, 7/2006).

The Recruitment of Non Co-Ethnics: Municipal and Employer Collaboration

Despite the Mayor's interest in extending Aguaviva's immigration policy to Romania, he was nevertheless constrained by the central-state's legal framework. With co-ethnic Argentines, Bricio had only to verify that potential migrants held, or were eligible to hold, Spanish citizenship in order to facilitate their migrations. Romanians are not co-ethnic, however, and as such they are excluded from Spain's preferential citizenship policy. This lack of central-state preference worked to restrict the scope of Aguaviva's immigration initiative even as Bricio sought to expand it towards Romania.

The mismatch between co-ethnic Argentines and the municipality's labor market strongly contributed to their exit, which prompted Bricio to seriously consider the dynamics of the area's economy as he reconfigured Aguaviva's immigration initiative. In conversation with a local businessman and acquaintance, Bricio hit upon the idea of teaming up with area employers to recruit Romanians through the state's "*pre-contrato*" immigrant visa system. Spanish law allows employers to offer non-E.U. nationals employment in occupations the National Employment Institute classifies as "hard-to-fill." In the province of Teruel, the jobs that fall within this category are predominantly semi or unskilled positions, like bricklayer, domestic help, general laborer, cook and shepard[41] (National Employment Institute, 2007). In order to offer a position to an immigrant, employers submit paperwork to the central-state in order to receive permission to

[41] A few highly skilled occupations, like physical therapists and topographic technicians, are represented as well. For a complete list, see Teruel's "*Cátalogo de ocupaciones de dificil cobertura: Teruel*" at www.inem.es.

offer a "pre-contract" to a migrant worker who, by law, must not be present in Spain (Gestor, 8/2006). Bricio sought to tap local business owners' access to immigrant work visas by offering to directly recruit Romanian workers for them, thereby meeting demand for immigrant labor and bringing new inhabitants to Aguaviva. This second stage of the municipality's immigration initiative is a further indication that Aguaviva has created and implemented a fully developed, local-level immigration policy.

The initial step towards establishing municipal partnerships with the area's business leaders involved a series of meetings between the two parties. Bricio remembers setting up "various meetings with businessmen so that every time they had a need for an employee they'd let us know. And they certainly did" (Bricio, 8/2006). The owner of a local construction company remembers that "the Mayor talked with us business owners and said, 'well, look I'm doing this project, and I want to bring people here' and then he asked us what profile of worker would fit the jobs I had open" (Juan 8/2006). This new approach to repopulation cast Bricio as a middleman between immigrant laborers and employers, who have a high demand for flexible immigrant manpower and are legally prohibited from hiring undocumented migrants physically present in Spain. Local employers were responsible for sending the municipality "long lists of jobs that were available in the area," and the Mayor promised to travel to Romania to find potential migrants to fill the positions (Bricio, 8/2006). This effort to work through the established immigration visa system demonstrates Bricio's concern over compliance with the

legal requirements of the central-state in terms of his Romanian recruits, a worry he circumvented in Argentina by recruiting only co-ethnics eligible for Spanish citizenship.

By April 2001, the mayor was able to partner his decision to formally include Romanians in Aguaviva's repopulation plan with local employers willing to offer potential migrants in Romania pre-contracts. In order to meet with and select individuals directly, Bricio accepted Dorel's offer to assist in the recruitment process in his hometown of Unirea, Romania (see Map 4.1 below). As one of the first Romanians in Aguaviva, Dorel was eager to bring the Spanish mayor—and the offer of facilitated legal migration—to his rural hometown. With approximately 5,340 inhabitants in 2006, Unirea is situated in the Romanian county of Alba within the larger Transylvania region (Alba County Regional Statistics Director, 1/2007). An established area of out-migration, Alba county's emigration rate reached a high 22.9 percent in 2004 (Sandu et al., 2004: 26). The populace that Bricio was targeting for facilitated migration to Aguaviva had previous exposure to the migration process.

Map 4.1: Location of Unirea, Romania

Acting as an interpreter and organizer, Dorel arranged a meeting between Bricio and the mayor of Unirea, who was quite supportive of Aguaviva's initiative. With many people tightly gathered into Unirea's dark town hall, Bricio addressed "all those who wanted to come [to Aguaviva]," briefly describing the town and its need for inhabitants and laborers (8/2006). The exchange was clearly inhibited by language communication issues, which prompted Bricio not perform individual interviews with potential Romanian migrants as he did in Buenos Aires. Nevertheless, the mayor directed general questions to the crowd, at one point asking, "Why do you want to come to Spain?," which was immediately answered with the reply, "For money" by many in the group (2001 video recording). Afterwards, Bricio gathered potential migrants' pertinent personal information in order to facilitate the necessary paperwork for *Aguavivano* employers to offer "pre-

contracts" to selected Romanians and begin the municipality's second attempt at repopulation through a local-level immigration initiative (Gilda, 7/2006).

In all, five Romanian families were officially selected by the municipality. The program Bricio offered in this Romanian village was similar to the one he promoted in Buenos Aires in that potential migrants were offered housing in Aguaviva and, if necessary, assistance to pay for relocation costs.[42] The residency contracts were waived for Romanians, however, because as Bricio explains, "I didn't have to guarantee that they would stay because they were matched up with employers, with jobs. Where were they going to go?" (8/2006). The mayor's confidence in the physical stability of his Romanian recruits was based on the type of *pre-contrato* offered to them. The Romanians from Unirea were extended type B work permits, which do not allow for choice of employer and unimpeded geographical mobility (IMINET Regional Report, 2004: 2; Joppke, 2005: 121; Gestor, 8/2006). In this way, Romanian migrants would be contingent upon their employers in Aguaviva, effectively allowing them to be embraced by the labor market instead of the municipality.

[42] Because of Romania's relative geographic proximity to Spain (in comparison with Argentina's), the majority of Romanian migrants participating in Aguaviva's repopulation plan were able to relocate to the municipality with their own funds. Most Romanians in my sample traveled to Spain by bus at a reported cost of between 200-300 euros.

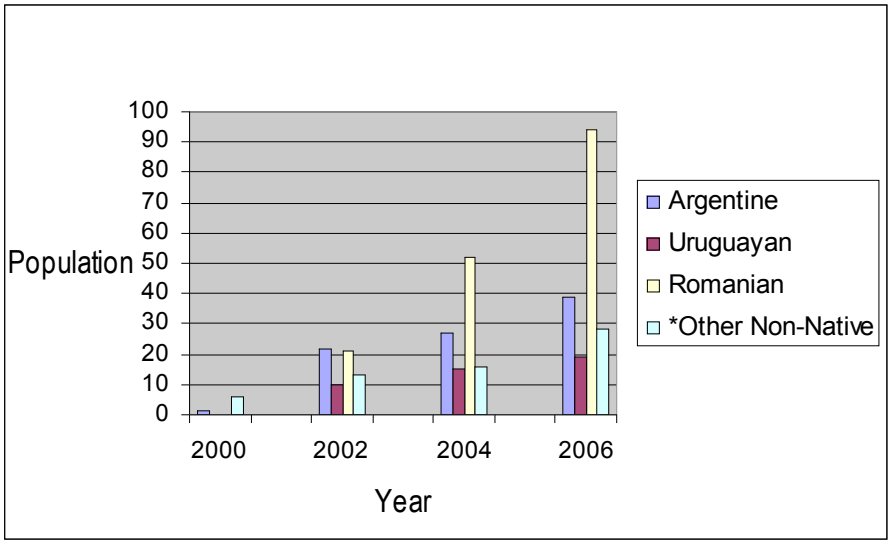
The Outcomes of Aguaviva's Immigration Policy of Romanian Recruitment

1. Ethno-National Displacement and Undocumented Romanian Migration

Today Romanian migrants are by far the largest minority group in Aguaviva, and most are from Unirea. As seen in Chapter 3, Mayor Bricio's co-ethnic Argentine recruits largely abandoned the municipality between 2000 and 2001, with only a few families continuing on to establish their own businesses and generate small-scale chain migration. The network migration facilitated by those Argentines remaining in the town managed to stabilize Aguaviva's population of co-ethnics, but the municipal register soon indicated that the number of Romanian migrants in town was climbing briskly. These new migration flows have boosted the town's population to levels not seen since the 1970s.

After Bricio's 2001 trip to Unirea, the Romanian community in Aguaviva grew at a rapid pace. "Now," reports one Romanian, "half of our home town is here" (Christian, 8/2006). The population of Romanians in the municipality more than doubled between 2002, when there were 21 Romanians in Aguaviva, and 2004, when 52 Romanians were registered on the town's municipal record. By 2006, Romanians accounted for 13.6 percent of Aguaviva's total population of 691 inhabitants. In the same year the Argentines, in comparison, made up only 5.6 percent of the municipality (see Graph 4.1 below). This sort of ethno-national displacement in Aguaviva, with Romanians clearly replacing Argentine migrants not only demographically but also in the municipality's workforce, is a result of matching local immigration policy to labor market demands.

Graph 4.1: Migration to Aguaviva per National Origin, 2000-2006



Source: Aguaviva's Municipal Register[43].

After Bricio's recruitment visit, Aguaviva became a household name in Unirea. Despite the steps the Mayor took to arrange work visas with employers to ensure the legality of the emigration he was promoting, his journey to Unirea made the number of residents eager to migrate to Aguaviva—with or without municipal sponsorship—skyrocket (Christian, 8/2006). In addition, because it took over six months for employment paperwork to arrive in Romania, the delay influenced many migrants to head to Aguaviva without proper authorization. My fieldwork indicates a significant level of undocumented Romanian migrant labor in Aguaviva. Of the eight Romanians included in my sample, none are Spanish citizens and only two hold Spanish residency that was attained through the 2000-2001 national

[43] According to the municipal worker who manages the town register, those I have included in this "other non-native" category are predominately EU nationals with summer homes in Aguaviva. They are neither economic migrants nor "settlers" (Silvia, 8/2006).

amnesty. This resident status allows migrants freedom in terms of where they can be employed, a right the other Romanians in my sample, who are on employer-contingent work visas, short-term tourist visas, or all together undocumented, cannot enjoy. Although it was impossible for me to determine the exact level of unauthorized Romanian migrants in Aguaviva, my interviews suggest that the documentation status of my sample of Romanians is fairly representative of the community as a whole.

According to my subjects, those Romanians from Unirea who are destined for Aguaviva but lack employment pre-contracts commonly enter Spain as tourists. Spanish law allows these nationals up to three months of tourism-related activity in the country, although many Romanians simply overstay their tourist visas, continuing on in Spain after the expiration of this time period[44]. "They come for vacations to check things out," one migrant from Unirea remarks regarding other Romanians arriving to Aguaviva. "If things are good, they stay. If not, they go back" (Christian, 8/2006). He adds that many of his friends and relatives take advantage of their three month tourist allowance to find an employer and begin working hard to impress owners and management during a "trial period" (Christian, 8/2006). Employers who are sufficiently pleased with migrants' labor during this time will frequently offer them a *pre-contrato*, at which point the worker returns to

[44] Overstaying tourist visas is a common strategy employed by many migrant groups in Spain. While government officials appear to be conscious of this (McLean, 2006: 2), the dramatic images of immigrants attempting to enter Spain by raft on the coasts of Morocco and the Canary Islands or by hopping the fences surrounding the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla draw far more public attention—and figure more significantly in heated debates over immigration in Spain—than tourist visa over-stayers.

his or her country of birth to await these documents. A local immigrant employer in Aguaviva provided an example of this when recounting his decision to hire several Romanians based on their construction work during a trial period. He explains, "Now I have, in this case, three Romanians at this moment that went back to Romania after doing good work for me. [The government] told me 'in about two months they will have all the [work] documents in order.' So I told them, 'now you should go back to Romania and wait for the pre-contract … '" (Manuel, 7/2006). This manipulation of policy allows both employers and migrants to circumvent the peculiarities of Spain's migrant labor laws, especially the requirement that employers solely offer pre-contracts to potential migrants outside of Spain whom they presumably have never met.

Dorel's entry in Aguaviva's gravel industry allowed him to refer other Romanians to employers looking to fill local job openings. In Aguaviva, companies have become dependent on Romanian immigrants in part because of this easy access to migrants' kinship networks[45]. "My people come to me and say 'I've got a brother who wants to work.' And I say, 'what's this brother of yours like?' and they tell me, 'I'll be responsible for him,'" reports a local immigrant employer (Manuel, 7/2006). Migrant employers in Aguaviva primarily hire out of current

[45] Tapping migrant networks for employees also has disadvantages. The owner of Aguaviva's gravel pit remembers one Romanian worker who was constantly asking for "*pre-contratos*" for acquaintances back home. After mentioning this to other immigrant employers, the businessman realized that the migrant "was doing the same thing with other employers. So he was trying to get contracts from a bunch of places, and what he did was he sold them" (Juan Carlos, 8/2006). "I don't know whether to call them mafias," this employer continues, "but sometimes workers will ask you for a *pre-contrato* … and it turns out that they sell that contract, and make some money for themselves" (Juan Carlos, 8/2006).

employees' intimate circle of friends and family, resulting in self-sustaining "cumulative causation" migration from Unirea to Aguaviva[46] (Massey, 1990).

Recruiting personnel through migrants' kinship networks has created a high level of dependency upon Romanian workers in the area. "Just a bit ago I was in a meeting … with many other employers," recounts the owner of a local architectural restoration company. "We were all in agreement that without them [the Romanians] we would have to shut down our companies … at this moment we completely depend on Romanian labor" (Manuel, 7/2006). Juan Carlos, another *Aguavivano* business leader, echoes this conviction: Without Romanians workers, he comments, "there would be a serious problem. Concretely, my company would have to stop a ton of the services that we offer" (Juan Carlos, 8/2006). For employers in Aguaviva, it is not only the lack of available workers and flexibility of Romanian labor but also their easily accessible migrant networks that have combined to create a strong dependency upon Romanians in the local labor market. Bricio's small-scale recruitment effort ultimately initiated often undocumented chain migration from Unirea that no longer requires any formal effort to maintain.

Despite the high level of undocumented Romanian migration to Aguaviva, local authorities like the Civil Guard, traditionally charged with law enforcement and security in rural Spain, are largely ambivalent about the issue. One native explains the tolerance of unauthorized migrants by authorities this way: "If someone would do something—like some who may try to steal or something like

[46] The theory of cumulative causation migration holds that the process of international migration alters the social context of the origin community, lowering the costs of migration and increasing the likelihood that individuals in the sending community will migrate (Massey, 1990).

that—well then [the Civil Guard] would catch them and take them out of here … But if they just work, earn money, and live and all that, well nobody says anything" (Pascual, 7/2006). Having a significant unauthorized migrant community apparently seems to be a fair trade off for the repopulation trend and a recuperating local economy. Indeed, this ambivalence appears to be common throughout Spain. Cornelius claims that although administrative penalties and fines against employers who hire undocumented immigrants were included in Spain's 1985 immigration law, such sanctions have not had a discernable effect (2004: 408).

Native *Aguavivanos*' quiet acceptance of undocumented migrants was a commonly-recounted experience of many unauthorized Romanians in the town. Dorel, for example, was somewhat nervous about his undocumented status when he began work at the gravel pit. "The owner of the gravel pit would say, 'Look, don't tell anybody that you work here without papers … The Civil Guard will come and get us'" (Dorel, 7/2006). One night after getting off of work late, around midnight, Dorel and his brother stopped by the hotel bar for a drink. "That night," he remembers, "when we walked into the hotel, the Civil Guard was there! And we were like, 'Well, here we go. They've caught us.' But the Civil Guard said, 'Hi guys, how are you? You must be so and so, and you're so and so … how's work going?'" (Dorel, 7/2006). Relieved but surprised by his pleasant encounter with local authorities, Dorel spoke with his boss about the experience. He learned that the owner himself went to talk with the Civil Guard to inquire about employing undocumented migrant labor: "'Look, can I do this?,' my boss asked. They told

him, 'Well, legally no. But it happens. It works that way. Everybody does it'" (Dorel, 7/2006). The close relationship between employers and local law enforcers is likely a unique byproduct of Aguaviva's rural context. Indeed, a native who overheard Dorel's story was quick to comment, "Well, that's the way it is. It's because they [the employer and the Civil Guard] have known each other all their lives. They worked it out" (Pascual, 7/2006). Nevertheless, the municipality's tolerance for undocumented Romanian migration hinges on the contributions of these immigrants to municipal demographics and the local labor market.

2. Abuse of Romanian Migrant Labor in Aguaviva

Why has the flow of Romanian migrant labor become highly prized in Aguaviva, especially in comparison to co-ethnic Argentines? Today the immigrants in highest demand in Aguaviva—and in the Spanish labor market as a whole—are pliable, employer-contingent, and often undocumented (Calavita, 2005: 101-102; Cornelius, 2004: 402). The fluctuating number of unauthorized immigrants in Spain results from the country's complicated system of mutually contingent short-term work contracts, employment permits and resident permits that often causes migrants to move between legal and illegal status (Calavita 2005). This allows employers to avoid "costly payments for Social Security and other employee benefits" and has helped to "institutionalize a system of short-term hiring that gives [employers] maximum flexibility to shed labor when it is not needed" (Cornelius, 2004: 399). The abundance of irregular or employer contingent

Romanian workers in the municipality is attractive to many unscrupulous employers in and around Aguaviva because it allows them to increase profits by engaging in questionable practices that take advantage of a vulnerable workforce.

Currently the majority of Romanian migrants in Aguaviva, both the documented and undocumented, are employed in the local construction, gravel, and hospitality industries. A smaller source of work in the area for Romanians, especially women, is informal, involving employment as house cleaners, baby sitters, and small-scale agricultural help in elderly townspeople's plots of land. In terms of hiring undocumented migrants, local employers point their fingers at several small construction companies in the area that routinely employ immigrants without work authorization, claiming that "these companies gorge themselves on this type of worker" and complaining that employers who disregard migrants' documentation status have "an easier time obtaining labor than ones who abide the law"[47] (Juan Carlos, 8/2006). The actions of these "disreputable" construction companies have served to pressure other employers to hire undocumented migrants in order to remain viable and competitive in the local economy (Juan Carlos, 8/2006). As the practice of employing immigrants without proper work authorization grows in Aguaviva, it has become increasingly more acceptable.

Even though sanctions against employers who use unauthorized migrant labor and avoid payment of Social Security function at a "token level of

[47] For immigrants in Aguaviva, working for these construction companies comes at a price. According to both migrants and employers, "they hire people and don't pay them. They owe them a lot, they don't cover them with Social Security, and they pay them three euros an hour when it's usually five and a half, six euros" (Manuel, 7/2006). I was unfortunately either unable to contact these construction company owners or was refused an interview.

enforcement," some employers in the municipality appear to take Spanish labor law seriously (Cornelius, 2004: 408). The owner of the gravel pit, for example, explains it this way: "Now, especially with the issue of workplace safety and health, employers have legal responsibility. With this, if I have a person working here … without being documented and he cuts his hand, for example—well, the company could go under. And I could go to jail. It's like this because now the laws about the workplace are very rigid and have penal sentences" (Juan Carlos, 8/2006). Despite certain misgivings over hiring undocumented migrant labor, however, major employers in Aguaviva still recount circumstances in which they do so because of an utter lack of other personnel.

Although all immigrant employers in the area of Aguaviva are certainly not unprincipled, many Romanian migrants in the municipality have experienced forms of labor exploitation regardless of the sector in which they work. "Above all," comments the local social worker, these immigrants are taken advantage of "in terms of salaries, workplace conditions, and work schedules" (Abel, 8/2006). While none of the co-ethnic Argentines in my sample recalled instances of labor abuse in Spain, every Romanian I spoke with in the field recounted at least one experience. Foreign workers all throughout Spain are typically paid less than natives (Cornelius, 2004: 400), and this wage discrimination was the complaint Romanians most often reported to me. For example Ion, an undocumented Romanian, recalled that as an agricultural worker in nearby Castellón if employees questioned their low wages "there went your job, because they'll tell you 'we no

longer need your services'" (Ion, 8/2006). Working in the orange harvest, he ended up receiving less than one euro for every box of fruit collected after the leader of the picking group took his own two euro cut. Christian, a Romanian who now has an employer contingent work permit, remembers working illegally in a restaurant close to Aguaviva as a cook: "Yes, they paid me very little. They paid me some three euros and change [an hour] … but if I had papers, they would have had to pay me more—six or seven euros, it depends" (Christian, 8/2006).

In addition to poor wages, many Romanian migrants endure long hours and tough conditions in their workplaces. Ion, who is now employed by an Argentine-owned restaurant, is on the job every day, "from Monday to Monday," working in turn as a driver, plumber, waiter and bartender (8/2006). Despite the long hours at the restaurant, he considers this current job much better than his previous work as an orange picker, where his low wages were barely sufficient to cover his portion of rent in a house he shared with thirty other agricultural laborers (Ion, 8/2006). "It's what they require [of migrants]," Aguaviva's social worker explains. "A Spaniard knows very well what his job is, what he has to do and what he doesn't have to do. But here many [employers] take advantage, you know? So a migrant works in construction … but the boss says 'Sunday swing by my house and take care of this thing for me too'" (Abel, 8/2006). Some employers cast this use of migrant labor for their personal benefit in a benevolent light. Manuel, the owner of an area construction company, claims that "When I've seen people who need money to work, to live, I've taken them on. Like I had a little shed that I was

working on. 'Start here. Put bricks here and if something happens to you, you were here just giving a friend a hand, helping him out.' But I paid him as if he were in my company … " (Manuel, 7/2006)

In discussing the "pre-contract" system, several Romanian informants reported that migrants frequently pay their employers to offer them documentation, and sometimes even take on some responsibility for the monthly contributions employers must make to the Spanish Social Security system when hiring a new, legal worker (Vasile, 8/2006; Christian, 8/2006; Ion, 8/2006). A Romanian migrant explains how this process works, especially with employers who are not inclined to legalize their work force: "Since some [employers] don't want to, it's better to go and tell them 'look, I'll pay for all the papers that have to be done. I'll pay for it. So you get me the papers and I'll take care of it' … And sometimes you have to pay each month part of the Social Security" (Christian, 8/2006). Local employers recognize that immigrants do often pay their bosses to document them. While one migrant employer claims "I have never charged anybody anything," he notes that "I know that many [employers] charge for them, and a lot of money at that. Some 3,000 euros to get them papers" (Manuel, 7/2006).

Particularly unscrupulous employers deceive vulnerable workers by asking them to relinquish their right to fair labor conditions. Aguaviva's local social worker reports that "people who don't know how to read documents are asked to sign things that they shouldn't sign. I'm talking about agreeing to wages lower than state-determined levels, or rejecting bonuses, extra payments, vacations, those

kinds of things" (Abel, 8/2006). Other employers simply bank on the ignorance of migrant employees and the lack of immigrant services available in the rural area in order to subject them to workplace conditions that violate both state and European Union standards. A particularly egregious example of this was recounted to me in a bar in Aguaviva by two Romanian men. While in a nearby town to partake in its annual patron saint festivities, they approached a pair of young Romanian women who appeared "very upset" and were trying doggedly to get cell phone coverage to contact their families (Vlad, 8/2006). When asked what was the matter, the women said they had recently been brought to the town from Romania to work in agriculture. Their work environment was very controlled, and workers had only an hour and a half each day to spend outside the fields or their employee housing. Unsatisfied with this arrangement and their poor pay, the women wanted to return to Romania, but their boss confiscated their passports to prevent their departure (Vlad, 8/2006). Although I was unable to corroborate this account, it is strikingly similar to other well-known cases of hyper-exploitation of migrant workers in Spain, reflecting employer abuse of a vulnerable migrant labor force at its most extreme[48].

[48] One similar case noted by Cornelius involved 1,500 undocumented Bulgarian migrant agricultural workers in Spain who had their passports confiscated by employers and a labor broker while payments for a heavy debt for job placement were being withheld from their wages (2004: 400). Joppke references another case of one hundred undocumented immigrant workers in the Andalusian region of Huelva—from Morocco, Ecuador, Lithuania, and Romania—who were held "like slaves" on a strawberry *finca* (2005: 125).

Conclusion

The creation of immigration policy is traditionally performed by the central-state, with sub-national levels of government resigned to either implement national legislation or develop integration initiatives within the state's framework. Aguaviva's entrance into the immigration policy-making universe is significant for precisely this reason—its community-level immigration initiative defies the traditional distance between the local and the central-state. Moreover, the municipality's approach to immigration is highly developed. By adopting the state's preferential citizenship policy Aguaviva has recruited co-ethnic Argentines and subjected them to residency requirements, a distinctive municipal immigration mechanism. When it became clear that the Argentine newcomers' Spanish citizenship interfered with their integration into heavy manual labor employment, the municipality quickly switched tactics. By reconfiguring its immigration policy to better match local labor market demand, Aguaviva partnered with employers to recruit non co-ethnic Romanians, who are prized—and abused—as a cheap, disposable, and pliable labor force. These developments sustain my argument that the community-specific immigration initiative of Aguaviva is not a simple replication of the state's citizenship and immigration framework. Instead, Aguaviva's immigration initiative is representative of a wider, local-level engagement with migration policy throughout Spain and within regions of Italy and the United States.

V.

Conclusion: Comparative Case Studies and a Typology of Local Immigration Policy

Introduction

The development of local immigration policy in Aguaviva is significant because it encroaches on the state's policy territory. Perhaps Spain, with its uniquely decentralized governance structure, is especially susceptible to the formation of immigration policy at a sub-national level (Moreno, 2001). The formation of Spanish Association of Municipalities Against Depopulation (AEMCD), an organization that encompasses 85 localities that form community-level immigration policies is a strong indicator of this phenomenon[49]. The first section of Chapter Five addresses the emergence of the AEMCD, arguing that Aguaviva's experience is not idiosyncratic but rather illustrative of a larger movement towards immigration policy-making at the sub-national level in Spain. These local immigration initiatives throughout Spain emerge as a significant response to the state's traditional monopolization of this policy arena.

The emergence of sub-national immigration policies is not unique to Spain, however. Case studies of return co-ethnic migration in Veneto, Italy, and repopulation schemes in Iowa, demonstrate that these regions have also attempted to implement local immigration policies in order to circumvent national constraints. Both examples further indicate that nation-states are not only subject to

[49] Catalonia's push to establish a distinct immigration framework in its 2006 Statute of Autonomy is another indication of the power Spain's decentralized government allows its sub-national regions (Catalonian Statute of Autonomy 2006, Title IV Article 138; BBC News, 2006).

supranational pressures "from above" but also sub-national pressures "from below." The leaders of Veneto, an industrial northeastern region of Italy, directly sponsor the "return" of Italian co-ethnics in Argentina to bolster the area's workforce and its demographic outlook. Leaders of the U.S. state of Iowa, in addition, have attempted to create a regional "immigration enterprise zone" to recruit Latino immigrant workers and strengthen the state's population and economy. My assessment of these local initiatives throughout Chapter Five will be brief because of the programs' relative novelty and my reliance on secondary sources to evaluate them. Nevertheless, the presentation of the Veneto and Iowa cases establishes that sub-national immigration policy is not isolated within Spain, contributing to my argument that the traditionally state-dominated site of immigration policy-making is shifting to include local actors.

In order to comparatively analyze the different sub-national immigration initiatives treated in this chapter, I offer a typology of the most important components of each case. While each local-level policy emerged within a context of frustration with weak state policies, for example, the case of Veneto is much more similar to Aguaviva and the AEMCD with respect to the use of co-ethnic recruitment based on *jus sanguinis* citizenship constructions. Because Iowa was limited in this extent due to the lack of central-state preferential citizenship policies in the United States, its immigration policy was framed in terms of developing the local economy and workforce. The case studies and typology that follow set the stage for future research by serving as an initial investigation of other local

immigration initiatives, while the conclusion to the study points to areas of future analysis regarding the larger significance of sub-national immigration policy-making.

Comparative Case Studies

1. Sub-National Immigration Policy in the AEMCD

Analysis of Aguaviva's local immigration plan contributes to academic understanding of how sub-national governments insert themselves into the universe of immigration policy by adopting and expanding upon the state's immigration and citizenship framework. Just as important, however, is an evaluation of the impact Aguaviva's immigration initiative has had on other rural localities that share the municipality's problematic demographic issues. Currently, there are 85 Spanish municipalities follow Aguaviva's lead by engaging in local-level immigration policy-making. In Spain, the universe of immigration policy is expanding to encompass sub-national actors, and this is especially due to Aguaviva's influence. In this way, Aguaviva's entrance into the realm of immigration policy is symbolic of a larger movement towards local-level migration management in Spain.

As Aguaviva began to receive Argentine migrants in 2000, the leaders of rural and depopulating towns nearby witnessed the municipality's sudden population growth with interest. Aguaviva's immigration scheme was appealing, especially in its readily demonstrable and fairly immediate demographic payoff. Mayor Bricio recalls that "when we started to see the Argentines here, and that this

could be good not only for our town but also for others … then eight or ten of us mayors got together and decided to form an association" (Bricio 8/2006). The Spanish Association of Municipalities Against Depopulation evolved out of this meeting, and is currently headed by Bricio, who serves as its president, and located in Aguaviva's municipal government headquarters. News of the AEMCD spread by word of mouth through an informal network of rural mayors, and today the Association incorporates a total of 85 municipalities. With populations between 1,000 and less than 200 inhabitants, these towns are located throughout the rural interiors of the Autonomous Communities of Aragón, Castilla y León, and Valencia (see Map 5.1 below). Influenced by the shared experience of depopulation, the leaders of the AEMCD municipalities adapt Aguaviva's immigration policies—recruiting both co-ethnics through Spain's preferential citizenship and non co-ethnics through collaboration with local employers— in order to implement them within their own communities.

Map 5.1: Location of AEMCD Municipalities by Autonomous Community

The Association's most important tool is its database of the applications of 233 households seeking recruitment into an AEMCD municipality (see Appendix Document 1 for application). According to the Association's secretary, most potential migrants in the database become informed about this local-level immigration intuitive through the media attention Aguaviva and the Association have received within Spain and Latin America (Gilda, 7/2006). Municipalities participating in the AEMCD adhere to Aguaviva's approach to formulating local-level immigration policy that falls within the framework of the state when selecting these migrants. Many rely on adopting the central-state's preferential *jus sanguinis* citizenship constructs to recruit Latin American immigrants of Spanish descent. The database reflect this bias: Of the 233 migrant family household heads present in the Association's database, 73 percent are eligible for dual nationality via the state's ethnic affinity policy or are already hold Spanish citizenship (Gilda,

7/2006). The leaders of AEMCD towns also mimic Aguaviva's actions of expanding upon the state's preferential framework by forming partnerships with local employers to recruit non co-ethnics through the "*pre-contrato*" immigrant work visa system. Although the AEMCD leaves contract use up to town leaders' discretion, many municipalities implement residency requirements for immigrant recruits that are based on the original Aguaviva document. In order to establish new rural immigrant destinations, the localities involved with the AEMCD develop local immigration policies based off of Aguaviva's approach of adopting and expanding upon the central-state's legal citizenship and immigration framework.

AEMCD municipalities recruit immigrants out the Association's database through selection process that includes family size, age, and employment experience. Ethnic criteria also often come into play as Mayors develop a specific profile of the family they wish to recruit and contact Gilda, the Association's secretary. She recounts how these conversations typically unfold: "'Look, there's a job opening,' local leaders say. 'I've got a house where a married couple and two children can live … we want the kids to be little so that our school stays open, and the job would be in construction, as a bricklayer'" (Gilda, 7/2006). With this information, Gilda picks through the database for a family that is an approximate match with the municipality's requirements and sends their contact information directly to the interested mayor. Gilda, herself an Argentine migrant, adds that "sometimes we ask for a family photo too. Because … well, since immigrants are arriving, and since they [AEMCD mayors] aren't used to receiving people from the

outside, they focus a lot—just like we all do, right?—on skin color" (Gilda, 7/2006).

Ethnicity is of clear importance to municipal leaders involved in the AEMCD: Representing almost 72 percent of all the recruits selected by participating municipalities, Latin Americans are the Association's most highly desired immigrant group (see Table 5.1 below). Because each municipality sets up its own guidelines within the Association's basic framework, not all mayors require migrant applicants to submit photos. Nonetheless, this practice has become more frequent after an incident in Foz-Calanda, an AEMCD town of 297 inhabitants about twenty minutes from Aguaviva (National Statistics Institute). There, the arrival of a family of particularly dark-skinned Argentine recruits took the town by surprise. "It's not like they were black," recounts Gilda, "and they weren't Moroccan! But it made the process more difficult" (Gilda, 7/2006). This clear acknowledgement of the role of race in immigrant selection shows that the AEMCD municipalities ethnically engineer their immigration initiatives just as Aguaviva targeted putatively compatible national origins groups for its repopulation purposes. While the local-level immigration policies of Aguaviva are certainly small scale, the municipality's actions have widely influenced other rural towns throughout Spain's interior.

Table 5.1: Recruits to AEMCD Municipalities per National Origin

National Origin	# Families	# Individuals (approximation based on requirement of 2 child minimum per couple)	% total recruited individuals
Argentine	43	172	55.1%
Spanish[50]	14	56	17.9
Uruguayan	7	28	9.0
Romanian	7	28	9.0
Chilean	3	12	3.8
Columbian	2	8	2.5
Ecuadorian	1	4	1.3
Russian	1	4	1.3
TOTAL	**78**	**312**	**100%**

Source: July 2006 interview with AEMCD Secretary.

2. Sub-National Immigration Policy in Veneto, Italy

The local immigration policy of Veneto, a region of Italy dominated by the Catholic Church and the conservative, right-wing Northern League, was born out of efforts to integrate current immigrants in the area (Calavita, 2005: 86). Throughout the 1990s, the foreign-born population in Veneto grew rapidly from 25,000 to 140,000 (Israely, 2003: 2). By mid-2002, over 27 percent of new hires were non-EU immigrants (Calavita, 2005: 88). With the third largest number of immigrants of all Italian regions and a vibrant industrial labor market, Veneto formed a regional roundtable on immigration in 2001 that sought to achieve "the civil insertion of non-EU immigrants in workplaces and in the regional economy" (Calavita, 2005: 88). This regional approach was largely due to the Italian state's Turco-Napolitano Law of 1998, which downshifts the task of developing broad

[50] This category reflects native Spaniards in urban areas who seek relocation to rural Spain in collaboration with AEMCD.

immigrant integration policies to the local level (Calavita, 2005: 78-79). The roundtable's efforts were not entirely based on integration, however. Also listed as one of its goals was an unorthodox reference to "the promotion of the return to Italy of Italian and Venetian emigrants and their descendants" (Calavita, 2005: 88-89). This provision, insisted upon by representatives of the Northern League as a condition of their participation in the roundtable (Calavita, 2005: 88), has become the foundation for the local immigration policy that the region of Veneto and its Padova province currently implement[51] (see Map 5.2 below). In this case, local level integration policies evolved into community-specific immigration policies.

Map 5.2: Location of Italy's Veneto Region and Padova Province

[51] While the Northern League's promotion of immigration may seem at odds with its right-wing stance, it is important to note that this political party supports only the "return migration" of descendants of past Italian emigrants, and not the immigration of non co-ethnics, especially those who are Muslim or of African origin. Spain's conservative Popular Party also supports ethnic affinity migration policies (Joppke 2005), and a regional branch of the PP provided Aguaviva the funding necessary to facilitate its local co-ethnic immigration policy.

Today the return of Italian emigrants and their descendants is a top priority for Veneto. The region has designed a sub-national immigration policy to facilitate it: the *Progetto Rientro Emigrati*, or Project Return Emigration, directly recruits Argentines and Chileans of Italian descent (Calavita 2005: 91, Project Return website, 2007). An existing Veneto regional office in Cordova—established because of the large past Venetan emigration there—serves as this local immigration policy's headquarters in Argentina, while another office in Santiago manages the Chilean side of the program (Province of Padova website). This 1.5 million Euro initiative, paid for both by Veneto's regional funds and the central government's Ministry of Labor and Social Policy, offers migrants of Italian descent air transport, an employment contract, wage integration, six months' accommodation, and Italian language and history lessons (Israely, 2003: 1; Campani and De Bonis, 2003: 32; Project Return website, 2007). Veneto began to implement its local immigration policy in September 2001 (Project Return website, 2007), and quickly garnered the attention of some 8,000 people of Italian descent in Argentina and Chile who are included in the Project's database (Israely, 2003: 2). Since 2001, this sub-national immigration policy has facilitated the migration of approximately 350 immigrants of Italian origin, and in 2004 it was extended indefinitely beyond its initial three year experimental phase (Clarin.com, 2004).

While the program's application requests education and family information, the main criterion for admission into Project Return is having Italian descent (see Appendix Document 2). Italy's *jus sanguinis*, or right of blood citizenship

construct, was established in 1865, and today it works to give those descended from emigrants the right to claim Italian citizenship, which allows for their "return" to Italy. In this way, Veneto's immigration policy functions like Aguaviva's—it adopts the central-state's citizenship preferences in order to facilitate the migration of co-ethnics. Finding Latin Americans of Italian descent is not altogether difficult: Veneto's province of Padova claims that there are 537,311 individuals of Italian descent in Argentina and 31,519 in Chile (Province of Padova website, 2007). By basing its local immigration policy within the central-state's legislative framework, Veneto is able to develop its own regional policy approach to an issue that is traditionally controlled at the state level.

In that it encourages ethnic affinity migration, the immigration project in Veneto makes an assumption similar to that made by local politicians in Aguaviva: despite many decades or even generations of absence, Argentines of Italian or Spanish descent share cultural heritage with natives of Italy or Spain today. Rhetoric about the advantages of recruiting co-ethnic migrants is integral to Vento's immigration policy; it invokes a shared "cultural identity" that allows immigrants of Italian origin to "return to a land where they will quickly assimilate to the language, habits, and customs" (Province of Padova website). Focusing on the putative similarities between co-ethnics and native Italians masks the fear of "cultural contamination"—most strongly associated with African and Muslim

migration—behind Veneto's ethnic affinity campaign[52] (Calavita, 2005: 149). Regional leaders' decision to adopt the Italian state's citizenship preferences makes the implementation of Veneto's sub-national immigration policy legally possible, but its legitimacy lies with a racialized association of an intrinsic culture between putatively similar ethnic groups (Calavita, 2005: 148).

The principal focus of Aguaviva and the AEMCD municipalities' immigration policy is repopulation, although the plan also harnesses the local labor market's demand for migrant workers in an effort to create sustained settlement. While Veneto's birthrate is slightly higher than the rock bottom Italian average of 1.2 (National Institute of Statistics, 2007), the region's immigration policy revolves more around addressing labor shortages than this demographic slump[53]. Based on a bustling industrial sector, Veneto's labor market is extremely tight, with annual quotas for migrant workers filled within days of their allotment (Calavita, 2005: 88). The availability of relatively high paying manufacturing jobs in Veneto—the take home pay for most co-ethnics in Project Return is around 1,100 euros a month—is attractive to co-ethnic migrants in a way that Aguaviva's more limited labor market cannot equal (Israely, 2003: 2). The Electrolux-Zanussi refrigerator plant in northwest Veneto, Italy's largest private employer after Fiat and a full partner in Project Return, is the primary recipient of incoming co-ethnic workers; in 2004, the company reserved more than 150 permanent positions for awaiting

[52] Employers of co-ethnic migrants in Veneto also highlight the advantages of hiring immigrants of Italian descent: "They've integrated into the factory very quickly," says a personnel manager. "You see it in their DNA—they're Italian" (citied in Israely, 2003: 2).
[53] Italy's birthrate, well below the 2.1 fertility rate necessary to replace current population, shares with Spain the distinction of being among lowest in Europe (Fuller, 2002: 6).

Argentine immigrants[54] (Israely, 2003: 2). According to a Veneto City Council member, Project Return functions to "satisfy" the "requirements of the labor market" (Raffaele Zanon, cited in News Italia Press, 2003: 1). Thus far, Veneto's immigration policy has succeeded in keeping its co-ethnic recruits in the region without the sort of contractual residency requirements established in Aguaviva and AEMCD municipalities. Argentines of Italian descent are by in large not exiting Veneto in search of better opportunities elsewhere in Italy because the region's labor market offers them relatively high paying jobs in industry, and not the less attractive and lower paid heavy manual labor available to migrants in Aguaviva.

3. Sub-national Immigration Policy in Iowa, USA

Iowa, a Midwest state in the United State's rural interior, based its approach to regional immigration policy on demographic concerns (see Map 5.3 below). For years the state has been losing young people—over 60 percent of college students leave Iowa after graduation (Tomaka, 2000: 1). This exodus intensified in the 1980s during the national farm crisis, when 200,000 Iowans relocated out of state (Clairborne, 2001: 1). This internal rural-urban migration, similar to that of Aguaviva, is complicated by Iowa's rapidly aging population: The state ranks second in the nation in the percentage of individuals over the age of 85 and fourth in percentage of residents age 65 and older (Center on Aging, 2006). In 1999, Iowa's Democratic Governor Tom Vilsack formed a bi-partisan Strategic Planning

[54] When Project Return began to function in Argentina and Chile in 2001, Electrolux-Zanussi was in serious need of labor due to ongoing strikes in its Italian plants, which gave the company a special incentive to participate in the region's co-ethnic immigration policy (Casini, 2001: 1).

Council dubbed the "Iowa 2010 Commission," and charged it with investigating solutions for the state's population and workforce shortage. The planning council's 2000 report estimated that 310,000 new workers would be needed within the following ten years to replace retiring workers (Oman and Brandsgard, 2000: 9). The report recommended achieving this goal by facilitating the return of native Iowans, encouraging young people to remain in Iowa after completing school, and, most significantly for my analysis, recruiting immigrants to the state (Oman and Brandsgard, 2000: 10). This last proposal—the facilitation of migration to Iowa—formed the basis of the state's attempt to establish sub-national immigration policy.

Map 5.3: Location of Iowa, USA

With such a large number of desired immigrants, Governor Vilsack embraced the planning council's idea of creating an "immigration enterprise zone" within the state of Iowa to recruit foreign workers. This proposal required seeking exemption from the United States' federal limits on incoming migrant flows in order to implement a local immigration policy in Iowa that would increase population and strengthen the local economy (Rural Migration News, 2000: 1;

Tomaka, 2000: 1; Claiborne, 2001: 1). Because the US practices *jus soli*, or a framework of birthright citizenship, Vilsack could not rely on recruiting immigrants through preferential ethnic affinity citizenship policy, as do the leaders of Aguaviva, AEMCD municipalities, and Veneto. Instead, he attempted to work outside of the central-state's framework in order to facilitate migration. Iowa Senator Neal Schuerer, a Republican who served on the strategic council, explained the Governor's unorthodox initiative this way: "What we're hoping to do is work through the Immigration and Naturalization Service for some special considerations. Immigration enterprise zones would allow us to cut through the red tape of the INS" (citied in Tomaka, 2000: 1).

The details of these "special considerations" are fuzzy, because Iowa's immigration plan was never launched. Nevertheless, it is clear that establishing an "immigration enterprise zone" in Iowa required an exemption from national immigration policy, which would have allowed the state to circumvent U.S. immigration controls in order to foment incoming migration flows. This individualized sub-national approach to immigration did not fall under the central-state's legislative framework, which establishes common immigration policy across the nation. In contrast to the decentralized nature of the current Spanish and Italian political systems, the highly centralized U.S. government affords the local level less of a context for action[55]. Iowa's local immigration policy lacked legality, which opened it up to a level of controversy not present in AEMCD municipalities

[55] Udo Bullman (1997) classifies the political systems of Spain and Italy as "regionalized unitary states" with an elected tier of regional government, wide-ranging autonomy, and legislative powers. For more on the state structure of Spain, see Morata 1995. For Italy, see Desideri 1995.

or Veneto, who recruit co-ethnics and other "desirable" immigrants through the central-states' citizenship and immigration constructions. Mark Krikorian of the Center for Immigration Studies, a research center that promotes stricter immigration standards and enforcement, criticized Vilsack's "enterprise zones" in just these terms when he referred to the "legal impossibility of state-specific immigration rules"[56] (2001: 1).

Vilsack's plan for a special Iowa-specific dispensation from existing federal immigration laws was especially intended to accelerate the arrival of Mexican-dominant Latino immigration flows (Drummond, 2001: 46). The initiative's target Latino population contributed to the obstacles the sub-national policy came up against. National media coverage drew attention to Iowa's plan, and it quickly became targeted by anti-immigrant groups like the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) and Project USA (Claiborne, 2001: 1). These groups' efforts to generate a backlash over Vilsack's sub-national immigration policy, and especially its anticipated recruitment of Latino immigrants, were racially-tinged, centering on increased crime, drug trafficking, and social problems, reduced standards of living, fear of native job loss, and lack of Latino assimilation (Drummond, 2001: 2; Claiborne, 2001: 1). The local policy's inability to tap into preferential ethnic affinity policies of the central-state crippled it not only in terms of legality, but also in terms of legitimacy on the ground. Unlike the AEMCD municipalities and Veneto, Iowa's leaders could not couch their sub-national

[56] The United States' 1787 Constitution delegates the power of "international competence" to the federal government, although it contains no concurrent list dividing federal and state powers (Kincaid, 1999: 11).

initiative in the glowing rhetoric of co-ethnic return, which added to significant opposition to the proposal[57].

Restricted by a lack of putative ethnic affinity between Iowa natives and the Latino immigrants Vilsack sought to recruit, the Governor framed his local approach to immigration policy-making in terms of the "need for greater development of the workforce" (cited in Claiborne, 2001: 3). Iowa's 2.2 percent unemployment rate in 2000—the nation's lowest—certainly gave the state a short supply of workers to meet labor market demands (Tomaka, 2000: 1). While the immigration system of the United States favors skilled migrants, the restructuring of Iowa's political economy coupled with the emergence of a multi-national agri-business sector contributed to a need for low-wage, low-skilled immigrant labor. Within the past 15 to 20 years, workers in the meatpacking industry have transformed from a unionized workforce earning upwards of $18 per hour to a non-unionized workforce with a high concentration of immigrant labor that makes around $6 an hour (Barboza, 2001). In the height of criticism against the Vilsack administration for its plan to recruit immigrants to Iowa, FAIR charged that the Strategic Planning Council was being manipulated by the meatpacking industry to get additional employees (Rural Migration News, 2000: 1). While these allegations are uncorroborated, Iowa's leaders certainly took labor market dynamics into consideration when crafting sub-national immigration policy.

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[57] A 2000 Iowa poll found that 58 percent of Iowans opposed Vilsack's local initiative to recruit immigrants while 34 percent approved of the policy. These results are interesting in light of the fact that the majority of those polled agreed that foreign workers do not replace native Iowans: 59 percent believed that immigrants fill jobs that would otherwise remain vacant, while 32 percent held that immigrants take native-born American jobs (Rural Migration News, 2000: 1).

Over time and under intense scrutiny, Vilsack's administration quietly backed away from its sub-national immigration policy proposal, dropping its support of the "immigration enterprise zones" set out by the Strategic Planning Council. It is worthy to note that some aspects of the plan were successfully implemented, such as the establishment of the "New Iowan Welcome Centers"—referral agencies providing adult education, job placement assistance, and social services—along with other small-scale initiatives focused on the integration of immigrants already in the state (New Iowans Center website, 2007). Nevertheless, due to his bid for re-election, Vilsack was eager to distance himself from his previous endorsement of the unpopular state-specific immigration policy. In 2002, Vilsack signed a bill into law that declared English to be Iowa's official language, effectively abandoning his previous sub-national efforts to recruit immigrants to the state (Pfeiffer, 2007: 1).

A Typology of Local Immigration Policies

Local-level migration policies in Aguaviva, the AEMCD municipalities, Veneto, and Iowa have several commonalities that can be organized to form a typology of this emergent trend (see Table 5.2 below). These policies develop as sub-national policy makers struggle to meet their communities' demographic and economic needs within the context of communities characterized by low birth rates and rapidly ageing populations. Although their robust economies drive immigration, central-states' prevailing immigration policy instruments generally do

not allow for adequate legal flows of unskilled migrants to meet demand. In all of these cases, central-states neglect to sufficiently target the demographic and labor needs on the ground. Throughout Aguaviva, the AEMCD municipalities, Veneto, and Iowa national neglect of local issues, especially in terms of depopulation and inadequate labor supply, has served as an impetus for the emergence of sub-national immigration policy.

The legality of sub-national efforts to establish immigration policy depends on their fit with the central-state's immigration and citizenship constructs. In Aguaviva and the AEMCD municipalities, legality has been achieved both by tapping Spain's *jus sanguinis* citizenship construct in order to facilitate the migration of Spanish-descent Argentines and by partnering with local employers to offer non co-ethnics work visas. The local leaders of Veneto similarly have adopted the Italian state's descent-based citizenship policy to recruit co-ethnic Argentines and Chileans. By contrast, the case of Iowa illustrates what happens when local-level immigration policy is framed outside of the established legal constructs of the state. Because the United States' *jus soli* citizenship cannot be used to facilitate ethnic migration, Iowa's leaders attempted to create an "immigration enterprise zone" that required special dispensation from existing federal immigration laws. This fundamental aspect of Iowa's immigration policy was clearly outside of the state's framework. For this reason it was quickly dropped, at which point the attempt at sub-national immigration policy-making turned into a migrant integration program.

While the legality of local-level immigration policies is based upon their match with the state's existing framework, their legitimacy on the ground often revolves around the facilitation and feasibility of co-ethnic migration. In a move to provide for local needs by deliberately tapping into the hot-button issue of immigration, the turn to migrants who are perceived to share ethnicity with the dominant majority of the receiving country—such Spain's *comunidad hispánica* and Italy's immigrant diaspora—is tempting for sub-national policy makers eager to embrace co-ethnics in order to avoid the appearance of disrupting established social order. Thus the AEMCD municipalities currently recruit co-ethnic migrants of Spanish descent while the Veneto region of Italy promotes itself as a destination for immigrants of Italian origin. The sub-national immigration policies of these localities rely on the rhetoric of emigrants' "return" to emphasize the ethnic affinity of recruited newcomers. Aguaviva's Bricio talks about the municipality's policy "facilitate[ing] the return of emigrants' descendants" (Bricio, 8/2006), while Veneto's Project Return speaks of "Italian-descent young people who wish to return to Italy, the land of their parents and grandparents" (Project Return website, 2007). In contrast, Iowa's focus on the recruitment of Latino migrants heightened a anti-immigration public backlash, contributing to the failure of the plan when it clashed with federal immigration law.

Another key component of the sub-national immigration policies emerging throughout Spain, Italy, and the United States is their attempt to respond to the local labor market's demand for migrant workers. Although most formal

immigrant admissions in developed countries are "skewed strongly towards better-educated and skilled foreigners," the demand for unskilled labor especially prevalent throughout Southern Europe and the United States influences the formation of local-level immigration policies (Papademetrios and O'Neil, 2006: 228). Because co-ethnics do not always integrate well into the 3D jobs available in Aguaviva and other AEMCD municipalities with limited labor markets, Spanish localities tightly embrace them with residency requirements and develop partnerships with area employers. These collaborations allow municipalities to facilitate more flexible, non co-ethnic immigration by directly matching migrants with local employers, whose access to the state's immigrant work visa system allows legal migration to occur[58]. The local immigration policy of Veneto also attends to labor market demand. As one of Europe's most productive industrial regions, Veneto's employment opportunities are diverse enough to attract and retain co-ethnic migrant labor. After these immigrants are pre-selected, factory owners have direct access to a database of applicants and, with the help of Veneto's local leaders, seek to match employment openings with co-ethnic Argentines and Chileans (Casini, 2001: 1). While Iowa's local immigration policy was never fully developed, it also responded regional labor market dynamics, especially the demand for meatpacking workers. Given that the immigrants' socio-economic integration largely depends on a match between their qualifications and receiving communities' labor market needs (Münz and Straubhaar, 2006: 150-151),

[58] The potential for a problematic introduction of immigrants who lack ethnic affinity is avoided because racially similar Romanians, who are "white like us," are these recruitments' principal target (Pascual, 7/2006).

addressing labor market considerations in sub-national immigration policy can also serve a demographic end.

Table 5.2: A Typology of Local Immigration Policies

Components	AEMCD	Veneto	Iowa
Negative perception of state policies	*Yes*: especially in terms of depopulation issue	*Yes*: especially in terms of workforce shortage	*Yes*: especially in terms of depopulation issue and workforce shortage
Utilization of state's framework to meet local needs	*Yes*: adopts state's *jus sanguinis* citizenship to facilitate migration *Yes*: works with employers and under state's immigration policy to tap immigrant work visas	*Yes*: adopts state's *jus sanguinis* citizenship to facilitate migration	*No*: sought exemption from federal immigration laws to recruit migrants into an "immigration enterprise zone"
Co-ethnic recruitment	*Yes*: co-ethnic Argentines recruited through *jus sanguinis* citizenship *No*: non co-ethnic Romanians also recruited through partnerships with employers	*Yes*: co-ethnic Argentines and Chileans recruited through *jus sanguinis* citizenship	*No*: planned to recruit Latin American immigrants, specifically Mexicans
Attendance to labor market demands	*Yes*: forms partnerships with area employers to give flexible non co-ethnics work visas and fill jobs in gravel pit and construction	*Yes*: forms partnerships with local employers to channel co-ethnics into wide manufacturing industry, especially refrigerator plant	*Yes*: migrants were to be channeled into meatpacking industry
Use of contractual residency requirements	*Yes*: contract requires 5 years of residency; AEMCD municipalities vary in their applications of contracts	*No*: residency requirements not included or not publicly acknowledged in local policy	*No*: residency requirements not included or not publicly acknowledged in local policy

Conclusion

What is the significance of local governments' growing involvement in immigration policy? This study has argued that sub-national actors are indeed engaging in fully-developed, community-specific immigration policy. In an effort to manage social change in their localities, local leaders have developed striking initiatives: They adopt the citizenship policies of the state, implement municipal mechanisms of embrace, and partner with non-government actors to match migrant recruits with local labor market demands. I offer my thoughts on the larger meaning of local-level immigration initiatives here as a way to conclude the study by pointing to areas of future research.

Understanding the expanding arena of immigration policy-making poses questions about the meaning of concepts fundamental to the state system, such as the relationships between different levels of government actors within the nation-state (Hocking, 1999: 18). The creation of immigration policy at the local level crosses divisions imposed by traditional conceptions of the nation-state, wherein the state is the sovereign arbiter of territorial entry. Scholars who assert the continuing importance of the nation-state may argue that Aguaviva's community-specific immigration initiative is simply an anomaly, a rare deviation from continued central-state dominance over immigration policy (Hollifield, 2000; Joppke, 1998; Alienikoff, 2003). But case studies of sub-national immigration policies throughout Spain and in Veneto, Italy and the U.S. state of Iowa demonstrate that the shift in the site of immigration policy-making is not isolated to

one small, rural municipality but part of a larger phenomenon. Postnational or globalist scholars concerned with supranational rights norms constraining states would perhaps argue the widespread emergence of local-level immigration policy as an additional, novel indication of a weakened nation-state in slow decline (Soysal, 1994; Jacobson, 1996; Ohmae, 1999).

This study works to show that the local is emerging as an important new arena of immigration policy-making. While this issue has been analyzed in terms of the externalization of immigration policy, little scholarly attention has been paid to the internalization of immigration policy within the modern nation-state. Although the emergence of local immigration policy indicates that the nation-state's grip on the issue has loosened, the power behind immigration policy-making still lies predominantly with nation-states and, to a somewhat lesser extent, the supranational institutions they freely join. State structures determine sub-national immigration policies' degree of success. Indeed, one of the most important dimensions of the local immigration initiatives presented throughout this study is that they must be framed within the limits of the state's legal constructs in order to survive.

The analysis of the implications of local-level immigration policies should not simply focus on the boundaries separating different levels of government actors, however. This line of study also lends itself to an examination of the linkages that bind the leaders of the central-state and sub-national communities together within the context of immigration policy (Hocking, 1999: 17). Rather than

assuming the dominance of any one level of government over this issue, future research may reveal aspects of mutual dependence and common interests between the local and the central-state within immigration policy. As sub-national governments create immigration initiatives to meet their own priorities, the local-level's specific demographic and labor needs may become more relevant to the immigration policy choices made by the central-state.

Appendix

Appendix Photo 1: Shop window in Aguaviva

Appendix Photo 2: The train station of Teruel

Appendix Photo 3: Abandoned structures in Aguaviva

Appendix Photo 4: Abandoned house in Aguaviva

Appendix Photo 5: Entrance to Aguaviva. Inset plaque proclaims the sister city relationship between Aguaviva and Ciudad de Todos los Santos, Argentina

Appendix Photo 6: Aguaviva's gravel industry

Appendix Photo 7: Aguaviva's construction industry (worker is a Romanian migrant)

Appendix Document 1: Immigrant Application for the Spanish Association of Municipalities Against Depopulation (AEMCD)

Solicitud de Ingreso de Familias

Por favor rellene los siguientes datos con el mayor detalle posible. Para cualquier consulta, no dude en ponerse en contacto con nosotros.

DATOS DEL PADRE

Nombre:

Apellidos:

Fecha Nacimiento:

(dd/mm/aaaa)

Nacionalidad 1:

Nacionalidad 2:

Permiso de Trabajo y Residencia:

Tipo:

Cuenta Ajena

Seleccione Tipo

Cuenta Propia

Seleccione Tipo

Otros:

Ambito:

Actividad:

Válido hasta:

(dd/mm/aaaa - Ejemplo: 25/10/2004)

Estado Civil:

Seleccione Estado

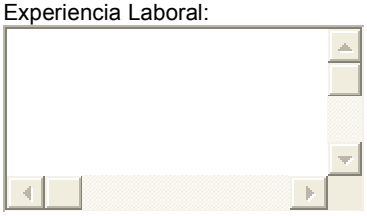
Carnét Conducir (sólo ESPAÑOL):

No

Tipo Carnét:

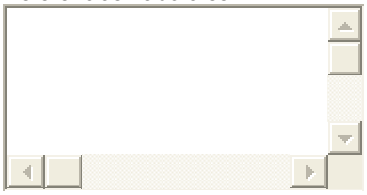
Appendix Document 1: Continued

Experiencia Laboral:



Trabajo Actual:

Referencias Laborales:



Nro. D.N.I. / N.I.E:

Válido Hasta (dd/mm/aaaa):

DATOS DE LA MADRE

Nombre:

Apellidos:

Fecha Nacimiento:

(dd/mm/aaaa)

Nacionalidad 1:

Nacionalidad 2:

Permiso de Trabajo y Residencia:

Tipo:

Cuenta Ajena

Seleccione Tipo

Cuenta Propia

Seleccione Tipo

Otros:

Ambito:

Actividad:

Válido hasta:

Appendix Document 1: Continued

(dd/mm/aaaa - Ejemplo: 25/10/2004)
Estado Civil:
Carnét Conducir (sólo ESPAÑOL):
No
Tipo Carnét:
Seleccione Estado
Experiencia Laboral:
Trabajo Actual:
Referencias Laborales:
Nro. D.N.I. / N.I.E:
Válido Hasta (dd/mm/aaaa):

HIJOS
Por cada hijo, debe indicar:

- Nombre y Apellidos
- Fecha de Nacimiento
- Indicar si se encuentra o no en España

VIVIENDA / DOMICILIO ACTUAL
Su vivienda actual es en:

Alquiler

Propiedad

Vive en este domicilio desde (mm/aaaa):

Appendix Document 1: Continued

DATOS DE CONTACTO

Calle:

Código Postal:

Población:

Provincia:

País:

Teléfono:

Dirección Correo Electrónico (e-mail):

OBSERVACIONES

Observaciones:

Appendix Document 2: Immigrant Application for Veneto's Project Return

Provincia de Padova	***Ufficio Rientro Emigrati*** Oficina de Retorno de Emigrantes	Región de Veneto

Data d'inserimento/*Fecha de entrega*:_____ Operatore/*Operador*: _____

1.* Dati anagrafici/*Datos anagráficos

Cognome *Apellidos*		Nome *Nombre*		Foto
Data di nascita *Fecha de nacimiento*		Luogo di nascita *Lugar de nacimiento*		
Residenza in *Residencia en*	☐ Argentina ☐ Chile	Comune* iscrizione AIRE (Anagrafe degli Italiani Residenti all'Estero) in Italia. *Comuna* inscripción AIRE Registro de Italianos Residentes en el Exterior en Italia.* …… Cuando se obtiene la ciudadanía italiana, el certificado de nacimiento viene transmitido en Italia, para la inscripción en el registro. En que ayuntamiento italiano ha sido transmitido su certificado de nacimiento?		
Indirizzo *Dirección*		N° passaporto italiano *N° pasaporte italiano*		
Telefono *Teléfono*		E-mail:		
Sesso *Sexo*	☐ M ☐ F	Cittadinanza Ciudadanía		
Stato civile *Estado civil*	☐ celibe/nubile *soltero a* ☐ coniugato/a *casado a* ☐ divorziato/a *divorciado a* ☐ separato/a *separado a* ☐ vedovo/a *viudo a*			
Servizio militare *Servicio militar*	☐ realizado en el Exterior ☐ realizado en Italia ☐ NO realizado ☐ en curso ☐ Exento			
Codice fiscale italiano *Código fiscal italiano*	☐☐☐ ☐☐☐ ☐☐☐☐☐ ☐ ☐☐☐☐			
Nucleo famigliare *Núcleo familiar*	Numero componenti/*Número de componentes:*		Numero occupati/*Número trabajadores*:	

Ha familiari che possono garantire il soggiorno in Italia? Presso quale indirizzo (indicare anche il recapito telefonico) *Tiene familiares que pueden garantizar su estancia en Italia? Indicar dirección y teléfono.*

☐ Si ☐ No

……

Eventuale altro indirizzo in Italia/*Indicar otra dirección en Italia*: ……

Appendix Document 2: Continued

2. Stato occupazionale ***Estado de trabajo***

E' alla ricerca di impiego? Está buscando trabajo?	☐ Si ☐ No
Attuale stato di occupazione ***Actual estado de trabajo***	☐ Senza occupazione alcuna / *Sin ocupación alguna* ☐ Impegnato in brevi collaborazioni o piccoli lavori / *Trabajador temporal* ☐ Lavoratore dipendente a tempo pieno / *Trabajador dependiente a jornada completa* ☐ Lavoratore dipendente part time / Trabajador dependiente a media jornada (HORAS SEMANALES: _____) ☐ Lavoratore autonomo (artigiano o commerciante) *Trabajador autónomo (artesano o comerciante)* ☐ Collaboratore professionale / *Trabajador hasta fin de actividad* ☐ Studente / Estudiante

3a.* Curriculum scolastico: titoli di studio / *Curriculum escolar: títulos de estudio

Principale titolo di studio *Principal título de estudio*		
Anno di conseguimento *Año de finalización*		Votazione *Promedio*
Presso l'Istituto/Università *Realizado en Instituto Universidad*		
Eventuale titolo di tesi *Posible título de tesis*		
Secondo titolo di studio *Segundo título de estudio*		
Anno di conseguimento *Año de finalización*		Votazione *Promedio*
Presso l'Istituto / *Realizado en Instituto*		
Frequenza scolastica non completata *Frecuencia escolar no completada*	☐ Università / *Universidad* ☐ Diploma Facoltà o scuola */facultad o tipo de instituto:*	
Dichiarazione di valore del Consolato *Declaración de valores del Consulado*	☐ Si ☐ No	
Omologato in Italia *Homologado en Italia*	☐ Si ☐ No	

3b.* Curriculum Scolastico: ulteriore formazione / *Curriculum Escolar: formación extraordinaria

Ente/*instituto*	Anno/Año
Titolo/*Título*	Durata/Duración
Ente/*instituto*	Anno/Año
Titolo/*Título*	Durata/Duración
Altre abilitazioni o patentini */Otras capacitaciones:*	

Appendix Document 2: Continued

4a. Conoscenza lingue / *Conocimientos de idiomas*

Indicare il livello di conoscenza secondo i seguenti valori: ℵ Scolastico, ℑ Discreto, ℜ Buono, ℘ Fluente
Indicar el nivel de conocimiento según los siguientes valores: ℵ Escolar, ℑ Medio, ℜ Bueno, ℘ muy bueno

ITALIANO	Letto/*Leído* ℵ ℑ ℜ ℘ Scritto/*Escrito* ℵ ℑ ℜ ℘ Parlato/*Hablado* ℵ ℑ ℜ ℘
Dove ha imparato questa lingua? *Dónde has aprendido este idioma?* :	
INGLESE *INGLES*	Letto/*Leído* ℵ ℑ ℜ ℘ Scritto/*Escrito* ℵ ℑ ℜ ℘ Parlato/*Hablado* ℵ ℑ ℜ ℘
Dove ha imparato questa lingua? *Dónde has aprendido este idioma?* :	
SPAGNOLO ESPAÑOL	Letto/*Leído* ℵ ℑ ℜ ℘ Scritto/*Escrito* ℵ ℑ ℜ ℘ Parlato/*Hablado* ℵ ℑ ℜ ℘
Dove ha imparato questa lingua? *Dónde has aprendido este idioma?* :	
Altre OTROS:	Letto/*Leído* ℵ ℑ ℜ ℘ Scritto/*Escrito* ℵ ℑ ℜ ℘ Parlato/*Hablado* ℵ ℑ ℜ ℘
Dove ha imparato questa lingua?*Dónde has aprendido este idioma?* :	

4b. Conoscenze informatiche / *Conocimientos de informática*

Videoscrittura (es. Word) Specificare quali…… *Videoescritura (ej. Word)* *Especificar cuales*……	☐ Si ☐ No	Conoscenza / *Conocimientos*: ☐ base / básico ☐ discreto / *medio* ☐ esperto / *experto*
Foglio elettronico (es. Excel) Specificare quali…… *Hoja de cálculo (es. Excel)* *Especificar cuales*……	☐ Si ☐ No	Conoscenza / *Conocimientos*: ☐ base / básico ☐ discreto / *medio* ☐ esperto / *experto*
Altro (internet, e-mail. ecc) Specificare quali…… *Otros (internet, e-mail. ecc)* *Especificar cuales*……		

4c. Patente di guida / *Carnet de conducir*

Patente di guida ***Carnet de conducir***	☐ A ☐ B ☐ C ☐ D ☐ E ☐ K_____ Secondo la legge italiana le categorie sono suddivise nel seguente modo / *Según la ley italiana las categorías están divididas de esta manera:* A = Motoveicoli di massa complessiva fino a t.1,3 B = Motoveicoli(esclusi i motocicli), Autoveicoli di massa complessiva fino a t.3,5 e con numero di posti a sedere escluso quello del conducente) non superiore a 8. C = Autoveicoli di massa complessiva a pieno carico superiore a t.3,5 D = Autobus ed altri Autoveicoli destinati al trasporto di persone il cui numero di posti a sedere (escluso quello del conducente) sia superiore a 8.

Appendix Document 2: Continued

	richiesta la patente delle categorie B, C e D quando trainano un rimorchio la cui massa complessiva a pieno carico sia superiore t.0,75. K = è un'abilitazione che va associata alle patenti B o D: la BK è necessaria per la guida di mezzi di soccorso, la DK per il trasporto pubblico di persone su autobus e corriere **E' importante ricordare quanto disposto dall'Art. 135, comma 1, del nuovo Codice della Strada:** ***'I conducenti muniti di patente di guida internazionale rilasciati da uno Stato estero possono guidare in Italia veicoli per i quali è valida la loro patente o il loro permesso di guida, purché non siano residenti in Italia da oltre un anno'*** **Es muy importante recordar que el art. 135, inciso 1, del nuevo Código :** Los conductores con carnet de conducir internacional obtenido en el Exterior pueden conducir en Italia vehículos por los cuales es válido el carnet de conducir o el permiso de conducir en el caso que no sean residentes en Italia más de un año.
Disponibilità mezzo proprio *Disponibilidad vehículo propio*	☐ Si ☐ No
Valida in Italia / *Válido en Italia*	☐ Si ☐ No

5. Curriculum professionale: Ultima o attuale esperienza lavorativa
Curriculum profesional: Ultima o actual experiencia de trabajo

La descrizione del profilo professionale deve riportare:
- nome e tipo di azienda
- il proprio incarico all'interno dell'azienda
- descrizione dettagliata delle mansioni svolte (tipo di lavoro, attrezzature utilizzate, ecc.)

El perfil en síntesis:
- nombre y actividad de la empresa
- su cargo en la empresa
- descripción muy detallada de la actividad desarrollada (trabajo de grupo o individual, maquinarias y utensilios utilizados,…)

Iniziata il / Iniciado el:		Terminata il (se non più occupati) *Terminado el:*		
Profilo dettagliato delle competenze e mansioni svolte *Perfil detallado del trabajo realizado*				
N° dipendenti *N° trabajadores*	☐ 1-15	☐ 16-50	☐ 51-250	☐ >250

Experiencia precedente
1.

Iniziata il / Iniciado el:	Terminata il (se non più occupati) *Terminado el:*
Profilo dettagliato delle competenze e mansioni svolte *Perfil detallado del trabajo realizado*	

Appendix Document 2: Continued

N° dipendenti *N° trabajadores*	☐ 1-15	☐ 16-50	☐ 51-250	☐ >250

2.

Iniziata il / Iniciado el:	Terminata il (se non più occupati) *Terminado el:*
Profilo dettagliato delle competenze e mansioni svolte *Perfil detallado del trabajo realizado*	

N° dipendenti *N° trabajadores*	☐ 1-15	☐ 16-50	☐ 51-250	☐ >250

3.

Iniziata il / Iniciado el:	Terminata il (se non più occupati) *Terminado el:*
Profilo dettagliato delle competenze e mansioni svolte *Perfil detallado del trabajo realizado*	

N° dipendenti *N° trabajadores*	☐ 1-15	☐ 16-50	☐ 51-250	☐ >250

6. Expectativas

Obiettivi, aspirazioni, interessi professionali per i quali ritiene di potersi candidare considerando le esperienze specifiche, le competenze maturate, i titoli acquisiti o semplicemente i fattori di disponibilità: ***Objetivos, aspiraciones, intereses profesionales*** *por los cuales considera que puede presentarse candidato teniendo en cuenta sus experiencias específicas, títulos adquiridos o simplemente su disponibilidad:*

Quali argomenti possono deporre a favore di tale candidatura? *Que argumentos pueden favorecer a tal candidatura?*	

7. Fattori di disponibilità - Disponibile ad accettare lavoro / *Factores de disponibilidad – Disponibilidad para aceptar un trabajo*

Nella Provincia di residenza *En la provincia de residencia*	☐ Si ☐ No	Quanti Km è disposto a fare ogni giorno per raggiungere il posto di lavoro? *Cuantos kms, está dispuesto a realizar cada dia para llegar al puesto de trabajo?* .....

Appendix Document 2: Continued

Fuori Provincia (altra Provincia del Veneto) *Fuera de la provincia (otra provincia del Veneto)*	☐ Si ☐ No	Se Si quale Provincia? *Qué provincia?*	
A tempo / A tiempo	☐ Determinato/Determinado ☐ Indeterminato/Indeterminado ☐ Entrambi/Ambos		
Orario *Horario*	Tempo pieno ☐ *Jornada completa*	Part-time ☐ *Media jornada*	Entrambi ☐ *Ambos*
Trasferte *Viajes de trabajo*	☐ Si ☐ No	Turni *Turnos*	☐ Diurni/Diurnos ☐ Notturni/Nocturnos ☐ Festivi/Festivos
Lavoro in forma parasubordinata: *Trabajo de colaboración a tiempo determinado(collaborazioni coordinate e continuative, prestazioni occasionali)*	☐ Si ☐ No		
Lavoro in forma socio cooperativa *Trabajo en sociedad cooperativa*	☐ Si ☐ No		
Lavoro interinale *Trabajo temporal*	☐ Si ☐ No		
Lavoro autonomo *Trabajo autónomo*	☐ Si ☐ No		
È disponibile a frequentare eventuali Corsi di formazione? *Está dispuesto a asistir a cursos de formación?*	☐ Si ☐ No		

Notazioni o suggerimenti dell'interessato *Notas y sugerimientos del interesado*

Autorizzo il trattamento e la divulgazione dei dati personali ai sensi della Legge 675/96
La ricezione della presente scheda non comporta per la Provincia e per la Regione Veneto l'assunzione di alcun obbligo nei confronti del dichiarante.
Autorizo el tratamiento y la divulgación de mis datos personales según la Ley italiana 675/96
La recepción de la presente ficha no involucra a la Provincia de Padua y a la Región de Veneto obligación alguna con respecto al declarante.

Timbro e firma dello sportello che presenta il dichiarante
Sello y firma de la oficina (única responsable de la organización del Proyecto en Argentina) .....

Firma del dichiarante
Firma del declarante

Appendix Document 3: Residency Contract Used in AEMCD Municipalities

CONVENIO DE PERMANENCIA FAMILIAR

OBJETO DEL CONVENIO

Este convenio tiene como objetivo, que las familias que se trasladen a residir al municipio de La Cañada de Verich lo hagan de forma indefinida o al menos durante cinco años, siempre que se respeten las condiciones de trabajo y vivienda dignos.

Con el animo de garantizar esa permanencia y evitar en la medida de lo posible que la oferta del Ayuntamiento de La Cañada de Verich a las Familias de inmigrantes se convierta en la puerta de entrada a España para luego irse a vivir a otros lugares , es por lo que se establecen penalizaciones solo para los que incumplan el compromiso de permanencia .

Con el fin de evitar problemas y molestias rogamos a todas las familias que no tengan intención de radicarse de forma definitiva, que no firmen este convenio y en consecuencia desistan de acogerse a nuestra oferta.

PARTES CONVENIANTES

De una parte
D. [redacted] Alcalde Presidente del Ayuntamiento de La Cañada de Verich y en su representación.

De otra
D. [redacted] Con D.N.I. (español) o Pasaporte (español) Nº [redacted] tarjeta de residente Nº ..... Otro documento acreditativo ..... Nº .....en su nombre y el de su familia que se van a trasladar al municipio de Cañada de Verich compuesta por los siguientes miembros:

Nombre	Apellidos	Parentesco
[redacted]		Esposa
		Hija
		Hijo

ACUERDAN

La unidad familiar mas arriba indicada se compromete a:

1º.- Permanecer residiendo en la localidad de La Cañada de Verich por un tiempo no inferior a cinco años contados a partir del dia 1 de agosto de2001Este compromiso no afectara a los hijos mayores de edad.

2º.- La citada familia se compromete a firmar compromiso de deuda por el anticipo reintegrable de la cantidad aportada por el ayuntamiento para el pago de los pasajes y gastos de traslado de la familia a su lugar de destino.

Appendix Document 3: Continued

La devolución del anticipo será en 60 cuotas mensuales, siempre que estas no excedan del 10% del salario mensual total percibido por la unidad familiar. Si lo excediese, el número de cuotas se incrementará en la cantidad necesaria para no exceder de ese porcentaje, ampliándose la obligatoriedad de permanencia en los meses que hubiese sido incrementado el periodo de devolución.

Si durante este periodo la familia decidiese abandonar la localidad por cualquier causa, deberá abonar de forma inmediata las cuotas pendientes de pago más los correspondientes intereses legales que en derecho proceden, excepto en los tres primeros meses, que estos intereses no serán exigidos.

Las cuotas podrán ser modificadas en mas o en menos de mutuo acuerdo entre las partes

3º.- El Ayuntamiento podrá, en caso de necesidad debidamente constatada, conceder un anticipo reintegrable por un máximo de 150.000 pesetas para hacer frente a los primeros gastos de instalación de la familia.

La devolución de este anticipo incrementará en su caso las cuotas mensuales del primer anticipo, ateniéndose a lo estipulado en el punto anterior.

4º.- Antes de cumplir los cuatro meses desde la llegada del primer miembro de la familia , deberá llegar el resto de los miembros familiares que figuran en el convenio , esta exigencia no incluye a los mayores de 18 años.

CLAUSULA DE RESCISION VOLUNTARIA.

5º.- Si unilateralmente y de forma voluntaria la familia decide rescindir el convenio antes de los cinco años estipulados, esta vendrá obligada a liquidar el pagaré que a tal efecto se extenderá como aval del mismo.

El importe de dicho pagaré será de 1.000.000 de pesetas que vendrá reducido en un 50% si la familia hubiera adquirido una vivienda en la localidad.

Dicho pagaré se firmará a la llegada del primer miembro a la localidad y dejará de tener vigencia en el momento del reintegro total de los anticipos contraidos con el ayuntamiento y por un mínimo de cinco años.

Este pagaré quedará sin efecto en los siguientes casos:

a) fuerza mayor
b) Regreso a su localidad de origen y permanezcan en ella por tiempo no inferior a un año
c) Incumplimiento por parte del Ayuntamiento del presente convenio
d) Por imposibilidad de encontrar trabajo que permita la subsistencia de la familia
e) Por actuaciones por parte de los vecinos o del mismo Ayuntamiento sobre la familia que constituyan vejaciones, humillaciones o cualquier otro acto discriminatorio contrario a la carta de derechos humanos, que impidan o dificulten el normal desarrollo de la vida de estas familias.

Estas causas no eximirán del pago de la deuda contraida más los intereses que procedan.

6º.- La familia declara con la firma de este convenio que está de acuerdo con las condiciones ofrecidas, así como que la vivienda que se le ofrece para ser habitada reúne las condiciones higiénico sanitarias, habitabilidad y de dignidad humana suficientes, (esta vivienda esta situada en la calle Del Medio, 10 , piso ....2º..., de la localidad , .. en caso de cambio voluntario de la vivienda, el Ayuntamiento no se hace responsable de las condiciones mínimas necesarias de la misma.

Appendix Document 3: Continued

Declara al mismo tiempo que ha sido informada adecuadamente de las mismas.

El Ayuntamiento de La Cañada de Verich se compromete a:

7º.- Proporcionar un puesto de trabajo digno y recibir por ello una remuneración de acuerdo a su categoría profesional según convenio para el ramo . El tiempo de desplazamiento en condiciones normales, de su residencia al lugar de trabajo no será superior a los 45 minutos

8º.- Proporcionar una vivienda digna, primero en régimen de alquiler. Si la vivienda estuviese en venta, en régimen de alquiler con opción a compra. Posteriormente; se les ofertara para su adquisición, cuando se disponga de ellas, viviendas de promoción publica (con los beneficios que marca la Ley, subvención a fondo perdido y puntos de interés) mediante hipoteca .

9º.- Si el abandono de la localidad por parte de la familia, se produjese por los motivos estipulados en el apartado 5º, el Ayuntamiento podrá adquirir la vivienda por las cuotas que queden pendientes de pago, considerando las ya pagadas como correspondientes al alquiler durante el periodo que haya sido utilizada la vivienda.

DENUNCIA DEL CONVENIO POR PARTE DEL AYUNTAMIENTO.

10º.- El plenario podrá denunciar el presente convenio en exposición motivada, que dará lugar a la exclusión de la familia del programa de repoblación, a la perdida de los derechos que de él se derivan y a la devolución de las cantidades adeudadas por la familia, sin perjuicio de las acciones legales que pudieran corresponder.

CLAUSULA DE RESCISION AUTOMATICA.

11º.- Cualquier acción ejercida por los firmantes del presente convenio encaminada a perjudicar gravemente al ayuntamiento de la localidad, a la Asociación Española de Municipios Contra la Despoblación o al desarrollo del programa de repoblación, ocasionara la rescisión automática del presente convenio y la perdida de todos los derechos que se deriven del mismo, así como la inmediata devolución de la deuda generada más los intereses, y hacer efectivo la ejecución del aval de 1.000.000 de pesetas, no aplicando en este supuesto la reducción del 50% por la adquisición de la vivienda.

SIGNATURAS

En ..... a .... de ....de 2000
(país de origen)

El Conyuge 1
Nombre.....
Apellidos...
D.N.I.....
(o Documento identificativo)

El Conyuge 2
Nombre.
Apellidos
D.N.I .....
(o Documento identificativo)

El Alcalde

El Secretario

En La Cañada de Verich (España) a 27 de septiembre de 2001.

Appendix Document 3: Continued

DOCUMENTO DE RECONOCIMIENTO DE DEUDA

Don [redacted] con pasaporte núm. [redacted] reconoce que adeuda al Ayuntamiento de La Cañada de Verich la cantidad de 721.660 pesetas, cantidad aportada por el Ayuntamiento para el pago de los pasajes, gastos de traslado de la familia a su lugar de destino y compra de electrodomésticos para su uso particular.

La devolución de este anticipo se compromete a realizarlo en cuotas mensuales de 10.000 pesetas hasta su total cancelación.

Y para que así conste, firma el presente documento ante el Sr. Alcalde [redacted] y Secretario que doy fe, en La Cañada de Verich, a 27 de septiembre de 2001.

El Alcalde

AYUNTAMIENTO DE LA CAÑADA DE VERICH (Teruel)

[redacted]

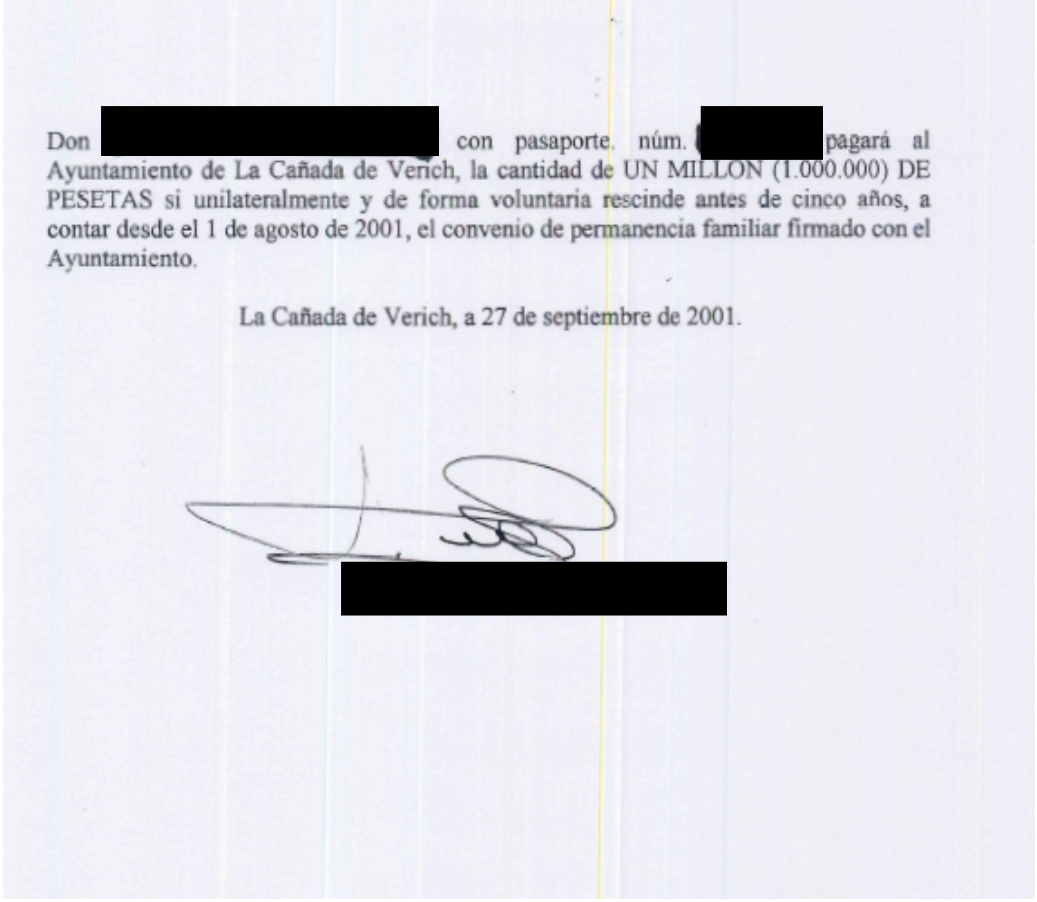
El Interesado,

[redacted]

El Secretario,

[redacted]

Appendix Document 4: I.O.U. Establishing Migrant's Debt to Recruiting AEMCD Municipality



Don [redacted] con pasaporte. núm. [redacted] pagará al Ayuntamiento de La Cañada de Verich, la cantidad de UN MILLON (1.000.000) DE PESETAS si unilateralmente y de forma voluntaria rescinde antes de cinco años, a contar desde el 1 de agosto de 2001, el convenio de permanencia familiar firmado con el Ayuntamiento.

La Cañada de Verich, a 27 de septiembre de 2001.

[redacted]

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