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Temporary and Circular Labour Migration:

Experiences, Challenges and Opportunities

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Temporary and Circular Labour Migration

Experiences, Challenges and Opportunities



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We wish to thank the almost 3,000 peasant farmers, indigenous people and workers from different regions of Colombia, that have made this process a reality in the past three years, and who have gone through a personal, family, cultural, social and economic transformation.

In addition, we would like to thank the AENEAS programme of the European Union that through its financial help made possible the consolidation of the Temporary and Circular Labour Migration (TCLM) as a vehicle for local development and for the benefit of different impoverished communities in Colombia.

We wish to pay tribute to Joan Josep Verge of the Unio de Pagesos de Catalunya (UP) for his leadership and vision. His experience has enabled the labour migration experience to be successful both in place of origin and destination. Moreover, we wish to thank Marco Oliveros of the Fundación Agricultores Solidarios (FAS) (Mutual Farmers' Foundation) for their unconditional support in the implementation of the TCLM project in Colombia.

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We thank our partners in the implementation of the TCLM, Alvaro Ruge of AESCO, researchers Ricard Zapata of the Pompeu Fabra University in Barcelona, David Roll and Pablo Biderbost of the University of Salamanca, as well as Colombian researcher William Mejía of the Alma Mater network of Public Universities and its respective teams.

We appreciate the support of our counterparts in Colombia such as Carboandes Foundation, Proceso Galeras, Servicio de Intermediación Laboral en Origen-SILO, Vallenpaz, Vivienda y Entorno, Asonmupaz, Cecan, Nashira, Asociación de Campesinos Temporeros del Proceso Galeras y Fundes, as well as the local mayors of Suba, Usaquén, San Cristóbal and Sumapaz in Bogotá, who together with the municipal mayors of Putumayo,

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Finally we wish to thank all the other people and institutions that in one way or another made it possible to put together the TCLM experiences in this publication.

FOREWORD

The International Organization for Migration (IOM), in the framework of its mandate, works closely with different governments and institutions in the promotion of orderly, regulated, dignified and safe migration. From this perspective there has been an interest from the Organization in promoting initiatives that enable this to be achieved.

The Temporary and Circular Labour Migration (TCLM) joint project between Colombia and Spain was implemented by IOM Colombia in partnership with the Pagesos Union of Catalonia (“UP”) with the financial support of the European Union AENEAS program. It has been an enriching experience in which its migration flows have had a strong positive impact on local community development in the communities of origin and it is a model that needs to be consolidated and replicated.

The development of this project was an excellent opportunity to use the lessons learnt as a baseline for the replication of the TCLM model in other countries and in different socio-economic contexts.

In addition, IOM would like to highlight the commendable work of hundreds of agricultural workers that left from various corners of the countryside and from popular neighbourhoods in Colombia, to cross the ocean to rediscover the old continent.

The articulated work between different institutions in Spain and Colombia allowed these people to return home with a different outlook on what Temporary and Circular Labour Migration means. Similarly the IOM officials now have a different perception of TCLM and we are confident of its potential for co-development.

The actors in this process returned with a global vision, with new ways of doing things, and with innovative ideas on the processes of social organization which can be based on production and marketing. Most returned with labour initiatives translated into productive enterprises, housing and education, as well as with financial resources that would have been difficult to have accumulated in their regions of origin. Moreover, on their return they were convinced that their families, sons and daughters could have a very different future.

Changes have not only occurred among the Colombians. There has also been a transformation in the Unión de Pagesos – Pagesos Solidarios and the Fundación Agricultores Solidarios. The project was successful in strengthening the capacity of these institutions

to create public - private partnerships that consolidated the TCLM model through the targeting of poor communities in Colombia and through strengthening the impact on local development.

There are many people and organizations responsible for this project that has had visible and important results. The Asociación América España Solidaridad y Cooperación (AESCO) (Mutual Spanish America Cooperation Association) which constantly has worked on behalf of the migrants in Spain, Colombia and Ecuador. Likewise, the project would not have been possible without the organizations and institutions that co-funded the consolidation and replication of the TCLM model. These include: El Proceso Galeras and the mayors of Suba, Usaqué and Sumapaz.

The TCLM allowed us to work hand in hand with: the Governments of the Departments of Cesar and Valle del Cauca; as well as with the mayors of La Florida, Pasto in Nariño and La Hormiga, San Miguel, Sibundoy in Putumayo, and in Palmira and other municipalities in the Department of Valle del Cauca that signed up with Vallenpaz and Cecan; in Bogotá, Argentina (Hulia), Landázuri (Santander) and La Jagua de Ibirico (Cesar). The project also worked with the Committee of Coffee Growers of the Department of Cesar in order to link into the populations living in conditions of displacement and vulnerability and to link up with women heads of household and organized communities.

The international economic crisis affected the signing of agreements with other regional and municipal governments in the country, such as: the Government of the Department of Magdalena with 10 municipalities; Cali; Ibagué; Yaquanquer; Une; and the Cristal Paez Indigenous Council.

It is worth highlighting the particular commitment shown to this project by el Proceso Galeras which included the Temporary and Circular Labour Migration programme as part of the strategy for the resettlement of those living within the area of the high-risk Galeras Volcano area. In this process it is thought that the TCLM model can become a transfer of knowledge and resources model for resettlement that will enable the sustainability of the households of three municipalities involved in the new territory.

In another part of the country mention must be made of the commitment by the Mayor of Suba and the positive results there on integrating this project as part of the strategy for strengthening social and local development organizations.

The Carboandes Foundation developed an interesting experience that is described in one of the chapters of this publication and represents the contribution by the private sector and its commitment to regional development. This project has been able to rely on the creativity and constant initiative of this Foundation and this has significantly enriched the model and the scope of co-development.

From the perspective of the grass roots organizations, there are four social-type organizations that require a mention as they are made up of people from communities with a high level of commitment to social transformation and the improvement of the living conditions in their local surroundings. These social entities committed themselves to the model and decided to participate in this proposal with the IOM in such a way that they involved their partners with the idea that by integrating them into the work this will achieve a strengthening of the processes.

Specifically mention should be made of the Nashira Foundation, the National Association of Women for Peace (ASONMUPAZ), the Foundation for Displaced People (FUNDES) and the Association of Temporary Farm workers of Galeras (Asociación de Campesinos Temporeros del Galeras).

From an academic perspective a systematization of the experience took place and given its complexity enabled the analysis of the TCLM model from various perspectives and approaches, identifying strengths and weaknesses of the model and setting out a path to follow for future experiences.

The systematization of the TCLM is reflected in various articles throughout this publication. Each one has a different approach but together they form a comprehensive fount of knowledge on temporary and circular labour migration.

The research by a group of researchers from the Pompeu Fabra University, led by Professor Ricard Zapata shows the features of the model and its impact on the region of Catalonia.

On another topic, the team of researchers consisting of David Roll and Pablo Biderbost from the Institute of Ibero American Studies of the University of Salamanca presents an assessment of the experience of recruitment of workers at source from the perspective of employers from different productive sectors in Spain enabling some clarification of the scope, limitations and opportunities of the Temporary and Circular Labour Migration (TCLM) model.

Finally, the human mobility research group of the Alma Mater network of Public Universities in Colombia, led by William Mejía, analyzes different experiences of the communities of origin in Colombia linked to the TCLM model with the aim of showing the limitations and the correct decisions of the model.

In addition to the above, other organizations linked to the migration issue in Spain and Colombia have participated in this publication. These include the Paulino Torras Domenech Foundation, a pioneer in the study of the phenomenon of migration in Catalonia and the first Spanish entity to cooperate with the IOM with the status of a non-governmental Observer.

In addition the Secretariat of Immigration of the Government of Catalonia which, with its constant work on the integration of migrants from the perspective of multiculturalism and diversity, offers important elements for the management of labour migration flows.

It is also necessary to recognize the role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Colombia and its Programme “Colombia Nos Une” (Colombia Unites Us) which gave unconditional support to this initiative. This support is reflected in the inclusion of the TCLM model in the National Development Plan and the municipal and departmental plans which all influence public policy through their nature of being a Law of the Republic with a four year validity period.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Colombia contributed an article to this publication, which gives another perspective on the new role of the migration process in public policies in which recognition is given to the dynamic role of these in the transformation of all the national and international conditions of migration.

To all the authors and especially the Technical Cooperation Group for Migration of the IOM, we give special acknowledgement for their work in the field of migration, safe in the knowledge that with this initiative we are making progress in knowledge and experience to achieve a regulated, orderly and dignified migration.

JOSÉ ANGEL OROPEZA

Chief of Mission.

International Organization for Migration Colombia

1. PLANNED MIGRATION

Joan Josep Vergé Oms

Official responsible for Immigration issues in the Unió de Pagesos de Catalunya

Unió de Pagesos

Together with a group of committed professionals, Unió de Pagesos is coordinating something called the Integrated Temporary Worker Flow Management Programme.

About 16 years ago a comprehensive survey conscious was conducted of the agricultural workers and the situation on the land in and around Lleida. This was done because as a Trade Union (Catalonia Farmers Union) (or Unió de Pagesos (UP)” in the Catalan language) it was concerned about the problem of alternative temporary labour for the farmers and finding documented workers who wanted to work during our crop seasons. The challenge was, and still is: at least a few days before the season starts, to find the necessary workers to pick the fruit; to welcome them and treat them with dignity; and to help them return home at the end of the season.

The first experience of this circular flow of temporary labour was in the province of Zamora. Through its relationship with the Zamora Farmers Union, the Unió de Pagesos managed the first groups of temporary workers, many of whom were farmers with experience of this type of work, such as those from the Garrigues region that for many years had taken advantage of the gaps in work of their own agricultural harvest programmes in order to go to other places where there was work to be done in the fields.

Since then a few years have been spent acquiring the experience that has shaped the project in which plenty of trade unionists, a great technical team and of course temporary workers, both men and women, have participated. All have worked together to arrive at this stage of the journey.

It is important to clarify some of the details on this issue such as the components of managing the workers and dealing with immigration, since more than 90% of the workers who participate in the agricultural harvest programmes are immigrants. Below there is an explanation of the concepts of: recruitment in countries of origin; circular migration; and dual benefit migration flows.

Recruitment in countries of origin: This is what the agreements signed with third countries are generally called. Under these agreements, before the worker sets off for his/her place of work, the employer informs the worker, either in Spain, Colombia or even in Unió de Pagesos (UP) offices in Lleida about the working conditions such as: wages, deductions from wages made for living or other expenses, accommodation and working hours, amongst other things

As a Farmers Union the Unió de Pagesos (UP) believes that priority must be given to the recruitment of interested workers that are already in Catalonia and Spain, whether they are immigrants or not, before thinking about bringing over workers from third countries. This is why the UP gives priority to hiring workers already in the country. During 2008, with the help of the local administration eight advice and information centres have been opened for the recruitment of workers which will be located in different places in Catalonia, such as Tortosa (Figueres) as well as in the central and western areas (in Spanish these areas are referred to as “comarcas” and are local administrative districts).

Circular Migration: Circular Migration consists of migrants who, as the name suggests, circulate either within the country or between countries of origin and destination. Such migration may be of two types: “constant circular” and / or “temporary circular”. Among the “constant” migrants, there are those who have no job security and / or social stability and are unable to settle in a particular municipality because of major difficulties such as the lack of documentation. However account should also be taken of the particular groups of people who take part in a traditional way of migration and who do not settle in one place but are always on the move, such as the Romani.

Depending on their place of origin, persons involved in circular migration can be classified in three ways:

a) Temporary migrants from the same country or region, such as Andalusians who still come to Catalonia or the farm labourers who grow olives or almonds, which are crops that harvested when they are ready. This type of migrant that takes part in the fruit harvests around Lleida are becoming fewer and fewer in terms of numbers. The Unió de Pagesos believes that the Government could strengthen and coordinate these internal migratory flows through the Employment Service of Catalonia (SOC) and through the National Institute of Employment (INEM) at the State level. These types of migration flows will cause many short-term problems if not managed throughout the country.

b) Immigrants from European Union countries or the Schengen area. Countries such as Poland, Romania and Bulgaria are very recent members of the European Community and are producing uncontrolled flows of people seeking work and who tend to look for work in big cities. This is a major challenge that Spain must confront in the short term. The priority is to define how to manage these uncontrolled flows and to avoid

crowding people into a few neighbourhoods of big cities where there are limited possibilities for legal employment but rather try to facilitate the process for the sectors that need the workers to actually find them.

It is necessary to bear in mind that, increasingly, more workers are needed with certain types of skills. It is also necessary to consider how to relocate people who are currently working in the construction industry. These challenges must be faced in the short term, and currently neither the European EURES (European job mobility portal) network nor the Spanish National Institute of Employment (INEM) have the mechanisms to do so. It will therefore take time to find imaginative alternatives to address the challenges of moving workers between sectors and cooperation between government and employer may be one way forward.

c) Immigrants from third countries: There is an established procedure throughout the country for the recruitment of foreign workers which is set out in the “Reglamento de Extranjería” (Immigration Rules). These procedures are subject to the employment situation and to the different bilateral cooperation or recruitment agreements signed between Spain and third countries. Colombia was the first country with which Spain signed this type of recruitment agreement, and the Unió de Pagesos was directly involved in this process in 2001. Later, bilateral agreements were negotiated with Romania, Bulgaria, Morocco, Poland and Senegal. The Unió de Pagesos has also been among the first to cooperate with the Spanish Government by offering recruitment contracts in support of the bilateral agreement with Colombia. Such initiatives should help stem the flow of small makeshift boats with illegal migrant workers on board that arrive along the coast of Spain by providing more work opportunities for legal migrants.

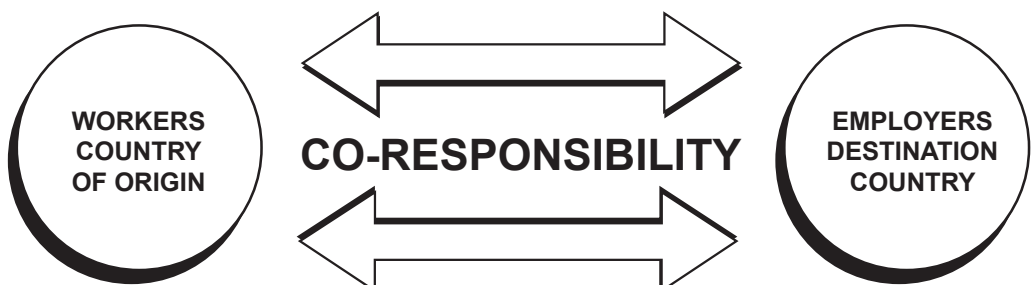
The effectiveness of these recruitment contracts depends on several factors such as speed of processing the necessary permits and the capacity of Spanish institutions in the country of origin, especially Spanish Consulates to respond to demands. The willingness of the Government in the country of origin to monitor and guide the process (for better or for worse), and the commitment of employers and their representatives also affect the effectiveness of these agreements.

Dual-benefit migration flows:

The most popular and traditional types of migration to date has been those caused by largely uncontrollable circumstances, such as wars or ethnic conflicts, droughts, famines, natural disasters, persecutions, and also changes in life expectancy, among others. In these cases, people are forced by circumstances to emigrate. With this type of migration, humanitarian organizations play an important role in supporting the newly arrived as well as cooperating with public administrations.

However, there is a type of migration flow that is becoming increasingly important and that has different initial parameters, mainly that of migration for employment. This is when labourers and unskilled and skilled workers are hired in their places of origin by employers in the destination country who need a particular type of employee. This migration is sometimes referred to as dual benefit migration. In other words both the employer and the worker are seeking to fulfil a need. First, the employer expresses a need for labour and decides to recruit in the place of origin; then there is the worker who, from the moment of signing the contract in the place of origin, decides to migrate to the destination country on a temporary contract. In these cases, the responsibility of managing these flows cannot be left solely to the Government of the destination country, since by regulating the process the State of origin has some advantages and therefore also has to take some responsibility for all that is implied by this recruitment process including ensuring the rights and protection of the workers.

However, the main role in this process lies with the employer and his needs, and the employer must play a more proactive role in the whole process, and therefore must assume much of the responsibility referred to above but particularly in managing the impact that the migration causes both in the host society, and in the country of origin.



Therefore work has to be done on engaging the employers in the discussions surrounding the new (“host”) law that is being drafted by the Government of Catalonia. These concepts will be included in the draft as well as support mechanisms for defining new responsibilities, especially regarding the reception and integration of workers by employers and society that are receiving them.

Joan Josep Vergé, responsible for immigration issues in the Unió de Pagesos thinks that the future recruitment of workers should be more subject to the requirements of a “Reception and Integration Plan” that should govern the recruitment of workers in the country of origin. The purpose of this would be to manage the impact of these migration flows on the host society. He believes that it is also important to continue the inspection process in all productive sectors with the same intensity, in order to thus combat the recruitment of irregular immigrants. Additionally, there is a need to promote Corporate So-

cial Responsibility in companies that are becoming involved in the immigration process by providing support to employers who demonstrate their commitment to this issue.

The first experiences related to the recruitment of immigrant workers were in 1992 with the Zamora workers. Since then, the Unió de Pagesos (UP) has also worked in collaboration with the Workers Commissions (large Spanish Trade Union) (“CCOO”) , channelling workers from Andalusia for a few years and also with the General Workers Union (UGT) and immigrant workers in the periurban area of Barcelona. Moreover, in 1998 the UP tried to recruit students during the summer through employment exchange programmes in universities but there were a lot of problems finding young people willing to work in the agricultural harvest programmes so alternatives had to be looked at.

After learning of other experiences of countries such as France that had developed a bilateral labour agreement with Morocco, in 1998 the Unió de Pagesos asked the Ministry of Labour in Madrid about the possibility of recruiting workers from third countries

The first interview with the Immigration Department apparently was not very successful but about a month later they renewed contacts with the UP. Coincidentally at that time Spain was negotiating a fisheries agreement with Morocco and someone in the government saw the possibility of offering that country employment to that country’s workers in exchange for fishing permits. That’s how the Unió de Pagesos raised the possibility of recruiting in Morocco.

The Unió de Pagesos then did an evaluation of the proposal and requested that South America be also included. This is how the UP was given the opportunity of organizing recruitment with Morocco and with Colombia, with 50 permits per country.

After the first negotiations with the Moroccan administration, the proposal did not materialize as the Moroccans had doubts about the number of contracts per season and it was not until 2000 that the first experience started with Morocco. In 1999, in Colombia based on the UP’s own initiative and after choosing some serious and effective partners it carried out a direct selection process of foreign workers linked with specific communities and territories. This strategy has enabled the Unió de Pagesos to start this flow of workers where a personal and close relationship is of great importance. This process is referred to as twinning between communities and countries.

The first experience with Colombia in 1999 was very enriching. Although initially there were 50 permits, some difficulties and a certain amount of disbelief in the process limited this number to 35 Colombians. That harvest programme with those first Colombian workers defined the subsequent strategy of *Pagesos* Trade Union.

There are two events in particular that should be mentioned – one was a pleasant experience and one involved a serious injury that together conditioned the *UP* model.

El Patamocho, (his actual nickname), is a young Colombian who had a serious accident with a tractor that resulted in the amputation of one his feet, something that was clearly totally unforeseen. After some personal and well-meaning efforts by various people to help this young man, it was thought appropriate to hire someone to look after him as he had no close relatives with him to do this for him. This made the *Unió de Pagesos* realize that it do not just have to think about workers and the work they have to do but also about their personal needs that require personalized support and accompaniment.

So from this experience emerged the personal insurance programme that today is one of the most important programmes of the *UP* Foundation.

“La Capilla de Siecha” (Siecha Chapel) is a place of pilgrimage, situated in a very unique setting near Guasca in the Department of Cundinamarca (Colombia) and it has been an inspiration for the *Unió de Pagesos*. When the programme began, the chapel roof was in a state of disrepair, and when it rained as it often does in that area, it got worse and worse. A young person from Guasca, Edgar Garzón, sent Pagesos some pictures of this chapel roof and despite some difficulties in getting to them to *Pagesos*, they did eventually arrive. After seeing the photos, the *Unió de Pagesos* decided to help this community by holding a raffle and donating the money collected to help repair the chapel roof.

The following year, as a result of the Siecha chapel initiative, over 100 people sent the agricultural Trade Union requests for help in Colombia. Many of these projects and proposals were poorly structured and were of doubtful viability but others provided *Unió de Pagesos* with a positive lesson. These types of personal initiatives by migrants themselves are surely the basis for co-development. Training and accompaniment along with initiative are key factors for the co-development programme of the Pagesos Foundation that, today, is internationally recognized.

A third story relates to **“humanity”** and is something that was really unexpected. Mr Verduny was in charge of the northern Moroccan office located in Tangiers. He acted as the liaison officer and organizer of the Government of Morocco in the first scheme in 2000 and subsequent schemes in 2001 and 2002. During the first selection process in the country or origin, which lasted two days and in which Government and society representatives took part, the *Unió de Pagesos* selected a group of 60 women.

At the end of the selection process, it was time to travel to Spain and for the selected women to say farewell to relatives. After loading, with some difficulty, all the luggage in the vehicle and the women had got in as well and before the doors were closed, Mr Verduny, in an emotional voice asked the *Unió de Pagesos (UP)* person responsible for immigration to please treat the women with **“humanity”**. Since then one of the *UP* Foundation’s main objectives has been to treat every worker, who helps collect the harvests,

with humanity during and after the agricultural harvest programme. This will help build trust and respect among participants in the scheme.

The “T” permit

After these pilot experiences, with special permission from the Ministry of Labour, in Colombia in 1999 and 2000, and in Morocco in 2000, the Government approved, in 2001, the Regulation of Foreigners, a new regulation which ensured the recruitment process in third countries, which specifically was a seasonal permit for the agricultural sector and other sectors such as catering and construction, among others. Later that same year the first migration agreement was signed with a third country (Colombia).

The *Unio de Pagesos* has participated in the above-mentioned recruitment initiatives, and an example of this is that, on the basis of a suggestion from this Trade Union, article 12 of this agreement refers to co-development, and the effect that immigrants and their remittances have for the development of Colombia. This article has not been repeated in any of the other agreements that Spain has signed with Ecuador, Romania, Poland, Bulgaria, Morocco, and other countries.

After 16 years experience, the *UP* now calls the programme the **“INTEGRATED SEASONAL WORKER FLOW PROGRAMME”**

The objective of the program is threefold:

First, the programme seeks to organize the whole mediation process based on the demands and needs of the agricultural employers. This includes aspects such as selection, recruitment, authorization, visas, travel logistics and monitoring labour needs. All this is done so that the programme can participate in the different agricultural harvest programmes in Catalonia and help to ensure that workers arrive a few days before the harvest as crops have to be harvested on time to maintain quality.

After recruitment, **the second objective is to welcome and accompany the migrants that are moving to rural areas of Catalonia.** This includes facilitating interaction between the receiving society and the new arrivals through innovative programmes that promote mutual understanding and encourage participation by both the temporary workers and the municipalities of destination in dealing with the impact of the new arrivals. This includes organizing and managing support, accompaniment and health promotion and personalized care for the workers, taking into account any eventualities that may arise during the agricultural harvest programme.

And thirdly, the programme seeks to promote the productive initiative for seasonal and temporary workers in the agricultural harvest season programme of Catalonia, thereby achieving an improvement of the socio-economic opportunities for the communities of origin.

Below is a description of each of the programme activities, which are divided into four periods: activities before the start of the agricultural harvest programme; selection and recruitment activities; activities during the agricultural harvest season programme; activities after the agricultural harvest season programme has finished.

PRIOR TO THE AGRICULTURAL HARVEST PROGRAMME

Training of the short-listed temporary workers

Currently, the *Fundació Pagesos Solidaris / Unió de Pagesos (FPS / UP)* has signed agreements with municipalities and foundations in Colombia that facilitate the short-listing of harvest programme labourers. From this shortlist, the *FPS / UP* organizes and develops training courses aimed at selecting the temporary workers who best meet the required profile in terms of:

- * Family situation.
- * Academic level.
- * Work experience in agricultural and livestock sector.
- * Team Working.

* Interest and motivation for participating in the agricultural harvest programme, in the form of possible existence of investment priorities and sense of community, such as productive projects, housing construction, and social areas, among others. These elements will be later used as a starting point for the Harvest programme Plan that will be explained later.

Training from the Government Employment Service of Catalonia (SOC)

Since 2006, the Government Employment Service of Catalonia (SOC) and the *FPS / UP* have been working together in the process of the training and recruitment at in the countries of origin of agricultural workers.

The objective of the training for temporary workers by the Government Employment Service of Catalonia (SOC) done through the *FPS* is to provide basic orientation and preparation for the temporary workers prior to their arrival in Catalonia. The modules taught are:

* **Employment information module.** This module aims to inform the future temporary workers about how the world of employment functions in Catalonia and the particular conditions surrounding their future job, including the rights and duties established in the sector agreement; the contract in origin; and the operation of the Social Security system and its benefits (high / low level jobs, access to health services, etc.).

* **Psycho-emotional preparation module.** This aims to facilitate the psycho-emotional preparation of the temporary workers, who have to work far away from their family and community, in order to identify potential problems and manage the support available for the families of the migrants.

* **Sociolinguistic module.** This aims to provide basic socio-cultural information about the host society (Catalonia). In addition to providing information on the destination and on Catalan culture and traditions, it also delivers a basic Catalan language course.

* **Module for the prevention of occupational risks.** This module is intended to provide information on risks related to the workplace and how to avoid them, in order to improve safety, promote healthy habits and improve the quality of life of workers in the agricultural sector.

Formulation / Revision of temporary worker harvest programme Plans

The *FPS* organizes workshops to formulate harvest season programme plans for temporary workers who have already been identified after the training of the short-listed workers. These harvest programme Plans consist of a first draft written by the temporary workers prior to their trip to Spain about how they want to spend their remittances that they earn from their agricultural harvest programme work (basic needs and consumer goods, self sustaining productive and social initiatives, family housing, etc).

The drafting of the harvest season programme Plans is done, first, on an individual basis (family or group where there is a common plan) and then it is presented to all the participants in the workshop, briefly explaining the benefits of the initiatives. Finally, the initiatives will be discussed in the group with the aim of creating a greater internalization of the plan by the temporary workers.

In the case of temporary workers participating for the first time in the agricultural harvest season programme in Catalonia, the harvest season programme Plan will, on the one hand, enable them to become aware of the benefits of investing a portion of their remittances should they so wish, and on the other hand to identify potential initiatives so that both the temporary workers themselves as well as the *FPS* team will be able to develop them conceptually during the harvest season programme in Catalonia.

Prior to starting their journey to work in a new harvest season programme, seasonal workers who participated in the previous year's harvest season programme in Catalonia through the *UP* can compare their originally stated personal objectives with what they actually achieved in practice. By reviewing their personal plan with their personal capacities enables the temporary worker to effectively carry out their initial objectives and to assess what use they made of their experience in terms of transforming this experience into actual development initiatives in their place of origin. An analysis of the fulfilment or

otherwise of a temporary worker's harvest season Plan enables the follow-up team of the FPS in Colombia to identify with greater clarity those individuals and groups with greater entrepreneurial potential and who are ultimately worth supporting.

SELECTION AND RECRUITMENT

Forecasting

Before the recruitment and selection process it is necessary to be able to accurately forecast recruitment needs in terms of numbers and worker profiles and this forecast should be based on a thorough knowledge of all seasonal agricultural harvest programmes and requirements of the areas seeking temporary workers. Thus, once a harvest season programme is finished in one area, workers can be provided to another area as there is advance knowledge of the profile and number of temporary workers that are needed and how they can be used to meet the demand of potential new destinations.

So, just as a harvest season programme is "finishing", the *UP* starts a round of meetings with the towns wanting to recruit temporary workers next time in order to forecast the demand for the following harvest season programme. The starting point is always a "normal" harvest and then account is taken of climatic changes, new irrigation systems, variables, and other elements that will provide the *UP* preliminary data on labour needs, timing, conditions of work and the harvest season programme profiles.

Managing the supply of temporary workers links between demands

From the aforementioned forecast, the *FPS/UP* technical officers prepare the harvest season programme map where the links between the demands of different harvest season programmes are arranged chronologically, geographically and according to the profile of each harvest: This way a worker can cover several consecutive harvest season programmes in a particular time scale. For example: supplying temporary workers for two possible harvest season programmes (which can be linked together) that are each requesting 50 workers means one combined bid for 50 workers and not 100 as might mistakenly be thought if not properly planned. In this example, 50 employees would work for a longer period to cover both requests but for a longer period of time and therefore they would earn more money.

Public Employment Service (SPO) jobs offer – Certification process

On completion of these calculations the consolidated request for workers is presented to the Government Employment Services that in our case is the SOC.

The SOC records the request for workers and arranges it to be publicized in all offices by providing the necessary information so that all interested parties (registered job seekers) who reside in Spain can apply for any of the jobs on offer.

Based on the outcome of this mediation process, the SOC issues a certificate saying that it is impossible to meet all the demands to supply workers. This certification is a formal requirement “sine qua non” for us to be able to present a request to the Directorate General of Immigration of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs and thus proceed to begin a process of external migration to attract workers.

MTAS (Ministry of Labour and Immigration) Committee offer of work - approval authorization

With this certification, the Ministry of Labour and Immigration (*MTAS*) works with other social affairs entities (Professional Agricultural Organizations, Workers Trade Unions, municipalities, etc.) to assess the suitability of the offer of work, taking into account factors such as working conditions, accommodation, justification of the need and the integration plan for the temporary workers. If the assessment is positive, the Immigration Directorate General issues a report and returns to analyze the offer of work to determine its viability and to accept or not the type of selection process for workers that has been requested to cover it (whether nominal or generic) and the country of origin of the workers.

When approval has been given, then the selection process of workers is undertaken.

Selection

Taking into account whether it is a nominal offer or generic offer, the country of origin begins the complete worker selection process that will vary slightly depending on the chosen country.

In a generic offer, most bilateral agreements signed by the Spanish State establish that the Public Service of the country of origin may make a shortlist (but “always” respecting the selection zones and profiles requested), where they explain to candidates seeking work all the conditions of the offer of work. From this short-listing process, which typically includes 2 candidates for each vacancy, the Agricultural Professional Organization (OPA), which in this case is the *Unió de Pagesos*, makes the final selection.

In the case of a nominal offer, the *UP* directly proposes the names of those selected from a process carried out in the country of origin by our counterparts or by collaborating organizations and in which, naturally, all the offer conditions will also be explained to candidates. This procedure provides further assurances that the different screening processes have carefully respected the requested profiles of the workers.

In both types of offers, the Ministry of the Interior reviews the data of each selected person and if there is no previous record it issues a Foreigner’s Identification Number (*NIE*). This *NIE* is used for issuing a contract to each worker and it is sent to the country of origin.

Contract in country of origin – conditions - signature – visa - travel

With the contract in the country of origin, the chosen workers check that the conditions in the contract are the same as those agreed with them earlier, sign it, and send it together with a medical certificate and a police record certificate issued in the country of origin, to the appropriate Spanish Consular authority, requesting the necessary visa to travel to Catalonia.

Workers will be notified of the date and place of departure. The travel of the workers is arranged beforehand by the *FPS/UP* and, as established by the legislation in this type of case, the *FPS/UP*, at the beginning assumes all costs, and later deducts from the worker the amount corresponding to half the cost of international travel.

DURING THE AGRICULTURAL HARVEST SEASON PROGRAMME

Reception of the temporary workers

The Reception and Integration Programme for temporary workers has been in place since the start of the *FPS* in 2001. This Programme helps to bring stability to the seasonal nature of agricultural work by guaranteeing workers consecutive labour contracts in the various successive agricultural harvest season programmes in Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands, such that when temporary workers end one contract they can then start another elsewhere where there is a demand for labour.

The impact on receiving populations that is caused by the arrival of temporary workers in places where they are contracted to work can cause imbalances if account is not taken of the need to create and deploy extra services and resources in the area. This is especially so for those services related to health and helping the migrant workers adapt to their new surroundings, among others. With this in mind, the *FPS* facilitates interaction with the host society through programmes that promote mutual understanding and promote joint participation in activities by the temporary workers and municipalities where they are during the harvest season programme.

The main activities carried out under the Welcome Program for Temporary Workers are to:

- * Inform and guide the newcomers on their new temporary location and about their working conditions.
- * Monitor and manage the accommodation where workers live during the agricultural harvest season programme.
- * Provide the necessary training to promote personal autonomy, including courses on family planning and prevention of occupational health risks, among others.
- * Support and provide accompaniment and personalized care in case of emergencies or crises occurring during the harvest season programme.

* Conduct technical capacity building and continual training to promote socio-employment integration. Examples include courses in rural development, gender perspectives and resolution of disputes, and an introduction to co-development.

* Promote a sociolinguistic understanding of the host society, including Catalan language courses and planned excursions to get to know the area and to promote intercultural relations.

* Incorporate the necessary elements to facilitate the integration of the immigrant population while also providing socio-cultural and free-time activities. Examples include the multicultural festival held with the host society “Connect to the land” and discussions held prior to the harvest season programme with the host municipalities.

Training of temporary entrepreneurial workers so they become agents of co-development

This training is intended primarily for the temporary workers from Colombia to encourage them to become co-development agents by:

* Becoming economic and / or social entrepreneurs. In other words they will be able to, independently, create self-sustaining social or productive initiatives, with the ultimate goal of improving their family living conditions and those of their communities of origin so that, soon, there will be no need to migrate.

* Taking advantage of the opportunity that circular migration provides them, both in terms of income that can be transformed into productive investments, as well as by improving business and social skills so that their enterprises are successful (“informed migration”).

* In order to offer these people more tools and security for developing their proposals, if they have chosen co-development as an option to improve the conditions of their home community, the *Unió de Pagesos* team conducts two types of strategies for temporary workers during their stay for the agricultural harvest season programme which are training course and accompaniment.

The training and advice on offer is as follows:

1) **Basic training** that is conducted primarily with Colombian workers that are participating for the first time in the harvest season programme. The basic co-development training includes:

- Co-development as a way of promoting development of the community.
- Basic tools for the development of the project.
- Introduction to the project cycle.

2) **Consultancy workshops aimed at defining and formulating sustainable productive and social initiatives**, either for an individual or a family. In these workshops the people that participate are those that in previous basic training courses have expressed the intention of starting projects in their home community. The topics of this workshop are:

- An idea that the seasonal temporary worker wants to turn into something concrete, which in principle should be consistent with his/her Harvest Season Programme Plan.
- The endogenous characteristics and capacities of the place where the initiative will be developed and that may have an influence on the action plan.
- Defining the goals and actors, activities to carry out, a timeline, resources and project monitoring.

At the time that the initiatives to develop in the communities of origin take shape and are formulated, is when the motivation to achieve something, the desire to do things and achieve results has been activated. The entrepreneurial temporary worker feels able to take individual responsibility for obtaining results and to put into action a medium term planning process.

However, the success of an idea depends on its quality, the business capacity of the individual and suitable marketing. Additionally, the temporary worker must still face up to at least two major obstacles to the creation of productive initiatives: a) insufficient training to build a business and b) the lack of formal financing mechanisms.

3) **Training course for co-development community projects**. This is aimed at all those migrants who want to carry out a collective project in their home communities. The contents of the course are divided into three areas: technical training for project planning; social training (resolution of disputes, gender and generation, teamwork), and practical experiences (visits to artisan and ecological business initiatives). The teachers are professionals, both from inside the Foundation and from outside. The course is about 90 hours in total, including all the workshops that are part of it and at the end there are some Co-Development events to attend. The theme in 2008 was the sending of remittances to relatives and putting these remittances to good use.

4) **Training Course for co-development agents**. Participants of courses 2 or 3 (delivered in Catalonia) are invited to participate in a course in their home communities to offer training opportunities to others in the communities involved in the projects or action plans. The objective is to make these action plans and projects a reality, and to define the Accompaniment Plan with each co-development agent, in coordination with the Colombian branch of the *FPS*. As a result, it is expected that the co-development agents, that have taken courses 2 or 3 during the agricultural harvest season programme, receive the training they require, thereby ensuring the quality of the project profiles and action plans.

a) Accompaniment in the preliminary preparation of the Business Plan (BP)

The entrepreneurial temporary worker (or group of temporary workers in the case of collective initiatives) will get to evaluate the initial idea and present it as a business idea. This will be the target of specific advice for the preliminary preparation of the Business Plan that the consultants from the *UP* and *FPS* will offer.

Consultants from the *Un Sol Mon* Foundation, of Caixa in Catalonia, may also participate in this consultancy process, both in the training of *FPS* consultants and directly in the consultancy process. This will facilitate access by the entrepreneurial temporary workers to microfinance institutions in Colombia.

The entrepreneurial temporary workers that will participate in this activity:

- * Have gone through the training for co-development agents and have shown interest in developing their initial idea.

- * Alternatively, have a self-sustaining productive or social initiative up and running in their home community. In other words those that have previously gone through the consultancy plan in Colombia.

- * Additionally, former co-development agents can also be incorporated into this consultancy process, since they constitute a valid source of experience for new agents, such that this will establish and dynamize a network of co-development agents.

The Business Plan is put forward as a working document and something for the entrepreneur to reflect on that will enable him/her to:

- * Plan and think ahead in the new project.

- * Analyse the feasibility of the project, both in economic terms (costs, profitability) and technical aspects.

- * Foresee potential problems that may arise and have ready alternatives.

- * Have an overall view of the initiative and make a decision to implement the project or not.

- * Present the project to potential collaborators such as banks and financiers, suppliers, potential customers and partners, among others.

From this activity a consultant will be assigned to each of the entrepreneurs or collectives that have at least a basic outline of a Business Plan. This consultant, in coordination with the host technical assistant will provide support to add value to the stay of the entrepreneurial temporary worker, providing inputs to the business idea.

The introduction to the Business Plan will be completed with the validation of the Business Plan after the temporary worker has returned to his/her community of origin.

b) Accompaniment in the development of the Consultancy Plan

Each consultant will have anticipated a plan of activities to cover the specific needs of the initiative, which had been identified from the Consultancy Plan in the country of origin, or others that may arise during the agricultural harvest season programme. Some of these activities include:

- Visits to cooperatives or companies, related to the business idea.
- Facilitation of contacts with potential future collaborators.
- Technical training in areas required or when it is difficult to access training in country of origin.
- Specific consultancy, for example, the UP has submitted a report to Catalonia Consortium for Trade Promotion (COPCA) for carrying out a study that analyses the possibility of exporting the tropical fruit and vegetable production of small and medium producers in the region of Cesar, Colombia to the Catalan market (via the Mercabarna food unit logistics centre).

The consultants will also serve as a liaison point for monitoring the self-sustaining productive and social initiatives undertaken by the FPS team in Colombia.

AFTER THE AGRICULTURAL HARVEST SEASON PROGRAMME

After the harvest season programme is the return to the country of origin. However, before beginning the journey back home, the programme for promoting productive initiatives still has two additional activities: the validation of the Business Plans and support for the development of Business Plans, which will be facilitated in both cases by external local consultants and technical assistants.

Validation of the Business Plans (BP)

The preliminary development workshop of the Business Plan (BP) which will be carried out in Catalonia, will serve to shape the initial idea for the project into a business concept and firm up the possibilities of its success or failure, before putting the plan into practice. Additionally, the preliminary BP must be validated once temporary workers return to their place of origin, primarily for two reasons:

* To continue to motivate the people who participated in the harvest season programme towards the undertaking and to involve the people that will directly participate in the project, but who were unable to travel, such as family members and other members of the community in the country of origin.

* To adapt the preliminary Business Plans to the local context and to study them in more depth, taking into account actual local conditions in which the initiative is going to be developed and among which are: physical conditions of production and distribution; ability to access markets; resources and actors in the local (and regional) economic development; legal aspects to formalize the initiative; and ease of access to additional funding, among others.

The *FPS* in Colombia will facilitate access by the entrepreneurial temporary workers to local consultants who will validate the BP in the community of origin. The *FPS* will be able to depend, among others, on Colombian consultants from the “Un Sol Mon” Foundation of Caixa, Catalunya, for the validation of the BP, which later on may facilitate access to micro-credits for these initiatives.

Development of Business Plans

Based on the validation of the BP in the local context, a consultant will be assigned in Colombia to each of the micro-enterprise initiatives with the objective of performing the initial accompaniment of these for a limited period. The consultant will facilitate access to services including:

* Technical consultancy for the entrepreneurs, both in the creation of microenterprises, as well as in production, market access, financial resources and business management.

* Micro-financial institutions. The *FPS / UP* is developing a joint microcredit strategy with the “Un Sol Mon” Foundation of Caixa Catalunya, which has established agreements with micro-financial institutions in the territory.

* Partnerships with businesses, local government, Chambers of Commerce and corporate foundations, among others. The *FPS / UP* signs agreements with the rural town councils of the places where the majority of temporary workers come from and with business associations such as the VallenPaz Corporation, the Carboandes Foundation and the Carvajal Foundation, among others.

CONCLUSION AND MISSION PROGRAMME

The mission of the *UP* Temporary Worker Flow Management Program is to build a legal logical framework of informed migration, taking into account the impact produced in the community of origin and destination; the programme also seeks to treat the workers as human beings and support them by taking into account their interests, as well as offering them support on their return to their country of origin, by strengthening rural sustainable development in their community of origin and their families through co-development initiatives.

The *UP* Temporary Worker Flow Management Program is not immune from all the complexities involved in successfully confronting the challenges of migration from the country of origin to the destination country.

In the short term and based on experiences of its programme, the *UP* believes there is an urgent need to design new strategies to manage the internal flow of European immigrants arriving on their own initiative from the countries that have recently joined the EU. These people come with the hope of finding work, but if their immigration process is not handled well it can end up having a negative impact on our society and therefore may lead to social unrest. It is therefore essential that both the central and regional administrations prepare and implement short-term programmes for managing internal flows of people and also take into account the necessary relocation of construction workers who will lose their jobs.

The *UP* believes one of the possible alternatives to improve the management of these flows of workers is the committed contribution from the business world together with the administration, which can develop mixed mediation strategies adapted to productive sectors of the different autonomous communities.

In addition, before starting a place of origin recruitment programme with third countries, it is necessary to set out a commitment by the employer and / or business association to manage the impact that this migration causes in both in the place of origin and destination. The impact occurs in the place of origin because it is usually the more skilled people who migrate and this weakens the country of origin. Moreover, on arrival at the destination it is necessary to efficiently organize the reception and integration of these people, both in the businesses and in the society that are temporarily receiving them.

In addition irregular recruitment should be pursued and punished and there is also a need to encourage Corporate Social Responsibility among the most representative employers and / or their organizations in the management of migratory flows both in the place of origin and destination. Therefore, it is necessary for the competent authorities

to propose programmes that encourage and assist the development of business strategies committed to this issue as an element of social recognition and business effectiveness for society as a whole.

Only if there is awareness that, through the need to meet business requirements, some migratory flows are created that may have negative impacts in both the country of origin and the destination country, will it be possible to start to improve the management of these flows. The participation of administrations, from a general interest point of view, is a basic requirement, but the involvement of employers or their organizations is the key to initiating a move towards migration flows that provide similar benefits to both the country of origin and destination, as well as to the employer and the migrant. For the *UP* this is what is referred to as Informed Migration and work needs to be done on the model.

2. LABOUR MIGRATION FROM THE LOCAL DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVE

Jorge Baca Vaughan, Josué Gastelbondo Amaya, Luis Medina

TCLM – AENEAS Project - IOM Colombia

Labour migration and local development: Not a spontaneous generation phenomenon

Overseas labour migration was of interest to the IOM in Colombia because the Organization thought it could direct part of that dynamic towards local development, and through this seek alternative methods for tackling poverty and marginalization in both rural and urban areas of developing countries. In other words, the IOM got involved in this issue along the following lines: *local development and labour migration*, or what in fact is the same thing, *labour migration in terms of local development*. In this sense, the nature of the *community of origin* was seen from specific cultures and territories and the objective of labour migration was focused on the development of its community of origin. The Organization has always believed that the contribution by migrants to the development of the destination countries was clear, although much remains to be done in terms of integration and access to rights.

Fostering this deliberate encounter involved simplifying the framework of migration and development to labour migration and, to be more specific, seasonal labour migration that enables a return to the place of origin and a subsequent repeat of the cycle. Therefore, the IOM brought the issue of development to local and regional development of specific communities in the country of origin of the migration.

As can be seen in this article on Temporary and Circular Labour Migration (TCLM) model, the IOM is seeking a model for planned seasonal labour migration and to a certain extent that is collective in nature and therefore that will serve local development. However this article will not be discussing the mechanisms created by IOM for thousands of people that migrate every year in search of work but who do so through their own initiative and not as part of an organised programme

The present article has been written from reflections that have emerged after several years of working directly on projects in several regions of Colombia, seeking to con-

solidate social and community processes in places of origin. This combined with the exchange of experiences that international and intergovernmental organizations such as the IOM promote, allow several ideas to be put forward for discussion.

The ideas discussed below come from a team of people who have combined experiences, concepts and practices for the collective construction of a diverse process that consists of encouraging the strengthening of ties between migration and development.

The main ideas presented below have reached the following main conclusion: *labour migration and local development do not come together spontaneously; this “marriage” is only possible if induced by international, national and regional public policies as well as by social organizations and even alliances with productive and financial private sector enterprises, both in the country of origin and destination.*

Naturally, millions of dollars in remittances have an impact on the national economies in the country of origin, and if the migrant population belongs to particular regions within the countries, there is clearly an impetus provided to the local and regional economy through a process consistent with the increased liquidity in the market. However, many studies also conclude that if the remittances are not articulated with savings, credit, co-operation, public policies and accompanied by social processes, these resources lose the possibility of turning into investments and production, such that *the impact of these remittances on the process of development is debatable.*

Migration and development: a series of assumptions that raise questions and challenges

The importance of migration, particularly labour migration, for countries of origin and destination is an issue which is being discussed from different perspectives, supported by a series of assumptions that the IOM in its daily work wants to review, and which are as follows:

First, the assumption that migrants are crucial for the economies of the developed countries, because the ageing of the economically active population coupled with a low birth rate in countries that until recently had economic growth, means that migrants are indispensable. The IOM believes that this assumption is true, based on the studies that have been made in Europe in this respect, such as the study prepared by La Caixa three years ago, that showed that the GDP of the European Union countries would be lower and even negative if migrants were not contributing to the economies of these countries.

On the other hand, there are other structural elements in the economies of developed countries that show that immigration is actually a process that will continue for decades, although there will be variable economic cycles. The pension and healthcare systems of destination countries are based on the fact that migrants make major contributions to these systems that fundamentally support the *local population*. This reality can be checked by

comparing the number of contributing migrants in proportion to those who use these health and pension systems. It is a fact that the percentage of national contributors that reach pension age is higher and that in the healthcare system in countries such as Spain the percentage of nationals that require attention and investment in treatments is higher.

There is no doubt that the financial state of these pension and healthcare systems put pressure on public policies in terms of regular migration. In spite of the debate that such policies generate, IOM believes that ultimately it's about the recognition of rights that enable migrants to have better conditions. Therefore, the Organization is inclined to favour public policies aimed at creating the conditions for migrants to have access to and full enjoyment of their human, economic, social and cultural rights.

The second assumption is that remittances, even recognizing that they are private flows of money, can be a development factor for countries of origin. The IOM considers that it is an undeniable fact that they are important for the economies of the countries of origin of the migrants, but that remittances do not have a structural impact on development through a spontaneous process of generation.

All the studies, mainly by the Inter American Development Bank and, in Colombia, the AMCO study carried out by the *Alianza Pais* (a public-private-academic alliance that conducted an in-depth regional and geo-referenced study), that have investigated the use of remittances lead to the same conclusion: the people of Latin America use remittances for their daily survival, and a minimum proportion is channelled for development investments resulting in at least three targets: housing, education and productive-business projects.

It is possible that there would be greater investment in development if the challenge is seen beyond just remittances and includes savings, access to credit in country of origin and destination, guarantee mechanisms, international cooperation contributions and contributions from local, regional and national Governments.

These question marks surrounding the impact that migration and remittances have on the development of countries of origin lead us to propose focusing instead on the issue of labour migration and its impact on local and regional development.

The experience of labour migration linked to local and regional development

The IOM team believes that it is possible to link migration with development if done so in the place of origin and destination, and if it is possible to impact specific populations from certain territories. The reality of these countries is diverse and each has its own regional and local peculiarities. Therefore, the Organization targets local development, which includes labour migration as a development tool capable of transferring, not only economic resources, but also new knowledge and experiences.

From this perspective, the role of IOM involves making progress on the concept of labour migration by recognizing regional, national and international contexts; this provides some conditions for working on facilitated labour migration, its regulations and its contribution to development.

Labour migration and local development seek:

- * To promote local and regional development in the country of origin, strengthening both the institutionalism and social organizations of the communities and creating an impact on the improvement of the quality of life of the labour migrants, as well as improving their homes and their community.

- * To promote the access of labour migrants to training, finance and savings instruments and to social services, which will enable their active participation in the local, regional and family development in the country of origin and destination.

With this in mind, the IOM decided to consolidate and replicate the excellent experience of the *Unió de Pagesos (UP)* (Agricultural Trade Union) of Catalonia in the placement of migrants that work for a season, return to their countries of origin and then travel once again the following year to work in Catalonia. Strengthening this model would enable the IOM to demonstrate the possibility of linking labour migration to development.

This initiative received support from the European Union, through the AENEAS programme, so that between 2007 and the middle of 2009 the model was consolidated and replicated. Consolidation of the model implied strengthening the Organization of the *UP* in Colombia, by creating the *Fundación Agricultores Solidarios* (Agricultural Foundation) in Colombia as a branch of the *Fundació Pagesos Solidaris (FPS)* (Agricultural Trade Union Foundation) of the *UP* in Catalonia. There was also support from AESCO, a migrants association and from the academic sector (universities) and in addition illegal immigration prevention campaigns were promoted on the radio, television, in the press and on the Internet.

The Pompeu Fabra University in Barcelona, the University of Salamanca and the Alma Mater Network of Public Universities of Colombia, were included in the systematization and replication process. The academic work was very important for widening the debate and to look at the closure of the AENEAS project and to enrich the whole process with their questions and inputs. The three universities had complementary areas of research as follows:

- * The Pompeu Fabra University with a team headed by Ricard Zapata, investigated the impact of the TCLM model that was conceived and implemented by the *UP* in Catalonia, in the light of economic, social and cultural issues.

* Alma Mater, with a team led by William Mejía, investigated the impact of the TCLM model in Colombia, explaining the conditions and results in local contexts.

* The University of Salamanca, under the direction of David Roll and Pablo Biderbost, investigated various productive sectors in Spain from the perspective of replicating the model and its articulation with corporate social responsibility and co-development.

The Alma Mater network of Public Universities of Colombia brings together 10 public universities in a region of Colombia with high rates of overseas migration. The participation of this network enabled work to be done at a national level with a team of experts on the subject but with different approaches to the same issue and open to learning about TCLM model in respect of its scope and limitations in different local contexts.

Some of the various Alma Mater approaches found that:

“Perhaps the impacts on local development may be stronger because of a) the nature of recruitment in the country of origin and b) the temporal and circular work, rather than because of the declared component of training temporary workers in Spain to be co-development agents. In this regard, workers have not been ready to assume the heavy burden that was placed on their shoulders, by appointing them as: ‘promoters of development activities in their own communities of origin; intermediaries between the two different communities (origin and destination) and as: creators, implementers and managers of projects together with the Community”.

For its part the Pompeu Fabra University has raised the following issues:

“The “Pagesos” project is an inspirational and innovative model by seeking to combine three development processes: development in the countries of origin; development in the host countries; and development of the actual migrant. In addition, it is about transforming, what in principle is a simple business project for the recruitment of temporary labour, into a project of co-development. Ultimately it transforms the need of the migrant into an opportunity for development.

But it is not only the dimension of co-development which it is trying to implement, but also the dimension of a personal temporary circular migration. The model is consolidating a new type of migration: that of the personal circular migrant. However, this is a phenomenon that so far has been ignored by public policies and also by literature on circular migration. The idea of the circular migrant is still not recognised legally, politically or by trade unions as a separate category, nor as a relevant academic concept.

Another of the keys to the success of the model lies not only in obtaining institutional, legal and political support, but also having, at the organizational level, a strong leadership that contributes to the cohesion of the sector – in this case, agricultural. Both the

managerial dimension of the project led by the “UP” as well as the more caring and humanitarian dimension, headed by the “FPS”, form an organization that is well mapped out and established with a broad capacity for sectoral mobilization. This cohesive nature brings together the majority of employers in the sector which gives a strong legitimacy to the project.

In general, the project has the confidence of all the participating actors, especially of the main beneficiaries: agricultural employers that can successfully meet their manpower needs for a successful agricultural harvest season programme; and the circular migrants, that use migration as an instrument to realize their life project in their own community of origin together with their family, without having to think about moving permanently to another country.

The ‘ripple effect of the model’, i.e. its territorial and sectoral replicability, should be the subject of a more detailed examination. This study has already shown the variables that facilitate this replicability and those that hinder it. The possibility of replication should be the focus of attention of the different public administrations and major economic sectors since this will add legitimacy to a type of migration that could help reduce tensions that permanent migrants create in host societies in social, political and even social terms.

But, as with anything in practice that is in the process of being implemented, the “Pagesos” TCLM model also raises questions that can contribute to its consolidation. One of the first is the very objective of contributing to development. In other words is it feasible for all migrants to also participate in co-development? For this to be the case the objective of co-development can become a constraint by keeping potential migrants, driven by necessity, away from the project. It is then pertinent to ask who is selected and who remains. The selection criteria must also follow rules that favour more the dimension of the person than that of the worker, which is consistent with the philosophy of the model.

There is also the difference between two modes of development: the community development projects, whose impact benefits the whole community or a large part of it, for example via cooperatives; and the small family business projects that have a much narrower economic impact, which is restricted essentially to the migrant worker and his/her nuclear family. The new strategy that the “FPS” has been implementing since 2007 (“a thousand temporary workers, a thousand agents”) recognizes this distinction. However, it is not clear if the model can establish a priority relationship between these two types of project, and the consequences that this could have on migrants and their communities of origin.

From the personal aspect, although it has already been pointed out how migration becomes an informed and safer project for the migrant him/herself, it also has to be noted that it has an effect on the family structure. That is, personal circular migration implies

that living between two worlds becomes a way of life. This reality implied by temporary circular migration needs to be analysed in more detail to see how the model can also contribute to, perhaps, redefining the same concept of the family that moves permanently between two worlds. This definition of a transnational family should also be the subject of institutional consideration so that the family unit receives the necessary support to avoid its potential disintegration.

In addition, the TCLM model has now come up against the economic crisis, which will directly affect its operation. The fact of whether the model can continue to function and pursue its objectives and can continue receiving institutional support, will be crucial for its stability and consolidation in times of crisis.

The “Pagesos” project is also an inspiration for academic debate. This study raises the dilemma of whether personal circular migration is a way to promote co-development. This dilemma about the philosophy of co-development is expressed in so far as personal circular migration does not clearly suggest worker rotation. Therefore it could happen that it is always “the same people” who benefit from the project such that they become a potential new social category in their countries of origin, with their own status. In this sense, so that personal circular migration and co-development can be linked, it is necessary to properly strengthen the sectoral and territorial replicability and expand the scope of the model.

But the combination of circular migration and co-development has a fundamental characteristic. It implements a form of “deregulating migration” and promoting the right to mobility and freedom of movement. The migrant not only maintains contact with his/her country of origin, but becomes a protagonist of his migration.

From the point of view of the host society State, circular migration also implies lessening the social, cultural and political costs resulting from immigration, since the migrants do not become permanent. The same can be said of the State of origin, which benefits from things such as remittances and co-development initiatives (to mention just a couple), without having to deal with the costs of permanent migration.

Circular migration combined with co-development is also the basis of a new “culture of migration”, which so far has been a business initiative, but that should be the subject of public policy. One of the effects that, without doubt, the model can have is not only territorial and sectoral expansion (which we have considered along with replicability), but also its influence on the public policy of those States who still manage migration in terms of control and of limited duration (the process of displacement).

If this type of migration gains a recognized status, it then also becomes a potential public policy issue both in the countries of origin and the host countries. IOM believes that the project can be moved in this direction.

In any case, it would require other research to be undertaken in order to properly analyse the influence that models such as that of “Pagesos” are having on migration policy. This study is the beginning of a process of theorizing that is trying to establish a new field of study, which in turn will help to define new directions and innovations in the field of the theory of migration”.

Participation by the University of Salamanca presented an opportunity for reflection for us, even with the spiralling economic crisis, first in Spain, and then aggravated by the global crisis, and it left us with an important perspective for a replication phase, when the political and economic situation allows this to happen.

From the work done by researchers David Roll and Paul Biderbost IOM would like to highlight the following aspects:

“The TCLM in times of economic crisis: changes in the labour market and restrictions on the recruitment of immigrant workers. *Spanish society is going through exceptional economic times. Not only is it affected by the international financial crisis (that originated in the United States subprime or high risk mortgage market but it is also going through a significant internal retraction which is the result of the slowdown in the growth in its real estate market which is the area primarily responsible for its significant economic expansion over the last three 5-year periods (2008 Lapetra).*

This new, unforeseen scenario has brought significant changes to the Spanish secondary labour market. The disappearance of typically urban jobs (essentially linked to the construction sector) has resulted in the movement of thousands of workers, Spaniards as well as immigrants already living in Spain, to the rural sector in search of jobs, something which has been corroborated by the main national and regional newspapers.

This change in the labour market has significant consequences for the TCLM process. According to reports, in the province of Jaén, in Andalusia, 12,000 unemployed people have registered in the Office of the GEA (Agricultural Employment Management office) of the Andalusian Employment Service. The figure is a record in relation to previous agricultural seasons. Similarly, during the Valencian harvest season (northern hemisphere autumn), it has been found that the number of Spaniards and the number of permanent immigrants (i.e. not seasonal immigrants) that are working in this sector has doubled from one year to another. This accounts for 2 % of the total number of Spanish workers and 10 % of the total number of permanent immigrant workers. Such figures reduce, at least temporarily, the recruitment of temporary workers at source (Asociación Agraria La Unió, 2008; Foro de Inmigración de Jaén, 2008).

These changes in the employment choices of the Economically Active Population (EAP) in Spain have produced a shift in policy from the Ministry of Labour and Immigration in respect of approving the recruitment in countries of origin of immigrant workers.

According to the latest official list of jobs that are traditionally difficult to fill, those now not included are bricklayers, welders, electricians, carpenters, locksmiths, waiters, chefs, gardeners, agricultural labourers, rubbish collectors, car washers, taxi drivers and window cleaners. The removal of these jobs represents a reduction of 32.14 % compared with those contained in the immediately preceding list and a decrease of approximately 93 per cent of the amount of actual jobs on offer compared to previous figures.¹

In all probability this new regulation promoted by the political authorities in respect of the recruitment of immigrant workers will, in the short term, affect the possibilities of replicating the TCLM. However, the situation is not expected to affect the companies and sectors that have traditionally employed temporary workers and that, because of the special characteristics in their productive processes, do not appeal to native Spanish and European Community workers. The duration and depth (sectoral ramifications) of the crisis will be what end up shaping and promoting the changes that occur in the Spanish job market.

Conclusions:

Advances in the field of transport and telecommunications have multiplied the implementation of TCLM processes. They now not only just occur in Europe and are not just the result of the economic and technological changes of recent years. The United States, Canadian and Latin American economies have made use of this recruitment model for decades. In Europe, both Germany and Switzerland have made frequent use of temporary workers from southern Europe.

What is new (and the contribution of Samir Näir has been of undoubted importance) is the conviction that the TCLM model brings benefits in terms of co-development.

Thanks to the presence of immigrant workers in developed economies, not only is the host society guaranteed that jobs that the local population does not want to do are performed, but in addition the societies of origin receive important resources in the form of remittances and in other ways that can contribute to their growth.

However, not all the economic sectors or the recruitment of any type of worker (regardless of their level of training and other characteristics) in the framework of TCLM make substantial contributions to improving the living conditions in the countries of origin, as was confirmed by a survey carried out at the request of the IOM. In order to find out what contributes to the creation of higher levels of co-development, the Institute of Ibero-American Studies of Salamanca University is creating an index (of the potential for generating co-development). Once this has been defined, the source and destination

¹ Despite this substantial reduction, the Spanish job market still needs, according to this same list, to recruit immigrant workers as doctors, dentists, opticians, nurses, physiotherapists, engineers, skilled mechanics, hairdressers and shoemakers (State Public Employment Service, 2008).

State authorities can assess and more precisely decide what kind of productive jobs are the best ones to be promoted

Although the claims concerning the implications for co-development of the TCLM have been gaining ground, civil society both in the country of origin as well as destination are often unaware of its true effects. The public, private and non profit (third) sector actors that are convinced of its usefulness must carry out some social education to generate a new common sense attitude towards the presence of immigrants in developed economies. Making the various social sectors aware of how much the immigrant population has contributed - and will continue to contribute - to its role as an “indispensable human resource”, to the economic and cultural development of Spain, helps to clarify certain attitudes, on occasions not sufficiently argued, that just see that same population as a collective applicant seeking specific actions from the State.

In turn, in order ensure greater legitimacy for the TCLM process, the TCLM beneficiaries and the actors committed to the TCLM model must start to put pressure on those who, under the guise of the temporary recruitment of immigrant workers, are violating both labour and immigration laws. This of course means that “not all TCLM experiences are worthy of praise” and States of origin and receiving States, must exercise a permanent control over TCLM processes to avoid such inappropriate situations.

Moreover, something as complex as the TCLM, cannot be managed in isolation and public and private institutions with the accompaniment of civil society organizations and international agencies must take a leading role in its administration. Exploring alternative ways of governance (i.e. compromise between different actors) must be a fundamental tool for making significant progress in this regard. A permanent social dialogue must be turned into a mechanism for ensuring a continuous improvement of this type of experience so that levels of co-development can be increased.

Finally, it is realized that the current global economic-financial crisis will affect the recent patterns of recruitment of temporary immigrant workers. European politicians have taken excessively dramatic measures related to the short term reduction of immigrant workers; this has been done without being aware of how irresponsible such action is because of the consistent association by the part of the public between immigration and the deterioration in economic conditions. In spite of such dramatization, if there is a real need for the businessmen to recruit “temporary workers”, the process will continue with its respective ups and downs. The TCLM may not be a panacea, but its positive effects cannot be underestimated and therefore its responsible implementation must be encouraged”.

The goal of linking 2,800 workers to the TCLM model in a period of two years has been exceeded. Basically the big leap has been made with the clear commitment to local development with more than 122 productive projects and the improvement of housing

co-financed by international cooperation from Fondo Catalan (Catalan Fund) and the AECID (Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation); there is also support for development management training for more than 1,000 temporary workers with help from the Catalanian Agency for Development Cooperation and slightly more than 40 local and regional Governments in Colombia.

The communities, local governments, and the social and private sectors involved in the programme play an active role and are protagonists of the link between labour migration and local development through three instruments:

1) Community Focus.

- * People that had been **victims of forced displacement and had returned or were resettled in new rural areas** (Valle del Cauca).
- * Vulnerable populations that live in **natural high-risk areas** (High Risk zone close to Galeras volcano in Nariño) and are in the process of resettlement.
- * Communities **of rural zones undergoing productive restructuring (Cesar)**.
- * Programmes for **women heads of household organized** into productive projects and rural housing (Nashira project, Valle del Cauca).
- * **Leaders of social organizations** linked to self-management housing and social programmes (Suba, Bogotá).
- * **Organized indigenous people** delegated by indigenous councils (*Cabildos*) and indigenous reserves (*Resguardos*) that work on cultural recovery and productive projects (Sibundoy, Putumayo).
- * Regional **peasant farmers with potential agricultural exporters** (Landázuri, Santander and Magdalena).

2) Technical accompaniment in productive processes.

3) Strategic alliances of public, private and social actors.

The process led the IOM to back the migration agenda in public policy. Jointly with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Colombia, the IOM supported: the National Development Plan of 2007-2011; several departmental decrees; and subsequently in the Development Plans of 2008-2012 of Mayors and Governors, mainly in those with high migration as well as in Bogotá.

The local development partnership brought us a new insight on the role of local Governments, reaching the point of being able to count on contributions of close to one and a half million dollars for the TCLM programme in 2008, from more than 40 Mayors' Offices and Departmental Governments.

These local governments did not have and do not have specific budget headings for migration, so it has been necessary to turn to budget headings focused on development which include:

- Promotion of development.
- Promotion of employment.
- Promotion of business association training.
- Support for micro-businesses.
- Income generation.
- Employment promotion programmes.
- Employment Training.
- Support for rural development.
- Agricultural technology development.
- Care for the vulnerable population and links into the productive sector.

In addition, the IOM is aware that its TCLM program must converge with other IOM dynamics and those of other entities, so that there is a range of co-development, migration and local development tools for accessing, strengthening and replicating its knowledge.

This range of tools must include training proposals for the migrants, savings schemes, access to credit at source and destination, guarantee mechanisms, international cooperation contributions and contributions from local, regional and national governments.

Linking remittances/savings/credits and cooperation programmes means recognizing the experiences of: the Unió de Pagesos; Armenia Chamber of Commerce in Colombia; and other organizations supported by: AENEAS (EU); the Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation (*AECID*); the Catalan Agency for Development Cooperation (ACCD); and other entities.

Basic concept of Temporary and Circular Labour Migration (TCLM)

The TCLM refers to the recruitment of migrant labour for periods of six to nine months mainly for agricultural work before returning to their countries of origin at the end of the contract. Depending on performance and the demand for such labour in the country of destination, the worker may repeat the cycle one or more times.

The TCLM model is a strategy that allows opportunities to be created both for the countries of origin as well as receiving countries and it seeks to:

* Promote local and regional development in the country of origin, strengthen institutions and community social organizations, and improve the quality of life of the labour migrants, their households and their community.

* Promote access by labour migrants to training, finance and savings schemes, and social services, in order to promote their active participation in family, local and regional development in the place of origin and destination.

This model has its origins in the scheme implemented 10 years ago by the *Unió of Pagesos (UP)* and the *Fundació Pagesos Solidaris (FPS)* of Catalonia with the aim of confronting the shortage of manpower for fruit picking in that region of Spain. It started by recruiting migrant labour, at source, in Colombia, Morocco and Romania, to meet that demand.

The *UP/FPS* have specialized in the integral management of flows of temporary workers and has outlined a model in which migrant labour is seen as agents of development in order to act as multipliers in their communities of origin.

On the basis of the work done by the *UP/FPS*, as well as other experiences, the IOM identified the need to strengthen the model to enhance its scope and create a positive impact in communities of origin and destination. To this end, IOM Colombia submitted a project to the European Union AENEAS programme to obtain development cooperation resources allowing the consolidation and subsequent replication of the model. The project was approved in the second half of 2006 and from December of that year the IOM began implementing it together with the *UP/FPS*.

This process of the temporary and circular movement of workers between the two countries seeks to maximize the benefit that the countries of origin and destination can obtain from these migratory flows. The integration of migration and development, known as co-development, is a form of consensual relations between the two countries, which seeks to avoid converting the contribution of the migrants to the host country into a loss to the country of origin.

Co-development is a recent concept that emerged in 1985 during the so-called *Co-development Encounters* (“Assises du Codéveloppement”) organized by the University of Leuven in Belgium. A more developed concept emerged at the end of the 1990s, when it was suggested that its essence lay in the potential benefits that could accrue to the migrants and the States of origin and destination of the migratory flows. It is from the perspective of co-development that the TCLM model gains importance.

Conditions and characteristics of the programme

To ensure that the TCLM model is successful in the various countries, there are conditions that must be met by the migrant and by the countries of origin and destination. These conditions can be summarized as follows:

- * Creation of partnerships and presence of the actors in the areas chosen by migrants.
- * Institutional support.
- * Training of the temporary workers.
- * Access to credit for the temporary workers, their families and communities.

The first condition is the creation of partnerships and the presence of actors involved in the areas defined by the selection and participation of migrants. These partnerships involve finding donors and entities that provide support; moreover legal procedures need to be established to guarantee spaces for association. In the case of IOM Colombia, replicating the excellent *UP* experiences of Catalonia involved strengthen the *UP* presence in country of origin. This strengthening process led to the creation of the *Fundación Agricultores Solidarios de Colombia* (Mutual Agricultural Foundation of Colombia), as a branch of the *Fundació Pagesos Solidaris* of the *UP* in Catalonia.

The second condition is institutional support throughout the process, since the active participation of communities, local governments and the private and social sectors enables the link to be made between labour migration and development. This led the IOM to have a decisive influence on the migration agenda in public policy together with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Colombia. This is reflected in the National Development Plan for 2007-2011, and also in several Departmental decrees and in the Development Plans of various Municipal Mayors and Departmental Governors for the period 2008-2012. The partnership for local development created a new insight into the role of the local governments, to the extent that more than 40 Mayors' Offices and Departmental Governors made contributions of close to one and a half million dollars to the TCLM programme in 2008.

Once the partnerships between the national and local governments involved are created, it is essential that a third condition is met to ensure the effectiveness of the experience which is that training is provided to potential migrants before they leave the country, while they are working and after their return to their place of origin. These training mechanisms should be targeted at the creation and improvement of professional and technical competences of the temporary workers, as well as at enhancing their abilities and skills that are applicable in the creation of future productive projects. This has the objective of promoting stability in the nuclear family as well as in the community of the migrants, and additionally to provide welfare for the same migrant during his/her stay back in the country of origin.

Turning to the *Fundación Agricultores Solidarios* (Mutual Farmers' Foundation) which is being supported by the IOM, the responsibility for welcoming the temporary workers and managing accommodation for them is shared by the local farmers that receive them in Catalonia and by the Foundation. The latter is responsible for facilitating the integration of newcomers. The integration programme starts with a training process called "Introduction Course" that offers the temporary workers, on arrival, information and training for their first welcome (labour regulations, access to the health system, sending of remittances, a basic knowledge of the language, and availability of resources in the area such as libraries, Internet, etc).

The Foundation is also responsible for accompaniment in case of hospitalization, and of organizing socio-cultural activities and training on matters requested by the temporary worker, ranging from physical therapy to ecological farming. These training sessions are grouped under the "Supplementary Course". In the 2007 agricultural harvest programme about 1,300 Colombians participated in these activities.

The fourth condition is related to the economic factor which means that in the place of origin, access to credit and the real possibility of association/organization in their communities, for both migrants and their families, is facilitated. This is done with the aim of providing security to families and/or associations formed by the community of the migrant around the supported productive units. That is why the social mobilization component is necessary, because it encourages the construction of networks and strengthens the organization of the community. In addition it has a psycho-emotional component, defined as a strategy for focusing on personal development and growth, which promotes quality of life and the well-being of the migrant; this undoubtedly allows the strengthening of the family, organizational and community structure, which in turn contributes to the local development of zones of influence of the migrants and their families.

As part of the TCLM model, the *FPS* encourages and supports initiatives of temporary workers that seek to develop their communities of origin. It is not only about the temporary workers sending money to their families, but that they themselves push forward innovative socioeconomic initiatives on return to their countries of origin. This is how support is given to collective initiatives with a community vision, that take into account the gender perspective, and that are oriented to the preservation of the environment and the strengthening of community and citizen participation. Some examples of these proposals are: a training centre for women; improving a school library; a small collective of milk producers selling their milk; and a cooperative for processing and marketing fruit, among others.

In the case of the people who decide to migrate in order to do temporary work (*temporary workers*), the factors that allow the generation of mutual development processes

are: how these people use remittances that have been sent; the possibility of saving part of them; and the ability to appropriate knowledge in order to bring about knowledge and technology transfers.

Other basic concepts

As a proposal for capacity-building of the temporary workers, the concept has been created of the co-development agent, which is the temporary migrant working in his/her community in the search for development. The agent acts as a bridge between the two beneficiary communities of the co-development process (origin and destination). To this end, the *Fundación Agricultores Solidarios* performs various activities aimed at promoting the concept of the co-development agent and to provide tools that enable rural development in the communities of origin of the temporary workers.

Advantages of the co-development model

Added together the abovementioned conditions produce successful co-development models that bring gains for both countries. In the country of origin, there is an impact on employment, since theoretically it releases jobs; it also allows a growth in demand in sectors such as construction, given the investment in new housing, or in refurbishing, expanding or improving existing housing. The remittances that in a limited way only guarantee some stability to the family of the migrant become a source of investment and purchasing power in the local market that benefits the community.

It is very important to highlight the positive impact on the gender issue since the TCLM raises the idea of changes within family units. In the case of male migration, women are forced to develop a more important role in their social surroundings and the men learn to value the work of their women in the home. In the cases of women who migrate, two out of every three women that live as couples state that they themselves decide how to spend their remittances; this implies the acquisition of autonomy and empowerment by female temporary workers.

The receiving country also sees benefits as the work of the temporary workers enables a guarantee that one or more the productive sectors have sustainability and profitability. Temporary migration also means that the consumption of goods and services increases because of the presence of temporary migrants and reduces the possibility of permanent or irregular migrants.

The guarantee of success of these processes depends on the correlation of actors and the shared responsibility of those who are involved in them, because joint development is impossible if it is not understood that this means that the responsibility is shared. The IOM believe in alliances, synergies and co-responsibility, recognizing the wealth that diverse interests and different perspectives can bring to the process.

Policies of co-development contribute to improving the living conditions of migrants, their families and their communities. The benefits are: investment programmes funded through remittances - individual or collective – that signify better housing and new sources of income; temporary migration allows workers to increase their standard of living without having to leave their family for several years; “brain circulation” (as opposed to “brain drain”) which helps to satisfy the shortages of skilled labour in industrialized countries that at the same time allows young “brains” from developing countries to acquire experience that may be useful in their own country, and the financial and technical help on their return facilitate the process of reintegration into the community of origin by migrants and contribute to the development of productive projects.

However, it is important to evaluate the overall process and to continue analyzing this model and its global impact.

The IOM experience necessarily leads it to face up to challenges in the current phase of the TCLM programme. One of them is to avoid having 500, 1,000 or 2,000 productive projects that reproduce the individual enterprise model that can structurally maintain people in poverty.

It is necessary to be much bolder in the transfer of knowledge in such a way that it is possible to appropriate organizational models that guarantee, from the associative nature of the communities, public-private partnerships along with the development of marketing strategies.

In relation to this topic, the IOM thinks that associative-productive models must be transferred that both strengthen production as well as marketing. Regarding the strategy of marketing, thought is initially being given to three tools:

* “SEAL OF QUALITY”: related to migration and sustainable development, that in a similar way to “label of origin” enables reference to be made, in addition to the quality and processes of the products, to a social component related to Labour Migration and Local Development.

* “PRODUCT BRANDS”: based on their relationship with the Labour Migration and the Local Development, because they arise from opportunities that have been consolidated through the existence of programmes that promoted them.

* “COMMERCIAL LOGISTICS CENTRE”: with the support of IOM Social Marketing and in close relationship with the local, regional, national and international private sectors.

Perspectives of an International Guarantee Fund for Colombians living overseas

Finally it is necessary to discuss an initiative that has now emerged called International Guarantee Fund for Colombians living overseas (*FIG-COL*). *FIG-COL* is a migra-

tion and development tool that is aimed at establishing agreements with credit institutions in countries of destination, so that access to credit is promoted for migrants who will be supported with an 80 % guarantee on a loan, whenever these resources are intended for housing, education, or productive projects in their country of origin.

The FIG-COL, designed and promoted by the IOM will initially operate under FIDUCOLDEX, an entity attached to the Colombia Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism which is responsible for foreign trade. FIG-COL is expected to work hand in hand with several public and private institutions.

Perspectives and challenges for putting a human face on globalisation

Recognizing that migration and development are not spontaneously linked just by the fact of migrants entering the global job market, it is necessary to be aware of the need to take action on the impacts made both in the country of origin as well as destination.

Likewise there are no unique formulas that link labour migration with local development, and so there is a need to be creative, while at the same time replicating experiences that have brought results.

Nor is it sensible to suggest that responsibility for development rests only with migrants, or with Governments, employers from industrialized countries, migrant associations, civil society organizations, or with the communities in the country of origin. The IOM believes in partnerships, synergies and co-responsibility, recognizing the value that the various interests and different views can contribute to the process.

The task of linking labour migration and local and regional development implies conditions, policies and actions, both in the country of origin as well as destination that have as the main focus of attention the migrants. Those conditions must be encouraged and work must be undertaken to develop participatory processes that allow public policies as well as programmes that enable public, private and social alliances on the basis of results with impacts on development.

The IOM considers that the various entities working on Migration and Development issues have an immense subject to explore which is necessarily creative, open to learning, focused on the rights and duties of migrants, respectful of the decisions of Governments, and that must continue to add specific results in the many countries of origin and destination.

These organizations have a duty to increase their work and to freely impart their wisdom and experiences, in order to contribute to the reduction of poverty, not only from an economic perspective but with a more human face, in what is becoming an increasingly more globalized world.

3. TEMPORARY AND CIRCULAR LABOUR MIGRATION (TCLM) OF WORKERS BETWEEN COLOMBIA AND SPAIN. A MODEL TO CONSOLIDATE

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The main objective of this chapter is to contribute to the theory of the Temporary and Circular Labour Migration (TCLM) launched by the *Unió de Pagesos (UP)* and the *Fundació de Pagesos Solidaris (FPS)* in 2000.

The specific purpose is to define the model and consider the possibilities for its consolidation and replication in the same employment sector but different territories, as well as in different employment sectors. The study focuses on the project launched in Catalonia, with agricultural seasonal harvests and with the recruitment in the place of origin of Colombian workers.

This chapter is in three parts. In Part I (theoretical framework: the human and employment aspects of temporary and circular migration) there is a brief theoretical review of the TCLM with the aim of framing the project within the existing academic debate. Part II (the *UP/FPS* model and its context), presents an introduction about the place of destination and the legislative and public policy framework within which the project sits. This part will also include information on the main features of the model. In part III (impact and replicability of the model) there will be a discussion on issues related to the impact of the model on its immediate surroundings and the possibility of its replication in other productive sectors of the same territory. The chapter ends with some final thoughts regarding the strengths and weaknesses of the TCLM project, as well as possible future lines of study.

Part I. Theoretical Framework: the human and employment scenario of temporary and circular migration

The temporary foreign worker programmes began, both in the United States and Europe, during and after the Second World War, thanks to the rapid industrial growth and the

need by employers of low skilled workers especially in the manufacturing, construction and services sectors (Böhning, 1972; Miller and Martin, 1982; Mehrländer, 1994). During the 1950s and 1960s there was a peak in the recruitment of temporary workers in different sectors of the developing economies. This use of workers ended in the 1970s (Martin, 2003: 5) due to the global economic crisis (Castles, 2006: 6). This migration was characterized in general by being strongly centralized and administered by the destination States.

In the 1990s, the temporary worker programmes were restarted on the basis of seasonal employment, and the possibilities offered by overseas immigration and border policies. Currently, most Western countries have seasonal worker programmes, with either a high or low level of training² as a resource to cover some of the labour needs of certain sectors such as agriculture, construction or tourism (Martin, 2003: 26; Castles, 2006: 14). In general these programs share certain distinctive features, since they happen in seasonal economic sectors and have a similar worker profile (low-skilled, young families). However, in contrast with earlier programmes managed by public administrations, the current ones are implemented on a significant number of occasions by the employers that are mainly involved in the productive activities.³

Within this framework of temporary migration, the concept of “circular migration” is found (Constant and Zimmerman, 2003: 1). The term “circular” first appeared in 1982 when Graeme Hugo used it to describe internal migration in Indonesia⁴ (Reannveig and Newlan, 2007: 2). Currently, there is much debate about the notion of circularity applied to temporary migration without it having a clear shared definition. (Fargues, 2008: 1, etc.; Venturini, 2008: 1, etc; OECD, 2007: 108). Most literature assumes circularity to mean the return of migrants to their countries of origin, after a long period in another country, with the aim of improving their economic, social and personal situation.

The previous definition does not take into account issues such as length of stay in each of the countries, the legal status of the migrants or the work undertaken during the stay

2 Despite the existence of programmes for the movement of low skilled workers, the truth is that today in the European Union most programmes are targeted at highly skilled workers, and the number of unskilled workers admitted is much reduced (Castles 2006: 28).

3 Despite this being the trend in recent years, Governments seem to be taking the first steps in direct management. An example of this is the pilot mobility partnership and circular migration programmes launched by the European Union with Cape Verde and the Republic of Moldova, with high and low-skilled migrants (2939 meeting of General Affairs and External Relations Council of 10 December 2007), or the European Commission communication on circular migration and mobility partnerships between the European Union and third countries (COM 2007, 248 final of 16 May 2007).

4 The author examines the circular migration in Indonesia in the 1970s. He defines “circular migration” as migration carried out within the same country, and over a short distance for small periods of time and that occurs more frequently than any other type of migration (Hugo, 1982).

(Constant and Zimmerman, 2003: 1-3).⁵ Neither does it take into account the fact that circular migration maintains a smooth, continuous and long-term relationship between countries, and that the management rules are adaptable and flexible. According to this definition, the migrants are no longer passive actors and become active agents of their own mobility (Rannveig and Newlan, 2007: 3). For example, Fargues (2008: 2) establishes as his definition the criteria of: temporality; renewability; a certain flexibility of movement between country of origin and destination; legality; respect for the rights of the migrants and conditioning of job markets. For its part, the European Commission in its communication on Circular Migration proposed the meaning of Circular Migration as “a form of migration that is managed in a way that enables a certain degree of legal mobility between two countries in one sense or another” (COM, 2007: 9).⁶

Based on the latter definition, different international organizations have adopted positions on the interest in and the benefit of this “permanent” mobility system. In 2005, the Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM) called on developed countries to promote Circular Migration through mechanisms that would enable the quick and easy movement of workers between countries of origin and destination (GCIM 2005: 33). The premise is clear: there can be no Circular Migration with legal restrictions and without government support. Circular Migration always implies a Government commitment in favour of this type of migration. The IOM sets out the benefits that temporary and circular migration can mean for the various actors and in particular for the developing countries (IOM 2006). For its part, the European Commission in its “Communication on Migration and Development” (EC, 2005), and in its “communication on Circular Migration and Mobility Partnerships between the European Union and third countries” (EC, 2007), promotes the exploration of ways to facilitate circular and temporary migration, “...by inviting the submission of detailed proposals on how to organize various forms of legal movements between the EU and third countries” (EC, 2007:2). Finally, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2007: 108) emphasized that in all probability the circular migration model is, currently, the most recommended way for development in many countries of origin.

There are different reasons that underpin the need to promote the “circular temporary worker” (Venturini, 2008; Fargues, 2008; Rannveig and Newland, 2007; Vertovec, 2007). However, fundamentally what is highlighted is the assumption of shared benefits where there are three winners - countries of origin, host countries and migrants themselves. From

5 Also see Massey, 1987; Donato et al, 1992; Massey and Espinosa, 1997, etc

6 The European Commission (2007) mainly highlights two forms of circular migration which may be the most relevant in the European context. These are circular migration of nationals of third countries established in the EU and that temporarily return to their countries of origin; and the migration of people who reside in a third country and migrate to Europe.

a theoretical point of view, this interdependence between the three main actors (country of origin/host state and the actual migrant) also implies the promotion of joint responsibility in different areas including flow management and development.

In spite of the very positive initial views on the consequences of TCLM, the truth is that there is also a negative view of how this model can affect the actors that are involved. Some authors suggest problems for the migrants given their lack of opportunity for socio-economic mobility both in their countries of origin as well as destination (Vertovec, 2007: 6), the strong feelings of dependency that occur in migrants and their families in respect of this type of temporary work (Basok, 2003: 20), or the lack of legal protection for the workers in so far as their working conditions (Castles, 2006: 11; Martin, 2003: 26).

In any case, the effects of these new migration patterns are still at a very exploratory stage of analysis, but there is already some literature to indicate that the multi-directionality, circularity and the pendulum-type trips to-and-fro which are all characteristic of the current migration patterns, are giving rise to new lifestyles and new “transnational social spaces” (Pries, 2005). Some authors include this pattern of migration that combines temporality with circularity, i.e. repetition during a period of temporary stay, as an illustration of trans-nationalism, in so far as it designates the set of processes by which migrants participate in family, social, economic, religious, political and cultural processes in their countries of origin, as well as in the host country (Basch et al., 1994; Faist, 2000; Glick Schiller et al., 1992; Grasmuck and Pessar, 1991; Guarnizo, 1997; Jacoby, 2004; Kyle, 2000; Levitt, 2001; Portes, 2003; Smith and Guarnizo, 1998, et al).

Without doubt, resolving some of these problems depends on how the three main actors (society in country of origin, society in host country and migrants themselves) involved in TCLM programmes, meaningfully cooperate and comply with the agreed actions. This framework of co-responsibility or shared responsibility is what promotes the project put forward by the *UP* and the *FPS*. The business practice proposed by Pagesos, of adding to the Circular Migration the personal characteristics and those of development cooperation then becomes a form of counterargument to many of the gaps and challenges highlighted by the literature on the subject. This is where the theory of the *Pagesos* project can contribute to the academic debate.

Pagesos, in practice as we shall see, illustrates how a simple business idea for recruitment in the place of origin can become an inspiring model that aspires to contribute to co-development. It is an innovative business project “with a human face” where the agricultural sector not only treats people as workers but workers as people. The migrant, after passing through the business project, acquires personal experiences and capabilities that can be applied in his/her country of origin, contributing not only to personal development, but also to the development of his/her own family/community/society. The

Pagesos Solidaris model, even when maintaining its nature as a business project, wants to develop the person that lies behind the worker, by encouraging social mobility in the country of origin.

Part II. The UP/FPS model in context

1. Contextual and fundamental features of the model

The TCLM model has three contextual features because it is implemented: in a territory, Catalonia; in an economic sector, agro-food; under a specific legislative/political framework.

Catalonia is the autonomous community with the highest registered immigrant population in Spain (21.6 % of immigrants who live in Spain). On 1 January 2007 Catalonia had 972,507 immigrants, equivalent to 13.49 % of its total population.⁷

The increase in the foreign population in recent years is chiefly explained by the demands of the labour market and by the demographic deceleration (Caixa Catalunya, 2007: 34).

The agro-food industry sector is the most important sector in the region and where the majority of foreign recruitment is concentrated.⁸ In 2006, foreign workers made up 74.1 % of the contracts in this sector (59.1 per cent of the permanent contracts and 75.9 % of the temporary contracts) (CTESC, 2008: 66). In the agro-food industry sector there is one area of particular importance because of its seasonal nature: harvesting of the fruit and subsequent processing of the fruit. There is a pre-determined “agricultural calendar” and here there is a link between the temporality of the sector and the temporality of migrant workers, in the same way its circularity is linked to the cyclical nature of the harvest.

This model is only possible with legislative and political support, and with a flexible relationship with the State and the various public administrations. Pagesos has not only known how to properly interpret the possible ways forward under existing legislation but it has also been able to act as a pressure group proposing innovative legislation at all levels (international, State, autonomous region and province). The legal basis of the model is mainly built around the concept of recruitment in the country of origin of the workers and is covered by Organic Law No. 14/2003 on rights and freedoms of foreigners in Spain and their social integration, and subsequent development.

The following table summarizes the legal basis of the model:

7 Municipal electoral roll, 2007 (<http://www.ine.es/>).

8 The agro-food industry (AFI) includes 'all manufacturing companies whose activities are related to agricultural and agro-food products. In short, the AFI is seen as' the sector that includes all the processing, conserving, preparing and packaging operations of agricultural and food 'products carried out in industrial production units (Gil 2004).

Table 1. Legal basis

	State level	Autonomous / provincial level		Agreements signed by UPS/ FPS
Legislative	-LO 14/2003 -RD 2393 / 2004 Section II and Heading V -Resolution 26 December 2006, workers contingency regulation (2007) -Agreements between Spain and Colombia, Morocco and Romania, for the regulation and planning of labour migration flows	-BEF/531/2006, bases governing subsidies from the Welfare and Family Department. (Point E) -BEF/291/2006, accommodation subsidy for foreign workers -Catalonia Collective Agricultural Agreement	- Collective agreement of the sector for the harvesting, storage, handling and sale of fruits and vegetables in the province of Lleida	-Convention for the planning, coordination and integration of migratory flows in seasonal agricultural harvest programmes - Agreement between the Ministry of the Interior and Justice of Colombia and the UP
Administrative	-Strategic Citizenship and Integration Plan 2007/10	-2005/2008 Catalan Citizenship and Integration Plan		

Source: author

2. Organization, philosophy and internal mechanisms

The project would not have been successful had it not been for the organization, philosophy and some clear internal mechanisms, i.e. the TCLM model developed by *UP* and the *FPS*.

The *UP*, founded in 1974, aims: to defend the social and professional interests of the agricultural family businesses; to serve as an interlocutor with the administrations and agents of the agricultural sector; to provide advice and services to professionals in the

agricultural sector.⁹ Out of these activities emerged the TCLM model. The Trade Union, in the context of an urgent need for agricultural labour, tried to undertake “corporate social responsibility” actions through the recruitment of workers in places of origin to resolve the problem that the Catalan agro-food sector had. Recruitment of the workers at source was, ultimately, the measure that brought together the urgent need for labour with the orderly regulation of migratory flows.

In this context, and after a couple of years of external recruitment,¹⁰ the FPS was founded in 2001.¹¹ This was a completely natural development, driven by the practical need, and at the request and wish of farmers and workers. At the beginning, its objective was to participate in the human, economic and social development of more impoverished agricultural societies and to support their organizational structures.

At present, the philosophy that underpins the *FPS* project is inspired by the model of co-development put forward by Sami Nair in 1997. In this context, co-development is understood as a way of integrating immigration and development so that both the country of origin and the host country can benefit from the migration flows. It is about creating a consensual relationship of co-responsibility between two countries, so that the contribution of migrant workers to the host country does not result in a loss to the country of origin.

The link between the TCLM and co-development is the core focus of the Organization. In practice, the aim of this project is for workers to travel for a period of time each year (usually between 6 and 9 months) to the different agricultural harvest season programmes of Catalonia, Valencia and Majorca and then to return to their communities of origin to apply what they have learnt in order to develop their own communities. This process is intended to create a circular movement between both societies with the worker travelling between the two for several consecutive years. The end of this travel process would come about with the implementation of a family or community productive development project in the country of origin.

In short, the model can be defined as a response to three realities: first, helping to save and maintain the Catalonian agricultural sector by providing the labour needed; secondly,

9 To learn more about this Trade Union please see web page: <http://www.uniopagesos.es/>

10 The first recruitment was in 1999 with Colombia with a total of 35 workers. In 2008 the recruitment in the country of origin was 4,081 workers of different nationalities.

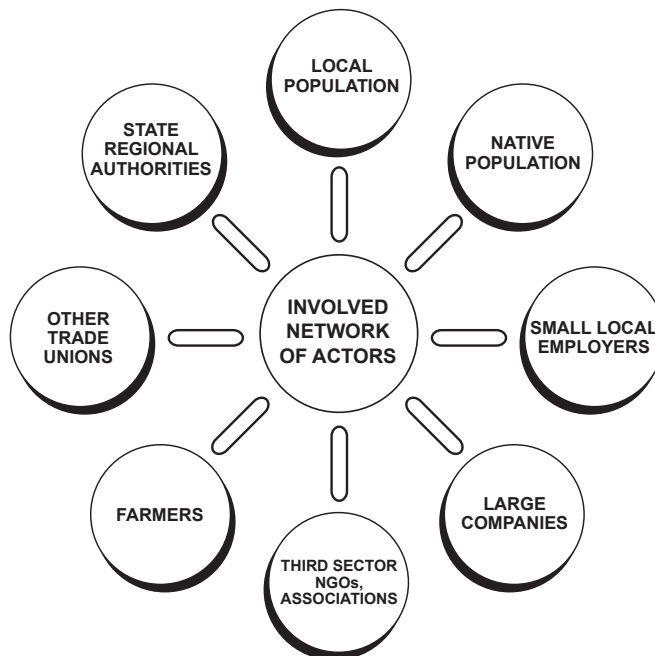
11 The name of the Foundation is legally registered in the three languages of the Autonomous Communities where it operates, and therefore it is equally correct to refer to it as *Fundación Agricultores Solidarios* (Mutual Agricultural Foundation), *Fundació L'auradors* or *Fundació Pagesos Solidaris*. Here we will refer to it by the last name in the list (*Fundació Pagesos Solidaris* (FPS) which is in Catalan. For more information on the FPS, refer to its web page: <http://www.pagesossolidaris.org/archivos/ca/>

improving the conditions of the accommodation and stay of the workers; and finally, trying to provide development in the countries of origin that the migrants themselves become involved in.

For this project to function, Pagesos has designed a broadly structured organizational model. The circularity model for temporary workers has been made possible mainly thanks to the two organizations involved that employ around 300 people. The FPS has a Director who has four people under her direction responsible for: recruitment; client management; welcoming/hosting workers; and cooperation. There are also some territorial representatives in Valencia, Majorca and Colombia¹² Each of these officials has their own technical teams. In addition to the aforementioned workers there are others that are temporary in nature: technicians/experts employed to give specialist training courses to the workers, to those responsible for accommodation, and to the health agents.

Now the Pagesos projects has a wide network of local interlinked actors (so-called stakeholders) that are all involved in one way or another in the development of the project (see Figure 1).

Figure1. External actors network



Source: author

12 Until a couple of years ago an external psychologist was responsible for the recruitment of the workers in the place of origin. Currently, and thanks to the European AENEAS programme the FPS has opened its own office for the organization is responsible.

3. Main lines of action

The project is developed based on a recruitment model which is implemented in Colombia. This temporary recruitment process is done through *UP*'s own Labour Recruitment Service. The *FPS*, therefore, does not hire the workers itself but supports the recruitment process by organizing and managing the *TCLM* programme through a series of specific activities. These activities of the *FPS* are precisely those that have developed “the human face” of the *UP* business project. Its objectives cover three areas: mediation, welcoming and development, in addition to cross-cutting awareness-raising activities.

The objective of the mediation role is to arrange the processes that stem from the demand for labour by the agricultural employers, including: the selection of workers; the recruitment process; obtaining permits and visas, etc. The reception process means mainly accompanying the newly-arrived temporary workers, arranging accommodation¹³ and developing a series of different types of training activities, including: preventing occupational hazards; citizen security; learning the Catalan language and family planning. In addition there are “health agents” that act as health care facilitators, and people who are responsible for accommodation and that manage this issue. The development objective is to train “development agents” and support co-development activities in the countries of origin. Finally, the crosscutting theme of raising awareness aims to promote fair relationships, strengthen solidarity among farmers in different countries, and help to make people aware of the problems faced by farming communities in the more impoverished areas.

The “*Pagesos Solidaris*” model is aimed at the foreign workers that take part in the various agricultural harvest season programmes, the communities in the countries of origin of those workers, and for the host society. This business project with a “human face” can be defined in eight innovative points that inspire their replication both territorially and sectorally.

¹³ Spanish legislation obliges companies that recruit temporary workers in the place of origin to provide accommodation to workers with at least minimum standards that guarantee the well-being of the newly arrived workers.

Box 1. The eight points of the Pagesos project

1. Promotion of an interdependent system of co-development. It establishes a link between three processes of development that promote a system of three winners: the society of origin; the host society; and the migrant worker.
2. From migration as an adventure to migration as a secure life project. It tries to reinforce the personal motivations of migrant workers in a more secure environment. Migration changes from being an adventure full of uncertainties, to being a fully defined project. In terms of work it contributes to a flexible, safe, legal and regular work environment.
3. Migration as a tool to plan personal life development. Temporary circularity is transformed into a life project that the worker can develop in his/her country of origin, with his family and in his/her own community. The migrant benefits from the project both economically and personally, by acquiring development capabilities for personal autonomy.
4. Ethics of the model. The project offers a culture of development and an awareness of contributing in a small-scale to global justice. It is a fair interpretation of the migration process since it liberalizes the movement of the person and encourages his/her mobility. It is a planned migration process that converts the initial need to migrate into an opportunity for the worker. The model not only welcomes workers but also people. In fact, the distinction is typical of the difference between the UP (receives workers) and the FPS (receives people).
5. From a business project to a public policy. The business project that the model means can be interpreted as a way of promoting the foundations for developing a public policy on migration. Migration has always been understood to be a brief process of temporary displacement, and it has never been put forward as a global object of public policy. In this sense the model will inspire the definition of a public policy on migration.
6. Promotion of joint responsibility between two States. "Pagesos" acts as an intermediary between two countries to promote bilateral cooperation. By performing this function it turns the migration process into something that is accepted by the two States involved in the process which forces them to have mutual understanding in so far as they share responsibility for the temporary and circular nature of the project. This shared responsibility is a condition without which the actual development of the project is impossible.
7. Promotion of the status of the temporary migrant. The status of the migrant turns into a work category and, as such, requires legal, political and trade union recognition as a status. This status demands that at least two conditions are met. On the one hand it requires the commitment by the migrant worker to return. In other words, the migrant worker must not use the opportunity to become a permanent migrant. On the other hand, it requires a bilateral agreement between the two countries and a recruitment system in the country of origin of the worker.

8. Personal circularity. In the face of the academic debate on labour circularity, the Pagesos project promotes a new type of circularity: personal circularity. This means that there has to be a difference between the systemic dimension and the personal dimension of the circularity. The first dimension considers the circularity as a system of relationship “country of origin, host country, migrant”, and describes the circular motion of the process without touching on the personal aspect. The circularity process is defined from the point of view of the employer that every year, in a circular fashion, receives different workers. In contrast, the personal dimension is based on the circularity being performed by the same person, who becomes a temporary migrant on repeated occasions over the years and is always in the same employment sector. Here, the circularity is defined from the perspective of the migrant and not of the employer. Therefore personal circularity must be looked at as a new category and a new pattern of employment. No longer can this be seen as an abstract migrant, “without a name”, but rather as a migrant with “a face”. The circularity, in this case, turns into a status, into a new category of migration, something that is not yet fully recognized and which must be the subject of debate.

Part III. Impact and replicability of the model

The basic objective of this final section is to focus on the impact of the model, both on the local *communities* as well as on the *migrants* themselves, and the possibilities of replicating the model in other employment sectors.¹⁴

1) Impact on the local communities and on the migrants themselves

The impact of the model on the local *communities* is analysed through two types of discussion: discussions with the leaders of local entities (business, community organizations, local governments) of two cities in the area; and the discussions with the agricultural sector actors.

First, the model meets the need for temporary labour that the agricultural sector in Catalonia has needed since the second half of the 20th century. Historically the farming communities have responded to this need by hiring various groups of workers including: peasant farmers from the South of Spain; university students; unemployed people from the cities of the autonomous community; and legal and illegal immigrants. In contrast to earlier times, the assessment done on the *Pagesos* project is highly positive. Particularly worth highlighting are: the stability in its labour flows and its circularity; the absence of serious problems thanks to the high-level of regulations surrounding issues such as ac-

¹⁴ This part is produced from information collected through semi-structured interviews and discussion groups conducted with different actors as key informants in our analysis. In some cases we include as footnotes quotes from the very interviews.

commodation; the coordination provided by the *UP*. Among other things to mention are the high level of organization that surrounds the stay of the temporary workers which prevents any kind of collapse of public services given that in some towns the arrival of these temporary workers can double the number of inhabitants. Public order does not suffer either now as it has in previous times.

Also, it is considered that the regulatory and administrative framework of the model is something that contributes to creating conditions for its implementation. Although regulations impose restrictions on the work of the farmers (in terms of working and living conditions) and to some extent makes the process relatively more expensive, generally speaking it is felt that the regulations and control mechanisms bring order to the system of labour, thereby contributing to the economic and social tranquillity of the people.

It was found that interaction with the circular migrants occurs mainly through the work scenario. For example, contact between the community and the temporary workers occur through the farmer. In this regard, those migrants that were interviewed refer to a situation whereby labour relations between employer and employee in Catalonia can be described as horizontal in some way. This is very different for example, from what is found in others regions of Spain; the relationship here would seem be more informal and less hierarchical. This characteristic, of which the Catalans are so proud, is disconcerting at first to migrants, although later the migrants themselves hold it in very high esteem.

Personal circularity also appears to have a very positive effect in the area of interaction: the farmers are very grateful to have the same workers year after year, since this allows the farmers to delegate job responsibilities based on the previous relationship and the accumulated experience of the workers. It is worth highlighting the fact that in places that are dominated by large scale agricultural businesses with worker hostels far from the town, interaction is much less and does not really stretch beyond tolerance. In contrast, at sites where there are many small groups of employers (cooperatives and individual farmers) closer relationships tend to develop along with a process of mutual respect between the receiving community and the migrant worker.¹⁵

As regards the perception that the neighbours have of Colombian workers, they mention the figure of the responsible, hardworking “family man or woman”, that has come

15 “The people are adaptable and welcoming. These workers are coming to help us. It has to be realized that they come and work hard, but we are businessmen and we work side by side with them (...) And because these temporary workers are coming to help us then the ordinary people welcome them with open arms because you cannot treat a person badly who has come to work for you. And now we have reached the points where we cannot do without these temporary workers” (this was the general consensus of the members of the discussion group). -“When we local people put on a party we invite the temporary workers by putting up notices in their hostels so that the workers know that they are invited to the party”. “Many of us local people invite the temporary workers to meals, take them to the beach and even on visits to Barcelona”. -“And many of the Colombians eat our local dish of snails, and we have eaten “sancocho” (typical Colombian dish) because one of the Colombian workers has prepared it. When we get together we share and share alike.”

for a specific purpose and who will return to his/her country at the end of the agricultural harvest season programme, which is seen as a guarantee. The culture, the language, the religion and the customs, as well as marital status and gender, emerge as the variables that result in a relatively lower suspicious attitude towards Colombians, in comparison to other immigrant groups from, for example, Morocco or sub-Saharan Africa.

Residents of the towns and villages that receive circular migrants consider the TCLM model as highly beneficial for both the workers that are part of it as well as the residents themselves. The main positive impact for these workers is that they have a job, and a source of income to start projects in their own country and to improve the living conditions for their families.¹⁶

However, the temporary workers also talk of some negative impacts. Several temporary workers indicated, for example, that their arrival in Catalonia represents a radical change for them because they are suddenly exposed to a very wide consumer choice and much more money than they had in their own country. The usual result is new purchasing patterns that are frowned upon by the residents of the town or village; the temporary workers acquire mobile phones with the latest technology, second-hand cars and satellite dishes for their hostels. From what is said in discussion groups this greater purchasing power is associated with the idea that the circularity is “changing” the workers and that their behaviour changes the more trips they make.

So gradually the workers are beginning to feel more confident and have more networks of friends (including friends and relatives that remain in Spain, either legally or illegally). This translates into greater autonomy and less gregarious behaviour. Likewise, in the work relationships a “less meek” attitude is detected compared to the first or second year of a temporary worker’s¹⁷ visits to Spain, and there are increased demands in respect of living conditions. The local farmers are watching this with concern and see it as a display of ingratitude. In short these views from discussion groups show a positive assessment of the worker that is obedient and compliant and a negative attitude to those changes in behaviour mentioned above that are taking place among the temporary workers.

16 Some local people say “the temporary workers are used to sending money to their families. They come and work for two or three months and then leave. This is perfect. If they come with other ideas, such as overstaying, then there are problems. But for temporary workers who behave then the programme is good to them and to us local people as well. On their return to Colombia these temporary workers share the money with their family, and live the rest of the year in better conditions. But those temporary workers who come here with other ideas such as overstaying can distort the picture. If there are a couple of “bad apples” in the group then this can affect the attitude of local people to the whole group”.

17 “Previously everything was more proportionate but now it seems to be more disproportionate. At the slightest hint of friction or conflict and they call you a ‘racist’ “. - “I believe that this is a logical development, because in the first and second years they were more self-conscious and they didn’t know what they were doing or where they were going, because of the type of work they were doing and how they were treated”. “Some have stayed like that and others are no longer so timid: ‘ I’m not bothered because I can leave and go and stay with my friend’ “.

Regarding the impact the model has had on them, the local residents and farmers consider this initiative as a major collective achievement that has been gaining strength in a flexible way based on each year's experience, with broad social and economic benefits for the community. For their part, the employers involved tend to consider that the model is better in ethical and also economic terms to the alternative way of behaviour of those who "do things wrong" (those who break the rules, keep the workers in poor working conditions and prefer to use the black economy or illegal workers).¹⁸ If the labour rights of temporary workers are violated, these workers produce less and this will adversely affect the profit of the local farmer or the company. In the words of one of the workers: "If you treat me badly I will respond accordingly and in the end this is more costly for everyone". In short, it leaves the impression that the TCLM model has performed an important role in the discourse identifying of the business sector in the area.

Below are the findings related to the views of the Colombian circular migrants:

In respect of the reasons that the temporary workers give for participating in the project, there are those community-driven reasons and others that are driven by individual or family reasons. Some temporary workers assign great importance to their community of origin. They see their participation as a project whose sense and relevance goes beyond just themselves and their families, at least in terms of priority. This occurs, for example, with members of indigenous communities where processes are taking place in respect of the recovery of the collective memory, or with people who spend years building productive type cooperatives in their towns or villages. It is not surprising that it is these same temporary workers who give more value to the component of co-development.

However, the main reasons for travelling to Spain are the lack of employment in Colombia and the desire to improve the quality of family life, in two ways. In the short term, these workers are thinking about earning enough to pay off debts, buy a house and resolve other basic needs. In the medium and long-term, they are looking to get enough capital (economic as well as human through training) that will enable them to set up their own business and set them free from the TCLM.¹⁹ The next reason for travelling to Spain is the fear that the project will finish, or that at some point they will not be chosen to participate.

18 "It is sad. Many of these people have farms, and they look after the animals in a fantastic way, they even play the animals music to make them produce more milk and keep them super clean... In contrast look at how the workers are treated... If asked the temporary workers would say they would rather be with the cows. So the employers must be made told that there is a right way and a wrong way to treat people, and that the right way is better for everyone"

19 "All us temporary workers come with the same idea of making some money, not only to improve things for the family but, when this is over, to build a business to generate income; a small company, a farm, some crops, animals, something that produces for us so we don't have to depend on this".

It is interesting to highlight that the first way of learning about the TCLM project is very much through informal networks. People talk a lot about making contact through friends or family, rather than through an institutionalized²⁰ recruitment process. In so far as the information that these people received before coming for the first time, it seems to have been very basic and general and, in their own words, insufficient. Likewise, several workers claim that what they were told about in terms of work did not match the reality that they found in Spain. This all means there is a discrepancy between prior expectations and actual experiences of temporary circular migration.

Among aspects of the management of the FPS that are unanimously highlighted as positive are the following: the formalities in the country of origin (getting a visa, and help in getting health certificates and background checks); the welcome in the destination country; responsibility for accommodation; and awareness-raising efforts. In contrast, two aspects appear to the authors of this article as the most critical for the temporary workers: accommodation and lack of continuity of the work.

In respect of accommodation, some workers focus their criticism on aspects of the infrastructure and equipment/furniture; others on issues of living with other people. However, most people establish a direct relationship between both these types of problems, pointing out that a lack of suitable living conditions²¹ determines the type of interaction that exists between the temporary workers by making it more conflictive. Although the problem of infrastructure is not a general one for all workers (several have pointed out that they have lived in good comfortable accommodation), all agree that along with the good experiences there are the bad ones.

The continuity of work opportunities is a second problem area of the model for the workers. They point out that, even if a contract has been signed for an indefinite period, this does not guarantee work throughout the agricultural harvest season programme. According to these workers, there are frequent periods of weeks or even a whole month of “stoppages” when there is no work. This can be for climatic reasons (rain or hail), gaps between the end of one harvest season programme and the start of the next, or just because of a lack of work. Given that there is no basic salary and that work is paid for by the hour, these so-called “European voluntary but compulsory holidays” have a strong impact on three areas of expenditure which are: the monthly remittances they have to send to their families for

20 An example of this is the following comment: “There is a girl from my town who I studied with. She was married to somebody from the capital and her husband had links with someone from Pagesos. She insisted that someone be invited from her village. It started with three relatives and then their friends were invited and now thanks to her there are 60 people involved from my village.

21 The most important accommodation problems according to migrants are: overcrowding (too many people per square meter, per room and per hostel); poor ventilation; lack of fridges, washing machines and kitchens per person; and lack of community leisure spaces.

living expenses; paying for their own cost of living in Catalonia, mainly food; and paying off debts, mostly incurred in Colombia when the trip was being planned.

In the account by the workers there are several issues linked to this. Workers complain about the rigidity of the system that prevents them from working for other employers during these stoppages. In addition, they consider that the recurrence of these stoppages betrays a lack of planning and organization by the *UP*. Finally, there is a sense of injustice because the contracts that the workers sign are not reciprocal. In other words, the workers say that they have to fulfil their part of the employment contract, but they have no means to ensure that the counterpart does the same.²²

This is not their only labour right that the workers consider is not being respected. They also mention the following: when they are sick they do not get paid; additional hours of work are not paid as overtime; they receive accident prevention training, but then there is no control out in the field of the measures taken by the employers in respect of this issue. Added to these external factors is the feeling of vulnerability that they produce, since the workers feel that they have no one who can defend their interests and no way of complaining. In response to the question of why don't they organize themselves in order to address these issues, they say that the distances between workers isolates them in terms of working as a collective, and this situation is aggravated by the lack of transport and time, since they spend all day working in the field. This all seems to be preventing the possibility of organizing a trade union. It follows that this new working pattern of temporary work requires a Trade Union response but there is still no sign of this in the area. It has also been pointed out that workers who have tried to organize the rest of the workers have not returned the following year and of course this becomes a deterrent for this kind of initiative.

As regards the component of co-development, not all migrants assign importance to this within the wider context of the TCLM model. Among those who do, there are two kinds of very different expectations. First, there are those of the worker that has already acted a leader in his/her community. In general, this type of worker is very appreciative of the possibility of receiving financial and technical support for projects that are being planned or that are already being developed in his/her place of origin.²³ On the other hand, there those who see co-development projects as a synonym for small businesses or productive projects that

22 "I understand that the contract is a commitment and if you do not fulfill it then you are responsible. But if they do not fulfill their commitment to you, what happens then? ". "If I want to leave, I get an earlier flight, and have to pay for breaking the contract; but if *Unió de Pagesos* does not fulfill its commitments it doesn't have to pay anything. In other words what we see is that the company and we all have rights and obligations. And they make us fulfill all our obligations but the company also has obligations. I think that if the company failed, they have to fulfill their obligation".

23 "I like this part a lot; I am very motivated by the idea of projects and I really want to do the co-development course and submit a project of mine... so that the project becomes a reality. I don't want just me and my family to benefit from this trip to Spain but I also want my community to benefit. I represent a cooperative (...)"

in the future will help them become financially independent, without having to rely on the TCLM, or the fluctuations in the employment situation in Colombia. Through training in co-development, many workers have given a new significance to the remittances that they generate, opening up the possibility of investing them little by little in some future project. At the same time, such projects begin to be talked about as goals whose implementation will not only benefit their closest family members, but also the local community through the generation of employment and the dynamisation of the local economy.²⁴ Incidentally, these different visions match the different views expressed by the workers on their initial reason for joining the project. However, it is worth highlighting that few temporary workers say that they are currently participating in a project sponsored by the *FPS*, whereas several say that they are implementing projects in their communities without the support of *Pagesos*²⁵

Finally, when making an overall assessment, the majority of those interviewed feel, despite the above-mentioned negative points and the high emotional costs because of being separated from the family, broadly compensated. This assessment is explained by the fact that participation in the TCLM project has allowed these people to achieve very precious goals such as: the purchase of a house; education for their children; the purchase of a plot of land; or the setting up of a small business or making an investment in collective projects. “This has changed my life completely”, is a phrase commonly used by the interviewees. The workers especially value the possibility that the project gives them of systematically improving their quality of life without having to consider permanent migration, by adding temporality to the benefits of personal circularity. However, according to some people, reintegration into the job market in Colombia is difficult; among other things, the municipal employment offices tell them that as they have had the opportunity of working in Spain, then these offices prefer giving the employment opportunities to other people. This increases the interest in the future creation of a small business that will give them financial autonomy.

24 According to one of those interviewed: “the role of the Foundation here is interesting and is good. You realize that you don’t just come to earn some money and send it your family; there are some people that don’t know what to do with the money or where to invest it, and here you start to think about your own business, working with the community; there is space to think about ‘ what am I going to do with what I have worked for’ “

25 It is precisely as a result of this diagnosis, among other things that, since 2007, the *FPS* has changed its strategy of co-development training, moving away from the idea of training an “elite group” of community leaders towards a more flexible approach, centred on the implementation of projects rather than on training; this approach is referred to as “a thousand temporary workers, a thousand agents”

2. Territorial and sectoral replicability

The interviews enabled information to be discovered regarding the alternatives that different entities in the various sectors have been implementing to address their own labour problems.²⁶

The results of interviews have been divided into two types of information: the conditions that facilitate and those that hinder the implementation of the model.

Table 2: Facilitators and hindrances for implementing the model

Facilitators	Hindrances
-Tertiary Sector	-Secondary sector
- Product and temporary occupations	- Product and Permanent occupations - Temporary occupations, not cyclical ones
- Cohesion of the business environment: role of management and of individual leaders	- Atomization of the business environment
-Territorial scope of the entity (wide: autonomous community)	-Territorial scope of the entity (limited: province or “comarca” (administrative area))
- Occupations that are difficult to fill	- Occupations that are difficult to fill increase the interest in retaining migrants workers - High investment in human capital increases the interest in retaining migrant workers
- Crisis (the linkage and transformation of permanent jobs into temporary ones (as a way to reduce costs)	- Crisis (less difficult-to-fill jobs, although not in all cases)
- Requirement for unskilled staff	- Requirement for highly skilled staff
- Large Companies (some)	- Only small and medium-sized companies
- Low diversity of grouped ranges, facilitates linkage	- High diversity of grouped ranges, hinders linkage

Source: author

26 For the interviews, sectors considered were those included in the list of Occupations that are Difficult to Fill (see http://www2.inem.es/catalogoOcupaciones/web/asp/ocupaciones/ocupaciones_) (busqProv.asp). In particular the following productive sectors were included: a waste management business group, involved in the manufacture of machinery and equipment and the construction of plants; a business confederation which brings together small and medium-sized businesses from different sectors; an association of entities that provide health care services for older people (Home tele-assistance, home care, day centres, residential homes, nursing homes, sheltered accommodation and socio-health centres); a large company dedicated to all stages of meat production; and a Hotel Federation comprising of hotels, guest houses, tourist apartments, campsites, bars, restaurants and discotheques.

First, everything indicates that it is easier to develop temporary and circular recruitment of migrants in the service or tertiary sector. This sector is the one that encompasses all those economic activities that do not directly produce goods, but rather provide certain services.²⁷ The secondary sector (which transforms raw materials into finished or semi-finished products)²⁸ would be unsuitable mainly because, although there is some requirement for temporary labour, there are no frequent “peaks” or times of intensive demand at a particular time of the year. Thus, products and occupations in the secondary sector are not, by nature, cyclical. As regards the primary sector (natural resources)²⁹, clear conclusions cannot be reached. It seems that its status as facilitator or hindrance can vary according to the case. The TCLM project illustrates one example of the primary sector as a facilitator, but it has not been possible to find other cases to back this up.

Having a highly cohesive management is something else that is good at acting as a facilitator. This is seen in the case of the UP, which brings together a significant institutional mobilization capacity within its sector and a group of individual leaders that are widely respected among their peers. In the view of those interviewed, other sectors of the autonomous community, such as the construction industry, have instead been characterized by the atomization of their management. By not having an employer’s organization that plays a leadership role it is difficult to undertake projects of the scale and level of planning that sets the TCLM project apart from others.

In cases where there is an entity that effectively brings together the employers of a sector, having a territorial reach is an essential factor. Taking this into account, it can be concluded that an entity that only covers a “comarca” (administrative area) or a province would have problems in achieving what the UP has by grouping employers from the whole of the autonomous community. Only by coordinating a large number of companies does this generate a volume of flows that makes it economically viable to set up a project of this size. Of course this depends on a combination of other variables as well, such as the size of the companies. In any case, economies of scale determine that the size of the demand for labour is a crucial factor.

The inclusion of difficult-to-fill jobs plays an ambivalent role with regard to temporary circular migration. During the study it was found that the regulation of this segment of the labour market has been decisive for the success of the Pagesos model. However, several of those interviewed mentioned that having to contend with these types of jobs increases the incentives to try and establish a permanent link, at least in the medium-term,

27 For example, transport, tourism, health, education, finance, communication.

28 In other words, industry, energy, construction, among other sectors.

29 Agriculture, livestock, fishing, mining, forestry.

with the workers recruited in the country of origin. With this objective, companies offer them economic and social benefits to the workers recruited in the country of origin and family reunifications are, in some cases, encouraged. This investment in human capital, together with the training that is undertaken, demonstrates the intention of companies to continue recruiting in the country of origin and to also strengthen this.

The current economic crisis is another factor that has an ambiguous role in respect of the model. On the one hand, some companies are looking at the possibility of changing what, until now, were permanent jobs into temporary jobs, and to coordinate links with other companies in the same area of business. This move is justified in order to reduce production costs and thus better handle the economic crisis. However, the crisis could also hypothetically reduce the list of difficult-to-fill jobs, in so far as jobs that were previously frowned upon by Spanish workers suddenly become attractive for the unemployed. This would make the replicability of the TCLM model less viable. But this view needs to be considered carefully. At least three of those surveyed pointed out that, since the beginning of the crisis, the list of jobs that need to be recruited in the country of origin have not substantially changed. Accordingly, it is not clear that the economic crisis does make a temporary and circular labour migration model unviable since there are jobs which, for a variety of reasons, will remain difficult to fill. However, the political situation that arises as a result of the crisis could, eventually, produce this effect. This would be especially so if there were a prevailing view suggesting the elimination of recruitment in the country of origin as a way of restructuring the domestic unemployment situation, which seems to be the approach by the current Ministry of Labour and Immigration of the Spanish Government.

Another point that affects the implementation of a temporary circular model is the skills level required of the workers. In general a low skills requirement facilitates this type of recruitment, since that is where the bulk of jobs are concentrated that the nationals of a country do not fill. This worker profile also facilitates the selection and recruitment processes, in addition to being a type of work that doesn't create many incentives to be retained. But this argument also needs to be considered with caution. The Hotel Federation of Lleida, for example, has been using temporary and circular migration for seven years to recruit hotel trade students. Precisely because of its need for qualified staff, it has channelled its demand through agreements with colleges in the sector, with very good results. For its part, the *Asociación de Recursos Asistenciales de Cataluña* (The Catalan Association of Welfare Providers), recruits nurses from universities and doctors in the country of origin. So far this has been for permanent recruitment, but recently consideration has also been given to the possibility of establishing agreements with colleges of nursing to promote circular migration. This shows that circular migration is also possible with skilled labour, although this is more the exception than the rule.

Finally, it has been noted that the internal variables of a sector are also a relevant factor. If it is composed of relatively similar companies this facilitates the possibility of establishing linkages, which is a key factor for the temporary circular model we have in mind. On the other hand, if dealing with very different types of businesses and occupations then it is difficult for the same worker to transfer between these different companies.

From all this the main dimensions and relevant variables have been identified to make the replication of the TCLM a viable proposition. The dimensions that have been synthesized in the following table can be thought of as the conditions that must be present to reproduce the model. However, this information must be considered methodologically as a type of ideal that perhaps needs to be checked territorially.

Table 3. Relevant dimensions and variables for replicating the TCLM model

Dimensions	Variables	Content
Network of actors	Leadership	-Existence of a strong employers' association -Existence of respected individual leaders
	Territorial coverage	-Wide to maximize volume and enable linkages
Immigrant profile	Skills	-Low; If it is high, agreements with universities (colleges) -Experience can be more important
	Nationality	-Existence of agreements with Spain to regulate flows -Relationship between distance/costs
	Marital status	- Circularity favours "family type"
	Other variables (urban/rural, language, age, religion)	-Secondary -Dependent on requirements of the sector

Productive sector	Type of sector	-Services
	Temporality of job	-Temporary jobs that must also be cyclical
	Temporality of the product	-Important but subject to temporary nature of job
	Jobs difficult to fill	-Ambivalent effect of economic crisis
	Size of the companies	-Large to ensure volume (or at least combination of sizes)
	Diversity of sectors or jobs	-Low to allow linkages
Regulation of the labour market	Existence	-Essential
	Implementation	-Effective controls -Significant fines

Source: author

Part IV. Conclusions: an inspiring model

The *Pagesos* project is an inspirational and innovative model by seeking to combine three development processes: development in the countries of origin; development in the host countries; and the development of the actual migrant. In addition, it is about transforming, what in principle is a simple business project for the recruitment of temporary labour, into a project of co-development. Ultimately it transforms the need of the migrant into an opportunity for development.

But it is not only the dimension of co-development which it is trying to implement, but also the dimension of a *personal temporary circular* migration. The model is causing the consolidation of a new type of migration: that of the personal circular migrant. However, it is a phenomenon that so far has been ignored by public policies and also by the literature on circular migration. The idea of the circular migrant is still not recognised legally, politically or by trade unions as a category, nor as a relevant academic concept. (See Zapata et al, 2009)

Another key to the success of the model lies not only in obtaining institutional, legal and political support, but also to have strong leadership at the organizational level which contributes to the cohesion of the sector. Both the managerial dimension of the project led by the *UP* as well as the more caring and humanitarian dimension, headed by the *FPS*, form an organization that it is well mapped out and established with a broad sectoral mobilization capacity. This cohesive nature brings together the majority of employers in the sector which gives a strong legitimacy to the project.

In general, the project has the confidence of all the participating actors, especially of the main beneficiaries: agricultural employers that can successfully cover their manpower needs for a successful agricultural harvest season programme, as well as the circular migrants, that use migration as an instrument to realize their life project in their own community of origin together with their family, without having to think about moving permanently to another country.

The ripple effect of the model, i.e. *its territorial and sectoral replicability*, should be the subject of a more detailed examination. This study has already shown the variables that facilitate this replicability and those that hinder it. The possibility of replication should be the focus of attention of the different public administrations and major economic sectors since this will add legitimacy to a type of migration that could help reduce tensions that permanent migrants create in host societies in social, political and even social terms.

But, as with anything in practice that is in the process of being implemented, the *Page-sos* TCLM model also raises questions that can contribute to its consolidation. One of the first is the very objective of contributing to development. In other words is it feasible for all migrants to also participate in co-development. For this to be the case the objective of co-development can become a constraint by keeping potential migrants, driven by necessity, away from the project. It is then pertinent to ask who is selected and who remains. The selection criteria must also follow rules that favour more the dimension of the person than that of the worker, which is consistent with the philosophy of the model.

There is also the difference between two modes of development: the *community development projects*, whose impact benefits the whole community or a large part of it, for example via cooperatives, and the *small family business projects* that have a much narrower economic impact, which is restricted essentially to the migrant worker and his/her nuclear family. The new strategy that the *FPS* has been implementing since 2007 (“a thousand temporary workers, a thousand agents”) recognizes this distinction. But, in short, it is not clear if the model can establish a priority relationship between these two types of project, and the consequences that this could have on migrants and their communities of origin.

From the personal aspect, although it has already been pointed out how migration becomes an informed and safer project for the migrant him/herself, it also has to be noted that it has an effect on the family structure. That is, personal circular migration implies that living between two worlds becomes a way of life. This reality implied by temporary circular migration needs to be analysed in more detail to see how the model can also contribute to redefine the same concept of the family that moves permanently between two worlds. This definition of a transnational family should also be the subject of institutional attention so that it receives the necessary support to avoid its potential disintegration.

In addition, the TCLM model has now to face the economic crisis, which will directly affect its operation. The fact of whether the model can continue to function and pursue its objectives and can continue receiving institutional support will be crucial for its stability and consolidation in times of crisis.

The *Pagesos* project is also an inspiration for academic debate. This study raises the dilemma of whether personal circular migration is a way to promote co-development or not. This dilemma about the philosophy of co-development is that, among other things, personal circular migration does not clearly suggest worker rotation. Therefore it could happen that it is always “the same people” that benefit from the project such that they become a potential new social category in their countries of origin, with their own status. In this sense, so that personal circular migration and co-development can be linked, it is necessary to properly strengthen the sectoral and territorial replicability and expand the scope of the model.

But the combination of circular migration and co-development has a fundamental characteristic. It implements a form of “deregulating migration” and promotes the right to mobility and freedom of movement. The migrant not only maintains contact with his/her country of origin, but becomes a protagonist of his migration. From the point of view of the host State the circularity also implies a reduction in the social, cultural and political costs that immigration brings, since these migrants do not settle permanently. The same can be said of the country of origin, that receives benefits such as remittances and co-development (to mention only a couple), without having to deal with the costs of permanent emigration. This circularity combined with co-development is also the basis of a new “migration culture”, which so far has been at the initiative of businesses but that should also be the target of public policy. (See Zapata et al, 2009)

One of the effects which the model can certainly have is not only territorial and sectoral expansion perspective (which we have considered along with subject of replicability), but also its influence in guiding public policy of States, that still manage migration in terms of control by considering it as limited in time (it is the process of movement). If the category of “circular migrant” becomes a recognized status like “immigrant” is nowadays, then it will also become a potential target of public policy, both in the countries of origin of the migrants as well as the host countries. The project could be moved in this direction. In any case, further studies would be required to properly analyze the effects that models such as *Pagesos* are having on defining migration policies. However, this exercise is the beginning of a theoretical process that is trying to put forward a new field of study, which in turn helps to define new directions and innovations in the field of the theory of migration.

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4. EVALUATION OF EXPERIENCES OF IMMIGRANT WORKER RECRUITMENT. IDENTIFICATION OF CONDITIONS FOR THE REPLICABILITY OF THE TCLM IN SPAIN

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1. Preliminary insights

The experiences of the temporary recruitment of immigrant workers (TCLM) in Spain can be found in different geographical locations and in different sectors of the economy. While traditionally the TCLM has usually been associated with agriculture, Spanish economic growth in recent years and the new legal opportunities of such recruitment that have occurred under both EU and national legislation, has led to its replication in sectors as diverse as lifesaving and the restaurant industry.

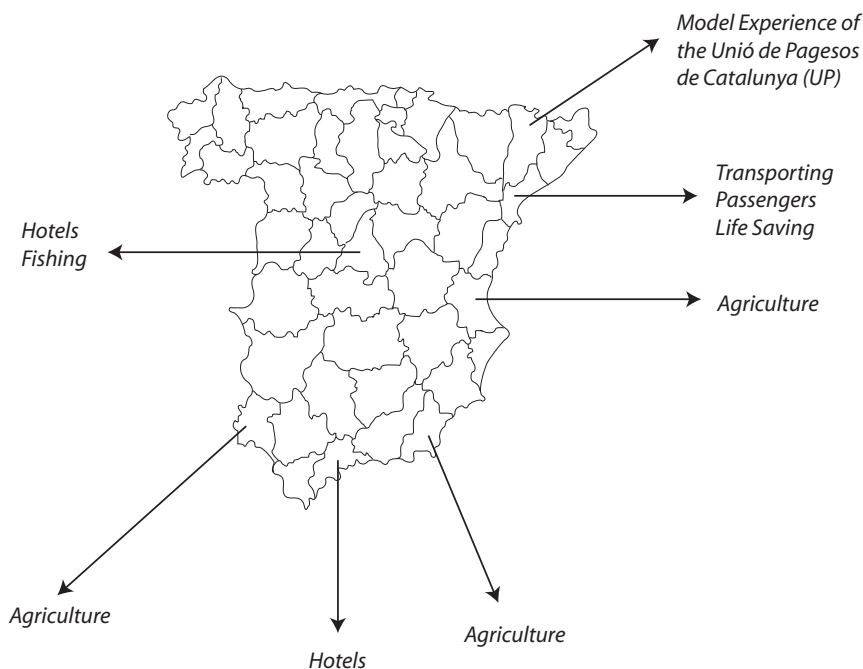
The map of the TCLM in Spain covers specific geographico-economic distribution patterns. The recruitment of immigrant workers for work in *agricultural production* and its industrial equivalent (in other words processing of products which are extracted from the land for internal and external markets) takes place, mainly in three autonomous communities: Andalusia, Catalonia and Valencia. In the case of the *restaurant and hospitality sector*, the temporary recruitment of immigrant workers is concentrated in Madrid and Andalusia.

30 The research for this article was produced by the transnational and inter-university "Programa de Migraciones Iberoamerica Soy Yo" (Soy Yo Ibero American Migration Programme), created by the Institute of Ibero-American Studies of the University of Salamanca and by the Political Party Research Group (Grupo de Investigación de Partidos) of the National University (www.unpartidos.org). Apart from the authors, Director and Executive Director respectively of this Programme it also included the authorial help of Guillermo Boscán Carrasquero (Institute of Ibero-American Studies of the University of Salamanca) and of Nadia Pérez Guevara, Political Party Research Group (Grupo de Investigación de Partidos), National University .

Catalonia is an interesting case since, along with other Spanish regions; it is highlighted by the volume of temporary workers hired for work related to the provision of public services such as driving *public transport passenger vehicles and lifesaving duties* on beaches and for leisure and recreation centres. Spain, in turn, has started an interesting process as the leading nation in Europe for recruiting of workers from outside the community for the *fishing* sector. This sector has its administrative centre in Madrid. Map No.1 shows, by region, the sectors that recruit temporary workers in Spain.

Map No. 1

**Map of the TCLM in Spain
University of Salamanca - IOM Survey**



Source: author (2008)

What is the fundamental reason behind the promotion by political and economic actors of the expansion of TCLM experiences in Spain in recent times? As is discussed in the other chapters of this book it is in its personification as an employee, when the migrant becomes the protagonist for *co-development*. The co-development refers to the possibility of joint development in two societies (origin and host) that exists when a migration process happens. The immigrant that works for economies that “import” his labour not only contributes to the development of these economies (because it is difficult to find lo-

cal workers willing to do certain jobs), but by sending remittances (or using something similar) helps the development of his/her own society (Nair 1997).³¹

As such, every migration process has the potential for creating co-development. However, the TCLM process can conceive, plan and interact with work schemes where the core focus is co-development. The following table summarises some fundamental information about the TCLM produced by researchers at the Institute of Ibero-American Studies of the University of Salamanca at the request of the IOM.

The immigrant as an employee in TCLM processes

ECONOMIC SECTOR	RECRUITING COMPANIES OR INSTITUTIONS	CHARACTERISTICS OF THE IMMIGRANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE SECTOR
Agriculture	Unió de Pagesos (Catalonia) COAG of Almeria CERAI Cartaya, Huelva	Recruited in country of origin: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 7,493 workers for fruit picking in 2008 (Unió de Pagesos). • 1,200 workers for fruit picking in 2008 (COAG Almería). • 1,000 Colombian workers for fruit picking (CERAI Valencia). • 30,000 workers (including people with temporary and indefinite contracts) to pick fruit (Cartaya).

31 However, if the immigrants (permanent residents) throughout their working life in the host society are doomed to be forever in the secondary labour market, this can affect their social and economic integration into the destination society. In this regard, Spain has an historic opportunity to avoid repeating this mistake that, in the long term, has affected social coexistence in European countries. The Article "Las segundas generaciones en España: ¿que movilidad social?" ("second generations in Spain: what social mobility?") by Rosa Aparicio (2007), examines the evolutionary changes in terms of work that are occurring within the immigrant communities in Spain. The article is an extract from the book "Medios de comunicación, inmigración y sociedad" (Communication, immigration and society) by Juan José Igartúa and Charles Muñiz and which was published by Ediciones Salamanca.

Hospitality	NH Hotels	Recruited in country of origin for jobs, mainly in the large Spanish cities (NH Hotels).
	“La Pesquera” group	Annual recruitment of approximately 30 Uruguayan workers to meet the needs of the summer season as a result of the non availability of local employees who wish to work in this sector (“La Pesquera” group).
Restaurants	Grupo VIPS ³²	7,000 employees are foreign which is equivalent to 67 per cent of the total human resources in the company.
Fishing	Clúster de Pesca	Creation of the direct work opportunities for more than 17,200 people. Training and annual recruitment of immigrant workers because of the non-availability of local employees wishing to work in the sector.
Life guards	Sport & Salvament	Annual recruitment of Latin American workers to meet the needs of the summer season and to comply with national legislation on the issue. This legislation demands qualified staff to be life guards (and there are not sufficient numbers in Spain), to respond to the public need for offering this service (Spanish-speaking workers).
Transport of passengers	Autocars Plana	Annual recruitment of approximately 70 Latin American workers to meet the summer season needs and provide a service to the public (Spanish speaking workers).

Source: author (2008)

32 The case of VIPS is the only one, among those included in the Table, where the recruitment is fixed and not temporary. It is therefore included here in recognition of this fact.

In this publication, based on the information gathered in visits to companies who recruit immigrant workers under the TCLM format, the dimensions that are considered relevant in order to ensure its success and its real contribution to the generation of co-development are set out and discussed. To identify these positive dimensions, the experiences surveyed were contrasted with others that are considered model examples, among other reasons, for their roots in the social fabric and for the level of organizational complexity that they have adopted in order to provide a better response to the complex reality of the TCLM.³³

2. The dimensions of the TCLM and the generation of co-development: a theoretical proposal for identifying it

The visit to the companies and institutions that promote the TCLM experience in Spain enabled the identification of a *number of dimensions* which, by their special nature, will have to be adapted to be successful in a possible replication scenario of the TCLM, and to achieve higher levels of co-development³⁴. These dimensions are correlated and the assumption is that if one performs well in one or more then, in principle, there would be progress in others. The first two factors over which control needs to be exercised and/or promoted are linked to the concept of **governance**, in other words to the possibility of producing public policies from the agreement between State, private and third sector actors.

The first thing that should be mentioned is the need to **obtain the support of the political authorities**, at whatever level, in the countries of origin and destination of the temporary workers of the TCLM. These political authorities cannot ignore the substantial contribution that the *“temporary workers”* make to the national economic development. Secondly, consideration must be given to the need to include the **Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)** criteria and practice of companies, both in the society of origin and the host society, in respect of managing the recruitment processes of temporary workers in the countries of origin. This refers to companies which are not strictly those that recruit temporary migrant workers, but collaborate through their CSR policies in the creation of better conditions in host countries for temporary workers. As happens in other matters, coordination among different actors is needed both in the recruitment process in those

33 Among the experiences of the TCLM model in Spain, mention can be made of the “Ayuntamiento de Cartaya” (Huelva, Andalucía), “Unió de Pagesos” (Lleida, Catalonia) and “CERAI-Tierra Una” (Valencia).

34 The enumeration undertaken in these pages is theoretical-propositional in nature and the reader should bear this in mind. For the definition of the potential for the generation of co-development of each one of the cases, from the Institute for Ibero American Studies of the University of Salamanca, a cross dimensional analytical index is being built. The socioeconomic origins of the immigrant worker and the economic sector which he/she enters into Spain are two elements to consider. The construction of this index will make it possible to anticipate with relative certainty how theoretically favourable the different experiences are for co-development.

areas of human resources that are scarce in developed countries, as well as for the management of flows of migrants who leave developed countries in search of employment opportunities in the “First World”.

The second group of dimensions encompasses elements linked to the **infrastructure** used by different organizations that recruit temporary workers. The third dimension relates to the **characteristics of the accommodation** provided for immigrant workers in Spain and the **real impact** on the recruitment experience in the country of origin which is intrinsically for co development. According to the in-depth interviews conducted, different actors tend to point out that, above everything, the cost of the housing has a major effect on the levels of savings of the workers and all that this implies in terms of their financial dignity. A fourth factor relates to the fact that work of this type needs to be performed with the **right number of people** to facilitate compliance with the planned complex objectives in each of the TCLM dimensions. In that sense, a complex organizational structure must respond, as anticipated, to a multidimensional process that needs trained employees who are aware of what they are doing.

The fifth is that, thanks to field work carried out, it has been noted that the long term gradual improvement of TCLM experiences in Spain is partly due to the institutionalization of **areas of international cooperation and fund-raising** that are aimed at the obtaining funds through national or international tenders. However, staff responsible for these tasks do not usually have indefinite (permanent) contracts as the budget headings related to paying their wages are charged to what was obtained through the tenders and are not are paid for through the general accounts of the company. Therefore the staff that carry out this work have no secure employment which does not seem to be the best way to generate co-development.

The final dimension that must be mentioned, at a time when publicising “good practices” prevails, is the need for the **academic, political and media dissemination** of co-development, which is created by temporary migrant workers, both in the host society (where it is, is extremely difficult to fill certain jobs) and in the country of origin (where unemployment levels are high). The dissemination of this information facilitates the creation of a new **social ethic** in relation to the management of migratory flows. Contributing to increased awareness of the need and the benefits of migration enables the creation of scenarios where social conflict is not a constant event (something that has been observed in the last five years in some countries in Europe to which, of course, Spain belongs).

2.1. Turning co-development into a policy of the State (s)³⁵

Since Sami Nair included reference to it in his celebrated proposals in 1997 when he was French Government Inter-ministerial Delegate Representative for Co-development and International Migration, the concept of co-development has been acquiring new dimensions and is no longer purely about economic issues. However, and as was confirmed by Vivian Solana (2008), its polisemic nature makes it a difficult concept for many people to fully understand:

“...in general terms, co-development strategies aim to tie development aid to migration through bilateral agreements, usually exercised alongside measures to involve immigrant populations (typically conceived as operating within civil society) in migration receiving countries with development initiatives in their countries of origin. Polyvalent and elusive, co-development is best described as a new buzzword, a stylistic device which brings different actors together working towards a seemingly common development project. As Harrison has described for the term partnership, like other loosely-used terms, part of the attractiveness of the term lies in its slipperiness...”

In spite of the ambiguousness surrounding the concept, in theory there is nothing against the protagonist nature that it attributes to State entities. That responsibility, occasionally underestimated, is what governments, both in the migrant-sending countries as well as in the receiving countries should be reminded of. In the case of the latter, the experiences of *CERAI-Tierra Una*, *Unió de Pagesos* and *Ayuntamiento de Cartaya* serve as a model. The subsidies received by the agricultural employers, for example, related to **accommodation** for the *temporary workers*, reflect not only the commitment by the autonomous government, but at the same time, of the local leadership in charge of running municipalities. In Lleida and Huelva from the outside there appears to be a State policy regarding the management of flows of workers recruited in the countries of origin. In turn, the **tax exemptions** in terms of social security contributions enjoyed by employers on recruiting migrant workers contribute, indirectly, to co-development. However, by the nature of these immigrants as a “Gastarbeiter” (guest worker)³⁶, it is possible to even go a step further and let them benefit from the **reimbursement of value added tax (VAT)**

35 In contemporary social sciences, there is a very popular concept which invokes the need for multilateral responses to the problems of societies. This is the concept of governance or governability. This concept presumes that collaboration between public, private and social sectors (also called third sector) is the most appropriate mechanism to address social problems and achieve development. The management of complex flows of temporary labour migration is a demonstration of situations where this course of action is essential. For a better understanding of this concept implies, it is recommended the following article: Kaufmann, Daniel; Kraay, AART and Zoido, Paul, Governance Matters (August,) (1999). World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No. 2196. This is also available in SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=188568>.

36 The expression “Gastarbeiter” was coined in the Federal Republic of Germany during the second post-war period and in conjunction with its “economic boom”, for temporary workers from Italy, Spain, Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey and Portugal developed tasks in areas that, by its special difficulty, were rejected by local workers Rudolph (1996) (Pomegranate, 2007).

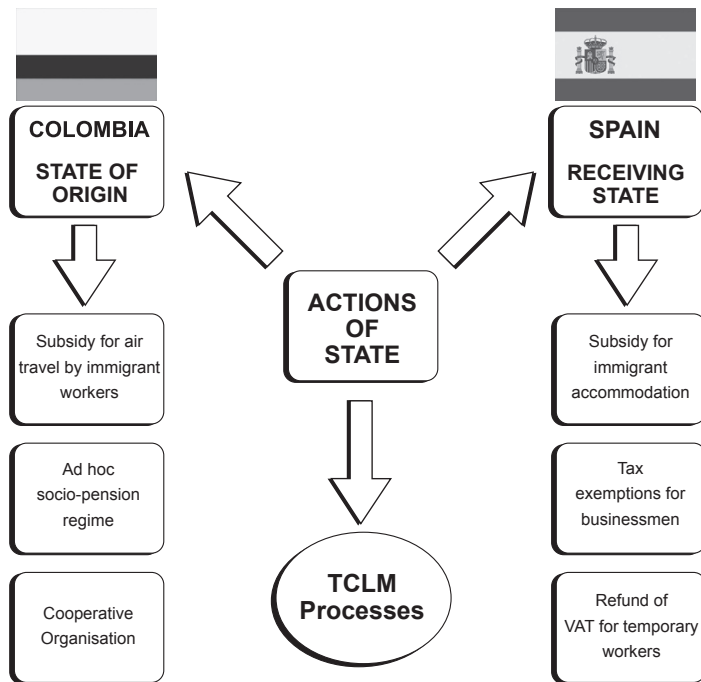
in certain circumstances. This would allow them to increase the meagre rates of savings that have so far been evident from some TCLM experiences.

The States of origin of the migrants should also participate in this collective effort by implementing clear actions aimed at generating higher levels and better ways of co-development. The political commitment to these processes must transcend party politics and must be clearly expressed by the three levels of Government: local, regional and national.

What other actions can governments in the places of origin undertake? The first of these relates to the possibility of helping workers with the cost of the **air fares** thereby contributing to an increase in their savings, something that has already been done in certain Latin American countries. Something much more significant to this and which needs urgent implementation, is the creation of a **social welfare system** to protect workers during the months in which their work is not required in the host society, in other words when they return to their country of origin. In this way, during this time in their country of origin, the workers would contribute to the social security system in the country of origin a lower amount than the contribution in the destination country (by the difference in the exchange rate) and the country “*sending*” the temporary workers would thereby increase the number of contributors to its social welfare system. Progress in this area has clear advantages over the current scenario in which the workers from developing countries can only contribute to sustaining the delicately balanced social welfare system of ageing societies such as in Europe and do not contribute to the health-pension system in their own places of origin.

Another possible way of effectively influencing co-development is through local **neighbourhood, social enterprise – type cooperative organizations** under the watchful eye of non-governmental organizations, in the zones from where temporary immigrants depart annually. Within the framework of these organizations citizens and political representatives can discuss and decide on productive projects financed with savings derived from the work of the temporary workers.

The leading role of the State in TCLM processes



Source: Author (2008)

2.2. Corporate social responsibility: a necessary path for obtaining external support

If any conclusion was reached during the seminar on “*Latin American immigration: a spirit of enterprise and corporate social responsibility*”, which took place in Salamanca in April 2008, it was that companies have long considered the problem of immigration as one of many which must be looked at within the framework of their social programmes³⁷. In his article “*A practical experience of corporate social responsibility in the world of immigration. With particular reference to recruitment at source*”, Joan Josep Vergé, who is in charge of immigration issues in the *Unió Pagesos*, seems to have understood how important it is to include the concept of **Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)** in the TCLM equation.³⁸

³⁷ This seminar was held from 28 to 30 April 2008 at the Institute of Ibero American Studies of the University of Salamanca with the Government of Castilla y León, Telefónica, NH Hoteles and Banco Santander. For more information please consult the following web pages: <http://www.foroecumenico.com.ar/salamanca08.htm>, <http://www.USAL.es/~iberoame/PDFs/Programaemprendedores.PDF> http://www.elportaldeconciliacion.com/?op=module&id_module=&path_module=modules/Interview/view.php&id_interview=55.

³⁸ To consult the article referred to here, please refer to: http://www.pcb.ub.es/idp/esp/2_recerca/immig/pdf/unio_de_pagesos2.pdf.

What actual collaboration are companies considering? To respond to this question, geographical criteria must be taken into account: first, in relation to companies in the country of origin, and secondly, in relation to possible help from companies in the host society.³⁹ The support that the *companies in the countries of origin* could offer can take place in three ways but these are by no means exhaustive: **credit, legal advice and transport**. According to immigrants that have been interviewed, their participation in TCLM experiences sometimes does not result in the expected savings because in the months prior to their arrival in the host society they must invest substantial sums of money in internal travel and administrative procedures. With the aim of at least partially covering these costs, perhaps a bank could, as part of its policies of corporate social responsibility, provide loans with almost-zero interest rates and with flexible repayment terms. In turn, securing venture capital could work in the form of a *reciprocal guarantee* where a worker who has received a credit is liable for the loan received by someone else. Thus, as is normally found in the setting up microcredit schemes, a process of collective pressure is created that is aimed at ensuring that the money is used as was envisaged.

Migrant workers have also said that, on occasions, they are somewhat confused by the administrative formalities and procedures to be followed during the months before their journey to the receiving country. Just as in Spain, where the CSR management of various law firms have become engaged in tasks that effectively contribute to the management of immigration⁴⁰, similar activities can be undertaken by law firms in the places of origin of the migrants. The law firms with a proven track record could look positively, as a social contribution, at the possible legal accompaniment of certain administrative procedures undertaken by migrants, and could receive a token payment in recognition of this contribution.

Finally, with reference to companies belonging to the society of origin of the migrants, the cooperation of passenger transport companies can be very significant for workers travelling within their country of origin. As already mentioned, migrants that have been interviewed continue to say how expensive it is for them to get to urban centres to process certain documents. At the same time, they also point out that for workers, employed in certain sectors of the economy, the requirement to pay half of the cost of their airline tickets to Spain means that at least this amount of their savings as *temporary workers is destined* for

39 The support of companies for the TCLM processes, in the context of their social corporate responsibility policies, assumes that migrant workers should also make a financial effort to achieve their personal goals. In other words, under no circumstances is it an attempt to create a climate of demotivation for the worker regarding his/her obligations but, on the contrary, it is intended to facilitate the fulfillment of his/her obligations.

40 The case of the "Fundación Solventia" an associate of the law firm Díaz-Bastien & Truhán", is a paradigmatic in this regard. To learn more about them please refer to the first partial report prepared for IOM Colombia by the Institute of Ibero American Studies of the University of Salamanca. Please also refer to the following web page: <http://www.fundacionsolventia.org/home.asp> .

their transatlantic travel. So a contribution, under the criteria of Corporate Social Responsibility, from transport companies for road and air travel could lessen the financial burden of migrant workers in respect of their personal travel costs. In respect of this, consideration is being given to minimum reductions in the final price of the tickets that nevertheless are symbolic within the context of co-development processes associated with the TCLM.

What contribution can be, starting from the CSR perspective, from companies of the host society? As in the case of companies operating in the society of origin, the possibilities are numerous. The focus of the following pages will be to consider three specific areas: **telecommunications, education and recreation**. As regards the first, and in recognition of the importance that this represents for the groups of immigrants in Spain, at least two initiatives could be launched.⁴¹ Firstly, telecommunications companies could offer the TCLM immigrant population important discounts for using mobile phone and internet services. In addition training seminars could be organized, in the workplace or where the *temporary workers* live, so that the immigrants who do not know how to use this new technology can learn. Such training could help improve the C.Vs of these workers, depending on individual skills.

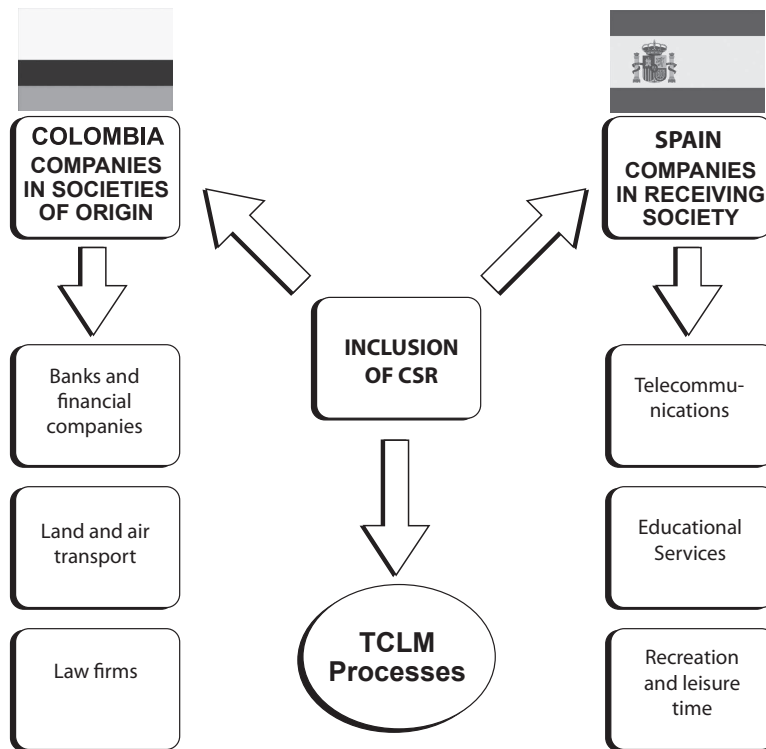
What role can educational institutions play? Inspired by the principles of corporate social responsibility and similar principles in the field of education found in University Social Responsibility (USR), these institutions could collaborate by offering vocational training courses that lead to the acquisition of some kind of tertiary education qualification or technical qualification, that equip the immigrant population with tools that will help their productive reintegration into their countries of origin. In order to assist in achieving the ultimate goal of co-development, these seminars should include a number of features. Firstly, their schedules must fit in with the work shifts of workers. Secondly, their costs must take into account the wages earned by *temporary workers*, and finally, they must respond to the real needs of the stated objective and there must be consultation beforehand regarding the topics that are best suited to their interests.

Finally, companies engaged in providing recreational activities can also contribute substantially to the success of the endeavours of the TCLM. As in any work and even more so because of what is implied by the geographical uprooting, the *temporary workers* need sufficient rest that in turn helps their productivity and commitment at work. Travel agencies, for example, could offer guided tours and travel packages adapted to the contractual and wage realities of these workers in order to achieve the necessary balance

41 For more information on how much business the immigrant population in Spain provides to the telecommunications please check the following web page: http://www.Fundacion.Telefonica.com/Noticias/notas_prensa/Informe%20medios%20y%20latinoamericanos%20np.PDF y <http://www.20minutos.es/Noticia/274994/0/Teléfonos/Moviles/inmigrantes/>.

between the fulfilment of their duties and the enjoyment of their leisure and recreational time.⁴² The chart below is a visual summary of how the Corporate Social Responsibility approach can become part of TCLM processes:

Corporate Social Responsibility in TCLM processes



Source: author (2008)

2.3. Housing is important: accommodation and its implications in terms of co-development

If there is a key variable in the framework of the TCLM model, it is the one linked to the provision of accommodation for the “*gastarbeiter*”(guest worker) in the host societies. How to implement a housing policy for temporary workers not only reflects the concern

42 For reading about other possible business activities in the context of CSR policies that contribute to the integration of the immigrant population there are several articles on the subject. One is: “La integración cívico-política de los inmigrantes latinoamericanos en España: ¿Qué rol compete a los diferentes actores sociales?” by Pablo Biderbost (2008). This article has also been published in the magazine Foro E - Ecuménico Social (Madrid - Buenos Aires) and can be found on the following internet site: www.foroecumenico.com.ar . The second article is: “Inmigración y empresa en España: las dimensiones de una relación poco explorada” by Pablo Biderbost and Guillermo Boscán Carrasquero (2008). This has been published in the book “La inmigración: contexto e implicancias sociales, económicas y empresariales”, published by Asociación de Profesionales en Desarrollo de la Organización (Barcelona). Please also see the following web page: http://www.elportaldelaconciliacion.com/files/legislation/pr_00073_inmigracion_y_empresa_en_Espana.PDF.

of those actors participating in the process of the TCLM to satisfy the inescapable need for **dignified housing** for those temporary workers but also to tip the balance in favour of or against **co-development** as a global goal (Loría Bolaños, Partanen, Berrocal, Alvarez and Córdoba, 2008).

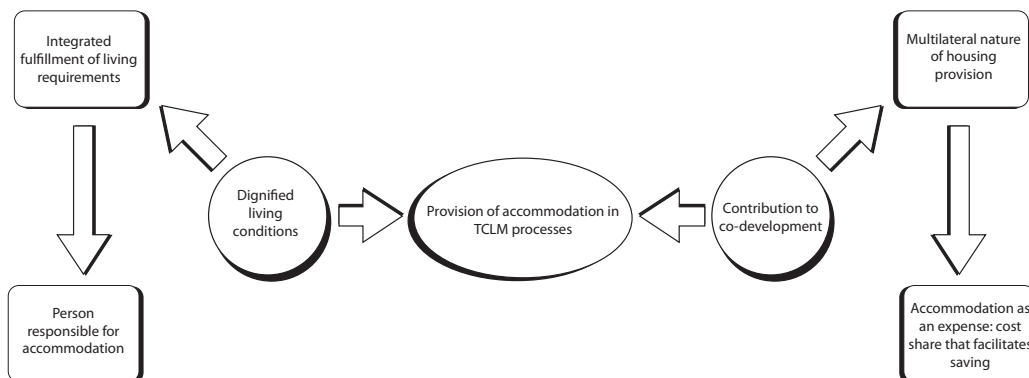
What can be learnt in respect of the conditions in the receiving countries, by evaluating model experiences in comparison with other TCLM processes seen so far? With regard to the concept of **dignified living conditions**, mention should be made of two particular elements. The first has to do with the fact that, apart from the number of employees per bedroom (according to some views overcrowding is defined as accommodating four people per bedroom), the accommodation in which the immigrants are placed is **sufficiently equipped** to meet their needs (Iñiguez Rueda, 1987) (Instituto de la Vivienda, 2008).⁴³

A second issue that should be highlighted is about **who is responsible for accommodation**. The appointment of an individual with this responsibility helps the process of living together under one roof and can act as an effective channel of communication between the workers and the rest of the institutions that are part of the experience. It should be stressed that the person who performs this role needs to have the appropriate training. As such, this person must have a number of theoretical and practical tools so that he/she can properly perform his/her duties.

In relation to what features of accommodation for temporary workers influence the levels of co-development, mention should be made of two other factors. First, there is no possibility of co-development, derived from the savings capacity of the temporary worker, **if accommodation is not provided or it costs a high percentage** of the worker's monthly wages. The reduction in the contribution for accommodation by the migrant worker in relation to his/her total remuneration package would potentially increase the money that the immigrant worker intendeds sending as a remittance or as a productive project investment. This conclusion can be drawn by looking at model cases and other cases surveyed. Finally, a second element that contributes to co-development is the **multilateral nature of the provision of housing to the migrant worker**. In other words, to meet this need there needs to be collaboration between employers, non-governmental organizations, government(s) in the of the host society and (why not) the government(s) in the society of origin. The following graph provides a visual summary of features that are considered appropriate in relation to the provision of accommodation to temporary migrant workers:

43 For a review of the concept of overcrowding and of its psychological and physical effects please consult the following web page: <http://www.planregional.CL/info/default.asp?a=12&idinfo=27&idseccion=2>

The provision of accommodation in TCLM processes: keys to success



Source: Author (2008)

2.4. International cooperation: a strategic bet or a tactical decoy?

Equally important data is evident from surveys of TCLM experiences in Spain. When questions were asked about the details of the sections of institutions involved in fundraising to improve the TCLM process, certain facts stood out: these functions are not usually financed by normal business activities that are undertaken but rather they depend on public subsidies at various levels (local, autonomous regions, national and European). In other words, staff salaries and operational costs of these sections are paid entirely thanks to funds generated from the fundraising. This results in a certain institutional instability which can affect overall performance of the section.

In an article *“Passion and Commitment under Stress: Human Resource Issues in Canada’s non-Profit Sector. A Synthesis Report”* by Ron Saunders (2004), after a rigorous study of working conditions of persons involved in, among other things, fundraising, it concluded that the lack of stability in such jobs generates stress that negatively affects the performance of the worker. In such scenarios, fundraising not only is aimed at obtaining finance to improve the stated policy objectives but, in turn, is the only way to ensure the survival of these structures. The fact of whether such circularity is virtuous or vicious depends on other incentives that the organization in this sector provides or does not provide to those who work in it. Without going into particular and unnecessary definitions from the time it is decided to undertake a TCLM process (or something similar), a decision must be made on whether a request for international cooperation is a strategic bet (institutionally guaranteed) or a tactical decoy (depending on the external and irregular availability of funds).

2.5. The division of work and support staff in TCLM processes: keys to success

The **human resources** on which the TCLM process is built are another element that contributes to the uniqueness of the so-called model experiences. The particular distribution of staff according to demonstrated needs ensures a correct start-up process and allows procedural modifications to be incorporated according to a **virtuous organizational strategy** based on trial and error. Any attempt aimed at replicating these experiences, must be based on the assumption that the TCLM is both a complex and planned activity, and that its successful implementation requires a predetermined distribution of tasks and the workers to perform them.

The collection of funds, accommodation and training for *temporary workers*, contact with business corporations who recruit staff and the intelligent dissemination of all this, require human resources who are very aware of the immigration issue and its contribution to co-development and who are trained to effectively carry out the related tasks. The implementation of all this must be guided by an *organizational culture* whose ultimate meaning is the contribution that is being made to both the developing countries where the immigrants come from as well as to the receiving societies which, thanks to the presence of these workers, are guaranteed continued growth. In this regard, the following quotation from Handy (1988) is useful:

“... if organisations are communities, mini-societies, rather than machines, then it is natural to expect that each community will have its own taste and flavour, its own way of doing things, its own habits and jargon, its own culture...”

2.6. “What you do not see does not exist “. The need to disseminate, at the political level, in the media and at an academic level the TCLM processes

Some of the TCLM experiences in Spain are also paradigmatic in this regards. For example, it has to be said that the recognition of the experiences of the “Unió Pagesos” and “Ayuntamiento de Cartaya” go beyond the borders of their respective autonomous communities, and a lot of this has influenced the way that its promoters have chosen to undertake their activities. The visualization of the positive TCLM processes must take place at three levels. The first has to do with their consideration by the local, autonomous, national and European (supranational) **political authorities**. Without the support of these authorities, convinced of the outstanding effects of the TCLM in areas such as *socio-economic development and migration flow management*, the success of these experiences may be seen as limited. Due to the special situation surrounding the economic slowdown in Spain, any serious, integrated and well reasoned proposal on the question will be especially taken into account.

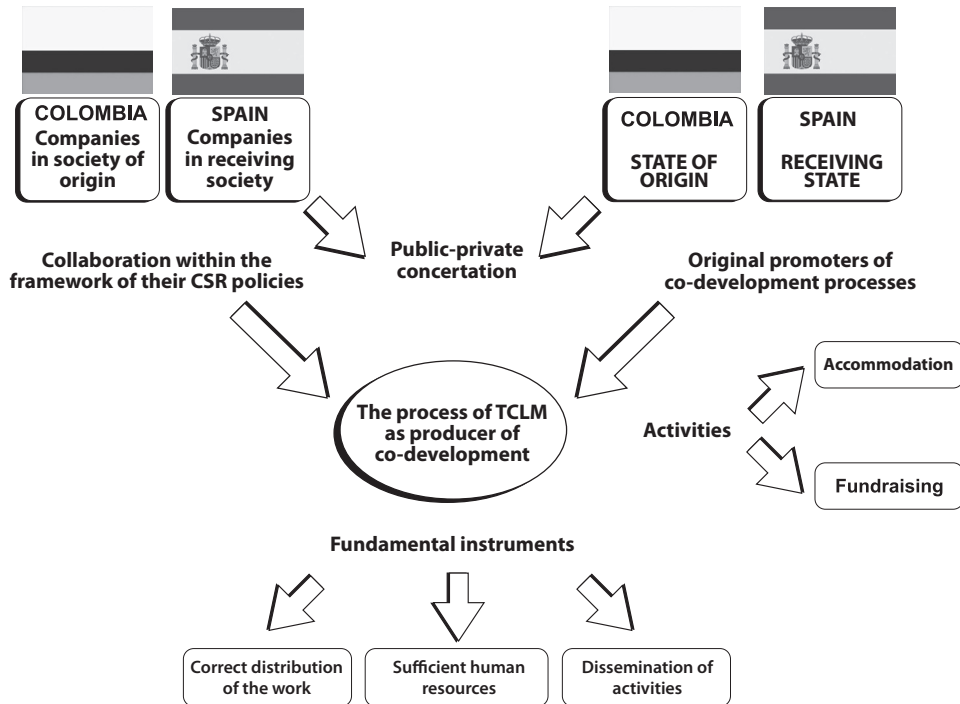
Secondly, it is necessary to find “*partners*” linked to the **mass media**. At a time when certain opportunistic sectors of the receiving society are expounding spurious arguments on the relationship between an increase in immigration and growing unemployment, the benefits of TCLM models must be properly disseminated both in the societies of origin and the societies hosting temporary workers.⁴⁴ This has two clear consequences. On the one hand, it raises positive awareness within the respective civil societies on the implications in terms of co-development, and on the other hand, it obliges the managers of the TCLM processes to work in responsible and sustainable ways.

Finally, the TCLM processes should be disseminated at the **academic** level. The external evaluation of these co-development projects will enable progress to be made on the detection of those variables, both endogenous and exogenous, that contribute to their success. In this regard, an active dialogue between the protagonists of these processes and the academic world has a potentially important purpose of nurturing future public policies to promote and regulate similar practices.

The following chart summarises the reality of the TCLM experiences in Spain and what are considered as important dimensions with a view to their replicability:

⁴⁴ For a better understanding of this, please refer to the following web page: http://www.elpais.com/articulo/economia/sindicatos/acusan/Gobierno/responsabilizar/paro/inmigrantes/elpepueco/20080904elpepueco_12/Tes.

Replicability of the TCLM process
Dimensions for consideration



Source: Author (2008)

3. The TCLM in times of economic crisis: changes in the labour market and restrictions on the recruitment of migrant workers

Spanish society is going through exceptional economic times. Not only is it affected by the international financial crisis (that originated in the United States subprime or high-risk mortgage market) but, at the same time, it is also going through a significant internal retraction which is the result of the slowdown in its real estate market which was primarily responsible for the significant economic expansion in Spain over the last three 5-year periods (Lapetra, 2008).

This new, unforeseen scenario has brought significant changes to the Spanish secondary labour market. The disappearance of typically urban jobs (essentially linked to the construction sector) has resulted in the movement of thousands of workers, Spaniards as well as immigrants already living in Spain, to the rural sector in search of jobs, something which has been corroborated by the main national and regional newspapers.

This change in the labour market has significant consequences for the TCLM process. According to reports, in the province of Jaén (Andalusia), 12,000 unemployed people have registered at the Office of the GEA (Agricultural Employment Management office) of the Andalusian Employment Service and this figure is a record compared to previous agricultural seasons. Similarly, during the Valencia harvest season (northern hemisphere autumn) it has been found that the number of Spaniards and the number of permanent immigrants (i.e. not seasonal immigrants) that are working in this sector has doubled from one year to another. This accounts for 2 per cent of the total number of Spanish workers and 10% of the total number of total permanent immigrant workers. Such figures reduce, at least temporarily, the recruitment of temporary workers at source (*Asociación Agraria La Unió*, 2008) (Foro de *Inmigración de Jaén*, 2008).

These changes in the employment choices of the Economically Active Population (EAP) in Spain have produced a shift in policy from the Ministry Labour and Immigration in respect of approving the recruitment in countries of origin of immigrant workers. According to the latest official list of jobs that are traditionally difficult to fill, those now not included are bricklayers, welders, electricians, carpenters, locksmiths, waiters, chefs, gardeners, agricultural labourers, rubbish collectors, car washers, taxi drivers and window cleaners. The removal of these types of work represents a reduction of 32.14 % compared to those contained in the immediately preceding list and a decrease of approximately 93 per cent of the amount of actual jobs on offer compared to previous figures⁴⁵

In all probability, this new regulation promoted by the political authorities in respect of the recruitment of immigrant workers will, in the short term, affect the possibilities for **replicating the TCLM**. However, the situation is not expected to affect the companies and sectors that have traditionally employed temporary workers and that, because of the special characteristics in their production processes, do not appeal to native Spanish and European Community workers. The duration and depth (sectoral ramifications) of the crisis will be what end up shaping and promoting the changes that occur in the Spanish job market.

Finally, it is realized that the current global *economic-financial crisis* will affect the recent patterns of recruitment of temporary immigrant workers. European politicians have taken excessively dramatic measures related to the short term reduction of immigrant workers; this has been done without being aware of how irresponsible such action is because of the consistent association by the part of the public between immigration and the deterioration in economic conditions. In spite of such dramatization, if there is a real need for the businessmen to recruit “*temporary workers*” the process will continue, with its respective ups and downs. The TCLM may not be a panacea, but its positive effects cannot be underestimated and therefore its responsible implementation must be encouraged.

45 Despite this substantial cut, the Spanish labour market still needs, according to this same catalogue, to recruit immigrant workers at source as doctors, dentists, opticians, nurses, physiotherapists, engineers, specialized mechanics, barbers, shoemakers and shepherds (Servicio Público de Empleo Estatal, 2008).

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Annex on Methodology Dimensions of study

After reviewing the most relevant literature on the TCLM model and discussing the objectives of the contract signed between the IOM and the Institute of Ibero- American Studies of the University of Salamanca, it was decided to choose **a multidimensional matrix** design for facilitating the collection of the principle data surrounding the TCLM phenomenon in Spain. Thus, this design methodology provides for the generation of information on: the **economic policy** (motivations, costs and benefits) of TCLM; implications for **co development; psycho-emotional** situation of the migrant worker; features of procedures (processes) for each case; **prospective** evaluation and consideration of outcomes. The existence of several dimensions, with their respective sub dimensions allow comparative assessments of each experience surveyed (Canales, 1999) (Sassen, 1999) (Canales and Zloliniski, 2000) (Roll, 2005) (Abella, 2006) (Ghosh, 2006) (Müssing, 2006) (Agunias, 2007) (Biderbost, 2007) (Unió de Pagesos, 2007) (AENEAS Cartaya, 2008) (IOM Guatemala, 2008).

Below is a list of the **theory questions** (later reformulated in each **in-depth interview**) that, based on the multidimensional matrix, were given to the representatives of each of the sectors involved in the TCLM process. These actors varied, quantitatively and qualitatively, from case to case. After the questionnaires the corpus of the multidimensional matrix, used for the analysis, is included.

Questions for Employers

1. Why have you, as an employer, decided to collaborate in the temporary labour migration scheme? What are your motives?
2. What have the cost implications been for participating in this temporary labour migration process? What benefits have you achieved?
3. What is the risk of the migrant worker deciding to settle in Spain?
4. How do you believe that this process contributes to development in the countries of origin of the immigrant workers?
5. How do you believe that this process of temporary labour migration affects the family dynamics and psycho-emotional state of the migrant worker?
6. Why do you believe that your business sector is permeable to this type of temporary labour migration? What encourages this situation? Will the situation remain the same in the future?
7. How difficult is the implementation of this type of policy and the development of the processes from the time of the recruitment of workers at source until they begin to work here (in Spain)?
8. What actors (political, business, and organizational) have participated in this temporary labour migration process?
9. At what level(s) is the Spanish State collaborating with this process? Do their public policies facilitate the process? Which levels (central, regional, municipal) do you think are more committed to the process?
10. Spain is facing several issues at this time: enlargement of the European Union; economic slowdown; re-election of the PSOE⁴⁶ for a further period; further restrictions on the influx of illegal immigrants; and, in 2010, for Spain the end of the receipt of funds coming from the European Union. How do you think that these factors will affect the temporary labour migration process?
11. Do you think that, in the future, it will be possible to deepen the temporary labour migration processes between Latin America and Spain? Why? What advantages and disadvantages do you foresee?
12. What would you say have been the most significant outcomes of the implementation of the temporary labour migration process?

46 Partido Socialista Obrero Español. (Spanish Socialist Worker's Party)

Questions for immigrant workers

1. Why did you decide to come to Spain within the framework of this temporary labour migration process? Are you interested in returning to your country of origin and contributing to your country what you have learned in Spain?
2. What benefits have you gained from this experience? What have the cost implications been?
3. How do you believe that this temporary labour migration process affects your family dynamics and your psycho-emotional state as an immigrant worker?
4. Has the family dynamics changed after your arrival in Spain? Where is your family? How do you manage to live being so far away?
5. How do you believe that this process contributes to the development of your country of origin?
6. Why do you believe that the business sector in which you work allows the temporary labour migration process to take place? Will this continue in the future?
7. How difficult was the process from when you were told of the possibility in your country of origin until you arrived here to start work?
8. What actors do you think are involved in this temporary labour migration process?
9. Is the Spanish State, at any of its levels, collaborating with this process? Do you believe that its public policies have facilitated this process? Which of its levels do you believe is more committed (central, regional, municipal)?
10. Spain is facing several issues at this time: enlargement of the European Union; economic slowdown; re-election of the PSOE for a further period; further restrictions on the influx of illegal immigrants; and, in 2010, for Spain the end of the receipt of funds coming from the European Union. How do you think that these factors will affect the temporary labour migration process?
11. Do you think that, in the future, it will be possible to deepen the temporary labour migration processes between Latin America and Spain? Why? What advantages and disadvantages do you foresee?
12. What would you say have been the most significant outcomes of the implementation of the temporary labour migration process?

Questions for public sector representatives

1. Why has your Government decided to collaborate with this temporary labour migration process? What are their reasons?
2. What have the cost implications been of participating in this temporary labour migration process? What have been the benefits?
3. What is the risk of the migrant worker deciding to settle in Spain?
4. How do you believe that this process contributes to the development of the countries of origin of the immigrants?
5. How do you believe that this process of temporary labour migration affects the family dynamics and the psycho-emotional state of the migrant worker?
6. Why do believe that this productive sector is permeable to this type of temporary labour migration processes? What encourages this situation? Will the situation remain the same in the future?
7. How difficult is the implementation of this type of policy and the development of this process from the time of the recruitment of workers at source until they begin to work here?
8. What actors (political, business, and organizational) have participated in this temporary labour migration process?
9. Is the Spanish State, at any of its levels, collaborating with this process? Do you believe that its public policies have facilitated this process? Which of its levels do you believe is more committed (central, regional, municipal)?
10. Spain is facing several issues at this time: enlargement of the European Union; economic slowdown; re-election of the PSOE for a further period; further restrictions on the influx of illegal immigrants; and, in 2010, for Spain the end of the receipt of funds coming from the European Union. How do you think that these factors will affect the temporary labour migration process?
11. Do you think that, in the future, it will be possible to deepen the temporary labour migration processes between Latin America and Spain? Why? What advantages and disadvantages do you foresee?
12. What would you say have been the most significant outcomes of the implementation of the temporary labour migration process?

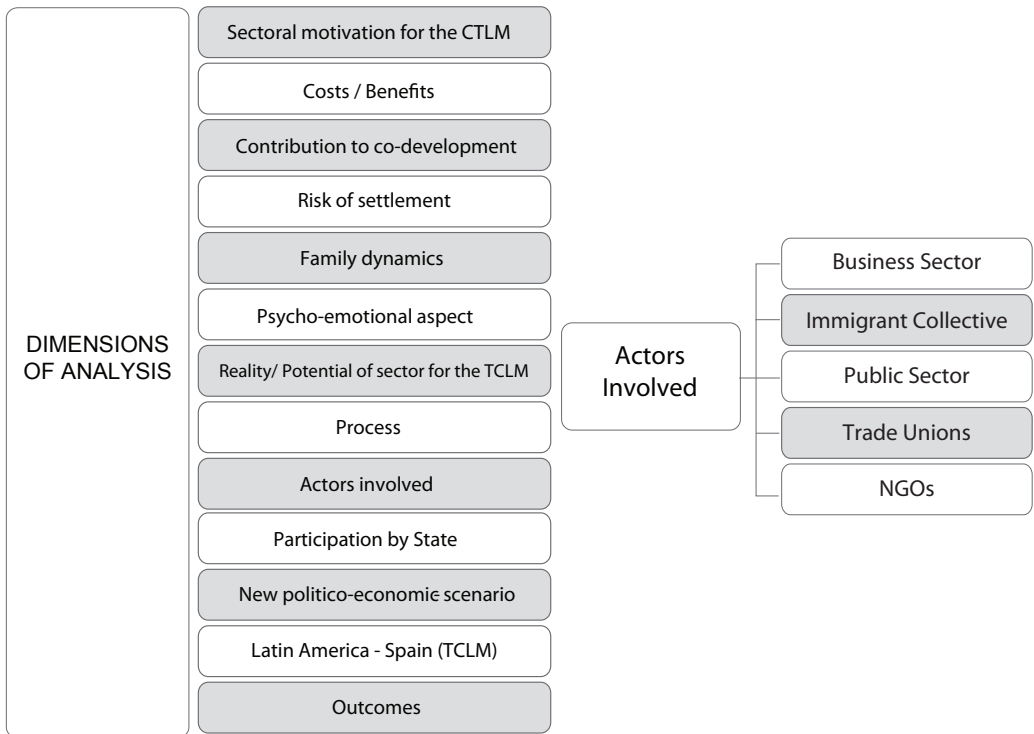
Questions for trade unionists

1. Why, as a Trade Union Representative, have you decided to collaborate with this temporary labour migration process? What are your reasons?
2. What have the cost implications been of participating in this temporary labour migration process? What have been the benefits?
3. What do you think about the risk that the migrant worker may decide to settle in Spain?
4. How do you believe that this process contributes to the development of the countries of origin of the immigrants?
5. How do you believe that this process of temporary labour migration affects the family dynamics and the psycho-emotional state of the migrant worker?
6. Why do believe that this productive sector is permeable to this type of temporary labour migration processes? What encourages this situation? Will the situation remain the same in the future?
7. How difficult has the implementation been of this type of policy and the development of this process from the time of the recruitment of workers at source until they begin to work here?
8. What actors (political, business, organizational) have participated in this temporary labour migration process?
9. Is the Spanish State, at any of its levels, collaborating with this process? Do you believe that its public policies have facilitated this process? Which of its levels do you believe is more committed (central, regional, municipal)?
10. Spain is facing several issues at this time: enlargement of the European Union; economic slowdown; re-election of the PSOE for a further period; further restrictions on the influx of illegal immigrants; and, in 2010, for Spain the end of the receipt of funds coming from the European Union. How do you think that these factors will affect the temporary labour migration process?
11. Do you think that, in the future, it will be possible to deepen the temporary labour migration processes between Latin America and Spain? Why? What advantages and disadvantages do you foresee?
12. What would you say have been the most significant outcomes of the implementation of the temporary labour migration process?

Questions for members of NGOs

1. Why has the NGO to which you belong decided to collaborate with this temporary labour migration process? What are your reasons?
2. What have the cost implications been of participating in this temporary labour migration process? What have been the benefits?
3. What do you think about the risk that the migrant worker may decide to settle in Spain?
4. How do you believe that this process contributes to the development of the countries of origin of the immigrants?
5. How do you believe that this process of temporary labour migration affects the family dynamics and the psycho-emotional state of the migrant worker?
6. Why do believe that this productive sector is permeable to this type of temporary labour migration processes? What encourages this situation? Will the situation remain the same in the future?
7. How difficult is the implementation of this type of policy and the development of this process from the time of the recruitment of workers at source until they begin to work here?
8. What actors (political, business, and organizational) have participated in this temporary labour migration process?
9. Is the Spanish State, at any of its levels, collaborating with this process? Do you believe that its public policies have facilitated this process? Which of its levels do you believe is more committed (central, regional, municipal)?
10. Spain is facing several issues at this time: enlargement of the European Union; economic slowdown; re-election of the PSOE for a further period; further restrictions on the influx of illegal immigrants; and, in 2010, for Spain the end of the receipt of funds coming from the European Union. How do you think that these factors will affect the temporary labour migration process?
11. Do you think that, in the future, it will be possible to deepen the temporary labour migration processes between Latin America and Spain? Why? What advantages and disadvantages do you foresee?
12. What would you say have been the most significant outcomes of the implementation of the temporary labour migration process?

***MATRIX FOR STUDY OF THE TCLM PROCESSES EXPERIENCES
IN SPAIN***



Source: self produced (2008)

5. THE UNIÓN DE AGRICULTORES DE CATALUÑA (CATALAN FARMERS' UNION) TEMPORARY AND CIRCULAR RECRUITMENT MODEL EXPERIENCE IN COLOMBIA, AS SEEN THROUGH THE EYES OF THE COMMUNITIES OF ORIGIN OF THE WORKERS

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Research Group on Human Mobility⁴⁷

ALMA MATER - Network of Public Universities of the Coffee-Growing region of Colombia

Introduction

In principle, the Research Group on Human Mobility of Alma Mater wants the same possibilities of freedom of movement for people that the countries of the Northern Hemisphere seek and impose for their capital and goods, although it is realized that the temporary and circular labour migration programmes are currently operating within a framework of policies from the receiving countries that restrict that mobility. However, the authors accept that there is no Utopia and so they take a pragmatic approach vis-à-vis these migration programmes. The current system is better than irregular migration which leaves the users of such routes particularly vulnerable to having their rights denied and being legally defenceless in the destination States, where the current trend is for these people to be criminalized purely by virtue of their irregular immigration.

Therefore, the authors are for the time being setting aside the substantive discussion on the freedom to migrate and live in the place of choice, which is something that international declarations recognize but that is denied in practice. So, this document will examine the relative advantages that this **programme of recruiting temporary workers** at source that is promoted by the *Unió de Pagesos*⁴⁸ (Catalonia Farmers Union) represents for workers, their families and communities. There will also be a discussion of the adjustments that the programme needs for it to best achieve its objectives.

⁴⁷ www.migracionescolombianas.edu.co

⁴⁸ Which from now on we will refer to as the UP or Pagesos.

Nor will this document be using this opportunity to discuss the background to the recruitment at source or the temporary migration programmes that have preceded the *Pagesos* programme in various parts of the world. However please consult, among the abundant amount of existing literature, the publication of Durand (2007) on the Mexican case (perhaps the most important in the Americas, in 1917) and that of Agunias (2008) regarding the experience of the Philippines, a country that has been described as “an exporter of labour”. The authors also suggest consulting, in relation to the recent revival of temporary recruitment at source and its perspectives, the work of Ruhs (2005).

As sources, in addition to a due review of the available literature, this article took into account relevant documents that underpin the programme as well as a large number of direct interviews and comments in three areas of Colombia where temporary workers have been recruited. These areas were chosen for their heterogeneity in so far as socio-economic and cultural conditions as well as the idiosyncratic nature of the people living there, the time they have been linked to the actual programme and for the actors that have brokered the process. Account was also taken of primary information and analysis in respect of a fourth geographic area where the Human Mobility Group (*Grupo de Movilidad Humana*) had previously undertaken work on the same subject (Osorio et al., 2008), together with researchers from Javeriana University in Bogota.

Including the work carried out in this latter community and using different methods, a total of nearly 400 people were interviewed in the following municipalities: Valledupar, Curumaní and La Jagua Ibirico (Department of César); Pasto, Ipiales, Puerres and Ancuya (Department of Nariño); Armenia, Calarcá and Córdoba (Department of Quindío); and Cali and Bogotá (areas of Suba, Usaquén and Sumapaz). The characteristics of those interviewed include the following: direct link to *Pagesos*, their operators or partners; temporary workers or their family members; social, community, political or religious leaders; local authorities, officials or teachers, among others. With one small sample of these people (32 temporary workers and their family members) a structured interview (“survey”) was used to evaluate the migration experience and we cite these results to reinforce some of the approaches used and to give an idea of the magnitude of the issues involved.

First, this article will focus on the benefits arising from recruitment in the country of origin (Section 1) and from its temporary and circular nature (section 2), which are common to other programmes, or even individual initiatives. Later on, Section 3 will cover the two basic components of the programme itself, which are of help to workers and co-development. These components have motivated the interest of the authors in this programme and have led them to consider that its implementation, with the appropriate measures to ensure consistency between practice and theory, can become a truly paradigmatic and beneficial model for everyone involved.

It should be emphasised that, because of the division of labour with the other academic bodies (University of Salamanca and the Pompeu Fabra University) that was established during the research, the focus in Colombia is on communities in the place of origin, while colleagues in Spain focused on the communities in the place of destination.

1. Benefits from recruitment in the country of origin

Within the context of the immigration restrictions in countries of destination, the recruitment of the workers in the country of origin is a good option for the management of the migration flows, with benefits for all parties involved, and particularly for States, employers and workers. This section looks at this type of recruitment and what it means for those who are associated with it in Colombia under the *Pagesos* model.

Given the serious nature of a programme such as that of *Pagesos*,⁴⁹ recruitment in the place of origin implies the elimination or lessening of the uncertainty surrounding key aspects such as: employer, wages, type of work, rights, conditions of accommodation, travel documents and length of stay, and the first to benefit are the workers and their families.

Apart from the peace of mind that knowing such details can bring, which in itself reduces the level of stress that comes with the migration process, this type of recruitment provides legal certainties in the destination country, and for the workers it avoids the risk of becoming victims of migrant traffickers, fraudsters, or human traffickers. Those workers who seek to migrate irregularly are exposed to these risks and are also vulnerable to being exploited in the work place in the country of destination, and other types of risks.

In terms of costs, recruitment in the country of origin, and particularly in the areas where the workers live, represents important savings for them in relation to the ordinary migration process. These savings come from, inter alia, the following: not having to travel to Bogotá (where the only visa issuing Spanish Consulate in Colombia is located) to obtain a visa as the employer is responsible in these cases; lower settling-in costs in Spain, given the hostel arrangements provided for them from the moment of their arrival in Spain; and not having to spend money looking for employment; they do not need funds or only need a minimum funding for travel, as some of this is paid for by the programme or the temporary workers can pay for it from their future wages.

2. Particular effects of temporary and circular migration

In general, migration is a quest for better current and future living conditions both for the migrants and their families and, to some extent, this depends on the character of each

49 In this respect it is worth mentioning that in some of the zones of the study there were reports of a lack of confidence in the programme. At first this was because it was thought that it was related to people trafficking or organ trafficking or some other illegal activity. This was perhaps due to prevention harvest season programmes that have taken place in Colombia.

individual and the social and cultural responsibility that migrant workers as individuals feel (or that is imposed) often at their own expense, towards the welfare of their families and people to which they direct all their energies.

However, irrespective of the achievement or not of such objectives, migration is, almost always, an enriching experience for people who go through it as they come across different social spaces with which they can compare and assess their own environment, and widen their vision of the world. This, coupled with the fact of being capable of breaking the umbilical cord that tied them to their land, seems to strengthen the feeling of self-esteem (more than half of the temporary workers that took part in the survey, said that personal growth was one of the things they most valued from their migratory experience), and migrants receive greater recognition within their communities of origin (Appadurai, 1996).

But the possibilities of both positive and negative migration experiences, as well as its preliminary costs and possible consequences are, among many other factors, directly related to the characteristics of such movements, including temporary and circular ones. These characteristics themselves intensify or alleviate the possibilities, costs and consequences and for the purposes of this analysis we have referred to them as “aspects” and classified them as psychosocial, economic and cultural.

2.1 Psycho-social aspects

Migration means separation, sorrow and absences, affecting individuals and their social and family environment as well as relations with and between the various members of that same environment (Conradson and McKay, 2007). However, the work carried out in the communities surveyed, weighed with other experiences, suggests that when the movement is previously defined as temporary and periods of time of separation are only counted in terms of months, such effects tend to abate, although we are unable to what extent compared with the affect of indefinite but supposedly lengthy migration.

In the survey carried out, one in four people reported that among the negative feelings that affected them during the trip was sadness, while two out of every five of those surveyed spoke of loneliness, as a result of the lack of loved ones or being in a foreign land.

The certainty or approximate idea of the date of return can lessen the impact of the separation and make it more bearable, for both those who leave and for those who remain. Counting the time remaining until being together again is an obligatory topic of conversation during the frequent telephone calls or the contact on the Internet that the temporary Colombia workers normally have with their family and friends in Colombia,⁵⁰ and this keeps hopes alive and according to many people in interviews, strengthens the

50 Within the same survey, it was found that two thirds of the temporary workers identified talking on the phone with their relatives in Colombia as the main activity carried out during their time free in Spain.

emotional bonds. For the migrant, who normally has an inner voice saying “any sacrifice made for the family is worth it”, the fact of being able to visualize the end of the journey seems to give the individual a greater inner strength to overcome the absence of their loved ones and the difficulties encountered in the destination and that, for many, do not prevent them repeatedly enlisting for new “harvest season programmes” and saying “this is the last time.” They display an almost addictive attitude, which is the result of a cost-benefit analysis, usually done within families, and suggests that a high value is put on the money as a goal, or rather perhaps as a way to achieving a better life.

On the other hand, the hard work, about which there are many opinions probably associated with earlier experiences of the workers, is always considered to be just occupational hazards, where you do not lose your life, for which there is a choice and because the memory fades with time.⁵¹ The Coordinator of one of the grass-roots organizations most related with the program in Nariño described the situation thus: “they arrive tired because their body has spent so much time in the same position while working, [but] they arrive with money in their pocket and get medical treatment to recover physically”.

The stories of the break-up of couples due to temporary migration process are more the exception than the rule; people speak of a renewal of relations as result of the value that is placed on the other during the separation, where this might offer the possibility of assuming opposite gender roles (Levitt, 2001).

There were also reports of changes in the attitude of men on their return, that have arrived in a mood to share the domestic responsibilities and chores, which they had been forced to do under the “camp-type” regime in their living accommodation in Spain. On the social significance of such changes, beyond the casuistic, no evidence was found during this research and Kraft and De Larrard (2007: 9) do not paint an optimistic picture when they say: “We are sceptical about this effect: if some men help more, for most the effect is the opposite: ‘they suffered so much in Spain that on their return to Colombia, their wives do not let them lift a finger’” .

In the same way, there are other men who, in the absence of their temporary working wives, assumed some of their roles, such as caring for the children, about which one of them said: “it is hard to be keeping an eye on whether they have already arrived from school, whether they eat, do their homework, and I have to cook...” However, this situation does not seem to be a general one, seeing that, in most cases of maternal migration,

51 In the same survey which is referred to in the previous footnote, all of the temporary workers valued their work experience in Spain as better in relation to Colombia, in the sense of enabling a higher income, that brought them closer to fulfilling the goals proposed before the journey. On the other hand, although a third of them considered that the demands were high and most complained about the climate, two out of every three assessed the experience as a very important opportunity for moving ahead, while one in three considered it involved a high degree of sacrifice.

the children are left with other women of the family, mostly mothers, mothers-in-law and sisters of the temporary women workers.

With regard to the women, it was noted that, when they are the ones who have migrated and temporarily become the providers in the home or make investments on their return, they increase their self esteem and social recognition, gaining the ability, not always turned into fact, of negotiating a fairer relationship both within the home and in the community. This perhaps helps to explain the increasing female leadership in several fields in some of the places that were studied. Although this can also be linked to the opportunities that open up for a woman whose husband migrates, as she assumes responsibilities or risks that the husband would assume himself if he were present.

The impact on the children seems to be moderate, with few accounts of a loss of authority, indifference shown to the migrant parents, significant changes in behaviour, under performance, or dropping out of school, among the other evils that are usually blamed on migration because of the absence of parents. Some parents even came to see greater autonomy, character and maturity in their children from the migration process and others felt that the reunion (related, above all, to the youngest children with the gifts) becomes an incentive to alleviate the pain of separation or improve academic performance and generally it contributes to preventing depressive situations or feelings of abandonment from turning into a crisis. It should also be taken into account that three out of every four temporary workers surveyed considered that one of the important factors in assessing their participation in the program positively was the fact that the income received through the migration process had contributed to the education of their children.

It must be understood that the family structures and the gender of migrants also play an important role. These circumstances define the levels of psycho-emotional support received by those who stay and the reconfiguration of roles required to maintain the dynamic of the home and there is also support, according to reports, through the assiduous use of the phone or Internet. In many cases, there is more communication between the couple and their children than before the migration took place and this even allows the sharing of important decisions more frequently than before. Within the survey group, a quarter spoke of an improvement in relations with their children after the migration; less than half said the same thing about their partner; and three in five expressed the same feelings with regard to their social relationships in general.

In respect of the impact on the grassroots organizations, whose leaders tend to be included among the migrants, on the one hand there is recognition of the learning opportunities and the widening of horizons which improve their leadership skills, but on the other hand, particularly in the case of Nariño, where there has been a longer experience with the TCLM model, the constant circularity and return of the migrants overseas can end up

affecting those very grassroots organizations. That is why several of those interviewed recommended that the time away be short and with little repetition.

A community that does not assume mutual responsibility for achieving shared goals cannot aspire to a significant social change (Fals Borda, 1986). In the areas studied it has been possible to identify cases, presumably related to the implementation of the programme, of changes in the views and actions of some communities in which new alliances and organizations have emerged and where many feel able to participate and contribute to the discussion and in the activities.

The general view expressed was that the specific learning gained in Spain from the work and courses offered by *Pagesos*, in spite of the pride of doing them, contained little that was new or applicable in Colombia due to the different means used or the non-availability of resources. However, it would seem that in the medium or long-term, the experience as a whole, and some of the more general learning acquired, such as how to organize work, together have the capacity to end up having a positive effect on communities. There are also different visions of the world and new topics for discussion. Concepts such as productive projects, associativity and investment, acquire different associations that make them more understandable or provide them with new meanings as happens with values such as solidarity, patience and thanks. Similarly, in the more deprived communities, the achievements of those who travel make them think about law-abiding activities and the possibility of goals that go beyond the simple requirement of satisfying basic needs.

Finally, it could be said that the feeling of self-esteem, the strengthening of the national psyche, the nostalgia for the things which are lacking during the repeated absences, constitute incentives to contribute to the success of community projects.

2.2 Economic aspects

Taking into account that the daily wage actually received by a farmer in Colombia scarcely amounts to three Euros, despite the fact that legal minimum wage is twice that figure, and when this is compared with the four to five Euros per hour in Spain, it is easy to understand the economic significance of the migration for the temporary workers. It is also easy to understand why the possibility of accessing these wages through being recruited in your place of residence and through a reliable programme, is seen by almost 90 % of those surveyed as the economic opportunity of a lifetime.

A monthly money order of 100 Euros to the family in Colombia far exceeds their usual income, and 200 or 300 Euros represents the possibility of a significant improvement in their living standards during the period in which this money is received. Discounting the money sent as remittances and the money for living costs in Spain, the temporary worker has the possibility of saving a sum that on average amounts to two thousand Euros which

in their conditions of poverty represent real capital. These savings (after the first trip the income of which is normally used for paying off personal debts) is sufficient to embark on projects they have dreamt of such as: obtaining their own home; improving their existing home; the acquisition of a plot of land with some livestock; opening a store; acquisition of a public transport vehicle, among many others. With some degree of certainty, these projects can be scheduled to be completed in the medium-term if the worker is recruited on successive occasions. In fact, nine out of every ten temporary workers surveyed stated that participation in the programme had enabled them to undertake or strengthen productive projects that were almost all individual or family ones. That possibility, linked to the direct control by the migrant over the investment during their periodic trips back to Colombia, does not exist in the same way for the migrant who is in Spain for an indefinite time.

However, not all projects come to fruition because the person does not have the level of savings required or the person does not have the skills necessary, and in these cases all the money earned in Spain becomes “pocket money” which is used for living expenses until the next recruitment opportunity arrives which is sometimes never. This leads to a programme dependency and periods of unemployment, because the wages usually paid in the area are no longer considered as acceptable or because those who are offering the few jobs available prefer to recruit others who are “more in need” of employment.

Information was also collected on failed projects such as in Quindío, where several investments were aimed at acquiring public transport vehicles, something in which the workers had no experience (Mejía, 2007). Just such a case occurred in Puerres involving fish farming, where insufficient technical knowledge resulted in the death of the fish. A different situation, but with equally poor planning, was the quinoa project also in Puerres, that failed for the lack of a market to sell the produce, which was only discovered at harvest time. In relation to these issues, Kraft and Larrarde (2007: 11) found that “49.5% of the productive projects which the temporary workers invested in are unprofitable or unsustainable owing to the lack of accompaniment at the time of making the investment or lack of business training and because of the difficult local economic situation”.

It is obvious that the programme provides, with some limitations, direct economic benefits to the temporary workers and their families that immediately result in better living conditions in the home during the period of the contract and even afterwards, depending on how any savings are used. All this can come to define the future of the family, if the temporary worker manages to be recruited various times and invests his savings in a project that produces an income.

But beyond the family, the income of the temporary workers for spending or investing, plays an important role in the economic revitalization of their places of origin, when it comes to small communities that in this way receive benefits from the Programme, as has been the custom until now.

In economic terms, there were some examples in Nariño and Quindío of the strengthening of associative productive projects occasionally linked to the same programme, in which the temporary workers or their families participated thanks to the experiences acquired abroad and the new, periodic resources that can support them.

2.3 Cultural aspects

The coming and going of the temporary workers together with the short length of their stays results in a low level of integration with the destination communities. Account also has to be taken of the priorities of the temporary workers which are to work as many hours as possible and make as much money as possible. In addition the workers are concentrated in encampments that are often located on the premises of where they are working with limited possibilities of mixing with the local population. This would explain why the temporary workers do not have much chance of observing new ways of doing things or learning about new cultures (beyond what has already been mentioned) which would be a natural assumption because of their participation in the program.⁵²

However, although the socialization with temporary workers from other nationalities or other regions of Colombia tends to be limited to work and to take place through collaborative activities, in the cases where those surveyed have had to share accommodation, this has given rise to interesting and enriching spaces for intercultural exchanges and learning processes. On their return, these experiences become obligatory topics of conversation where there is talk of the existence of “others”, with all the positives that arise from this (Hannerz, 1996), and may influence partners (Appadurai, 1996; Nuñez, 2007), although no new cultural practices derived from these intercultural exchanges have so far been identified.

In any case, it is an undeniable fact that the temporary workers do not view their new cultural experiences as a waste of time. Just the hint of another world, and a new kind of relationship with their Spanish employers and with their co-workers from other places all have a great personal impact on them to the extent that virtually all of the temporary workers say that on their return home they are not the same person.

It should also not be forgotten that this same migration process and its products generate imagination, discussions, narratives, social recognition and the strengthening (or weakening) of bonds (Levitt, 2001) that help build ideas about migration and also help to define the future of other movements.

⁵² This can be seen in the communities of origin that have a longer link with the programme and in locations with the largest proportion (in relation to its population) of temporary workers, as in the particular case of Puerres.

3. The added value of the Unió de Pagesos (UP) programme to the TCLM

In principle, there are two key components that the programme adds to the traditional recruitment in the place of origin of temporary workers. These are: the perspective of “co-development”, under which it is understood that for the contribution that the temporary workers make to Spain, mainly through their work, there must be corresponding activities from within the same programme that promote development in the communities of origin of these workers; and in addition, the idea of accompaniment for the temporary workers from the moment of their recruitment until they return to their communities, as a form of commitment to their well-being and linked also to the previous idea. To implement both these aspects, the UP created the *Fundació Pagesos Solidaris (FPS)* also referred to as the *Fundación de Agricultores Solidarios* (Mutual Farmers Foundation).

3.1 Accompaniment of temporary workers

In respect to the accompaniment, apart from the actual recruitment guidance process that includes the visa procedures with the Spanish Government, there has also been a wish to provide a range of support aimed at reducing the difficulties, fears and risks for the temporary workers and to make it a more positive experience. This support takes the following form: an induction course on the conditions of travel, work and surroundings that will be encountered; accompaniment at the departure airport; meeting on arrival at destination and accompaniment to the place of accommodation allocated by the employer; tourist activities and socialization during spare time in the destination; and most importantly, access to people responsible for responding to any eventuality that might arise during the time in Spain. However, following an assessment of this accompaniment and support process it has been found to have its limitations in the place of origin and the final destination, and that its objectives are only partially being met as is explained below.

The training/preparation for the journey from Colombia, when there is any (there were complaints from some who said nothing took place), consists of just a two-day workshop with one of the days dedicated to work aspects and the other to psycho-emotional issues (to which the families are also invited). In fact, time constraints impose restrictions on the contents and many participants report that the emphasis seems to be on the working conditions and the need to obey the Spanish employers. In respect of the latter, the workers are advised to ignore the abrupt manner of Spanish employers that is apparently a cultural trait that is supposedly prevalent among them and which is something that Colombians are generally not accustomed to.

A basic element about which the temporary workers have insufficient information is related to the contents and precise meaning of contracts, as well about the agreements which act as the framework for the contracts, and about whose existence there was absolutely no knowledge. The majority of complaints heard were about these points.

Therefore, it is necessary to provide greater transparency and information during the recruitment process and not just simply refer to the general aspects of Spanish labour laws, which is what seems to happen at present. It would be very useful to issue a booklet to each temporary worker which details their rights and obligations, especially with reference to: hours of work; overtime payments and extra payments for working at night; breaks and rest time; conditions and cost of accommodation; payment for hours not worked because of weather conditions or other *force majeure*; possibilities of changing job/employer; sick pay; payment of travel tickets and other travel expenses; as well as many other issues that create problems but which sometimes are more related to ignorance about the terms of the contracts than a real failure of the contract.

In respect to the local entities associated with the process of selection and preparation in Colombia of the workers, either in the role of operator or as mere facilitators of the process, there is a suggestion that these entities should take greater account of the psycho-emotional risks when selecting workers. For example, home visits could be undertaken to better evaluate candidates and to accompany the families the departure and return of the temporary worker is approaching and which could be requested by the families in question. Equally, it would be worthwhile to promote self-help groups to address potentially conflictive situations in households caused by household members joining the programme; as stated previously, there does not seem to be much evidence of this problem which would therefore make the introduction of these groups that much easier.

In so far as the quality of the accompaniment in the country of destination, this very much depends, quite logically, on the specific destination, where there are differences in the quality of services offered and provided with, for example, small communities offering fewer services. Access to officials in the *FPS* that are responsible for providing support is not always easy and some of them see their role as one of authority and control rather than one of accompaniment; in addition, given its relationship with the employers, the *FPS* is tended to be seen as an untrustworthy partner for processing complaints because there is a fear that complaining will hinder further recruitment opportunities to which most temporary workers aspire.

3.2 Promotion of co- development

Beyond just learning on the job, temporary workers receive training in the place of destination so that this training serves as a means to promote development in their country of origin; this was a central part of the first approach to co-development in the migration flows (Nair 1997). In order to achieve this objective, the temporary workers are offered courses on a wide variety of topics that they can access free of charge during their free time. One such course is “co-development agent” that seeks to train those who take part in such a way that on their return to their communities they can promote projects of common interest, and for whose co-financing *Pagesos* are committed to consider alternative methods.

In practice, according to the Pagesos model, co-development is achieved through improving the human capital of temporary workers. This enables them to start or strengthen their own individual, family or associative productive projects made possible by the small amounts of capital collected through saving their wages during the harvest season programmes. Complementary to this would be the projects emerging from the activities of “the co-development agents” and that are considered as the cornerstone of co-development (more precisely development in the country of origin). These projects would correspond to the needs of the communities and would not necessarily be productive projects, or ones only aimed at temporary workers.

The actions aimed at combining training and projects, be they individual or associative type projects that are productive or social, are an interesting proposition with potential for contributing to local development, but unfortunately these are actions whose synchronization is now only being thought about. What is learnt while on the job or when receiving training has generally been of little use and, on the few occasions when something has been applicable, this has been more by luck and generally restricted to individual projects and, as will be seen below, associative or community projects have not had much focus.

3.2.1 The well trodden path

The achievements by the programme for local development may be better because it uses recruitment in the place of origin, is temporary and circular in nature, and because of the stated co-development component which depends on temporary workers trained in Spain being co-development agents. In this sense, workers have not been able to take on the heavy burden placed on them when assigned the task of “promoters in their communities of origin, acting as intermediaries between two different communities, and developers, implementers and project managers together with the community”.

This is why, with respect to the length of time the programme has been running and the number of communities and people that have taken part, only fourteen associative projects have been started and the results of these have still to be assessed. Taking this into account, in nine out of more than 40 communities where temporary workers have been recruited (Agricultores Solidarios, 2008), those who have been running this program in Colombia have been looking for alternative strategies, one of which has been to require people who want to join the programme to be part of an associative project.

In the case of Puerres (Colombia), for example, the above seems to help explain the current presence of more than 40 associations in various productive projects. However, this figure can be misleading when taking into account that many of these associations are just pieces of paper and do not really exist or that the projects are non-viable or unsustainable created solely for the purposes of meeting the demands of those recruiting temporary workers. This situation, although worrying, does not mean ignoring the fact that

in a number of other associations (pre-existing or created because of the requirement) the programme has had some kind of effect of revitalizing the collective spirit and has contributed to creating a more integrated community, thereby enriching the social capital, and increasing development potential. Specifically, the projects that the programme has launched in the municipality are: innovative production in a women's bakery and cake shop; peasant farmer organization for growing and marketing of quinoa (with dubious results as already mentioned); and a pilot trout farm project by a group.

A strategy that perhaps is more secure and which has more impact has been that of seeking direct links with and commitments from local private or government institutions. These, in addition to financing the selection, assist with the recruitment and preparation process, as well as with travel costs, contributing to planning larger projects. These projects are not necessarily productive but are of social benefit in which the temporary workers participate using the program as a vehicle to strengthen implementation by providing financial or human capital for the projects in the form of savings from wages or specific skills obtained in Spain.

During the studies the authors became aware of partnerships, which were in line with the new strategy, with the Mayors of Bogotá and La Jagua Ibirico, and in the Department of Cesar with the Government, the Committee of Coffee Growers and the CAR-BOANDES Foundation which is where the authors think that the best conceived and perhaps the project with the greatest impact is located.

This project provides for the peasant farmers to return to their traditional work on the land which to a large extent has disappeared because of the agricultural land now being used for coal mining; this is without counting the dramatic effects which the intense internal conflict in Colombia has had in the region. In particular, thought has been given in this area to the creation of a fruit producing and processing factory given the agricultural history of this area and the favourable local conditions and the availability of the temporary workers to participate as partners. In addition to contributing their labour and skills obtained in Spain in similar businesses, they would contribute part of their savings in order to become partners in the project, together with locally linked institutions that would also include private landowners or other interested businessmen. In order to expand the social base of this project and others which have also been suggested, thought is being given to limit the number of harvest season programmes which each temporary worker would have access to, thereby allowing a greater number of people in the area to link in to the benefits of the program.

3.2.2 Possibilities of the programme in Colombia

As a process that is being developed and from the perspective of the communities of origin in Colombia, the *Pagesos* programme has been an experience that almost all tem-

porary workers consider to be personally positive, but this does not mean ignoring the difficulties referred to earlier and which must be overcome.

At the social level, it is an enriching experience in many ways, but according to what was found during the studies, it requires and deserves important adjustments so that its purpose of contributing to local development becomes a reality. In this regard, it should be noted that the programme is going through a process of rethinking, with important conceptual developments as well as in terms of direction but there is still a lack of consistency when being put into practice.

First, it is necessary to modify the criteria for selecting communities to participate in the programme. The communities that have predominated so far come from very different situations such as: those affected by natural disasters or violence and have been randomly selected because of negotiations by community leaders; the zone of origin of managers of the process; prior contacts of the latter with local leaders. Instead there must be the introduction of clear criteria that are consistent with the objectives of co-development, such as those defined by the IOM on its entry into the programme as operator and which are: linking of local governments or recognized private entities and the existence of or the possibility of creating high impact, associative or community projects that are viable within the specific community and in which the temporary workers form a substantial component; incidentally, these temporary workers must be offered the possibility of investing their savings - or part of them - as an alternative or complement to the implementation of micro projects executed spontaneously or promoted by the same programme.

The participation by municipal and even departmental governments merits reconsideration in the interests of maintaining the programme in their jurisdictions and, consequently, the sustainability of projects linked to the programme. This is because there have been many cases seen where a change of government has led to the disappearance of the commitment by government. In this respect, thought must be given to mechanisms that ensure the continuity of the linkage with the territorial authorities, because of the institutionalism that they represent; at the same time efforts must be made to promote partnerships with well established private actors that can also contribute to the same continuity.

In larger urban localities as Suba and Usaquén in Bogotá, given the low representation of temporary workers in their population as a whole and the complexity and size of the economies, there should be an insistence on a geographical targeting of specific communities for recruitment and projects that are promoted. Thus, the impact of the programme, although limited spatially, can be significant and measurable. In these same places the programme represents a special opportunity to alleviate the situation of people displaced from rural areas by the internal conflict and link it to projects for returning these people to the land.

There must also be a consistency between the selection of temporary workers and the objectives of co-development and particularly with high impact projects on the basis of which communities are defined (assuming continuity of the last mentioned strategy in the previous section). It is essential that, contrary to what was noted during the fieldwork study, temporary workers in addition to knowing about those projects (something that according to what we found was at a worryingly low rate), have an interest in them and hopefully prior work experience in the role that they would play in them.

On the other hand, taking into account that training in the destination country, particularly through work experience, is a stated and important element and an interesting alternative to technology transfer, it should be properly coordinated. This is something which until now has been incipient, between the operators of the programme in Colombia and Pagesos. This coordination could even take place with individual employers to ensure the placement of workers in activities suitable for the projects in question and enable the temporary workers to gain knowledge about other activities beyond the very limited knowledge that they would normally gain as labourers.

Research Group on Human Mobility of Alma Mater hopes that the Pagesos is a model which, with the proper adjustments, can fully achieve its objectives.

Therefore that it is worth considering its potential for replication, as set out below.

4. The replicability of the *Pagesos* TCLM model

The programme under analysis, particularly vis-a-vis the recruitment standards of temporary workers in the country of origin, corresponds to a sovereign decision by the *Unió de Pagesos* and to its commitment to corporate social responsibility, motivated by its nature as a trade union and its links to the peasant farmer family economy. This means that its replication by others is conditional, in principle, to them having the same type of commitment as the *Unió de Pagesos*.

However, recently the programme has shifted its costs from *Pagesos* to its partners (territorial entities and non-profit making organizations), that end up assuming the financing of the process of selection and preparation, and even the costs of looking after the workers in Spain and the outward journey costs, an obligation that initially was the responsibility of the employer. In addition, international institutions or international cooperation organizations have provided assistance to *Pagesos*. This makes it possible for any company, even without a social commitment, to make use of the model, especially given the emergence of the concept of “operators” that in exchange for a payment from the resources contributed by the partners, take on functions such as pre-selection and training of the temporary workers.

Under the aforementioned conditions, the model is replicable, even in the midst of a recession, given the economic benefits for employers and without prejudice to the benefits for workers, their families and communities. However, it is beginning to dawn on people that the model's extension on a large scale, with the special features of accompanying the temporary workers and the promotion of co-development, will not be possible through the management of private intermediaries. Among these private intermediaries those who work for a profit will certainly end up being dominant, and the maximization of profit implies that the special features mentioned above will be abandoned or subordinated meaning that the programme just becomes one of labour intermediation. There will be no proper control and this will jeopardize the fulfilment of the rights of those involved in it.

The *Pagesos* model represents an interesting alternative for the design of a TCLM national plan that can take advantage of the lack of temporary labour by developed countries and the temporary surplus of such labour in Colombia. This enables the formation and strengthening of individual, family and associative businesses by combining training and technology transfer, the savings of the temporary workers, international cooperation as well as national resources. It would also aim at facilitating the matching of supply and demand of manpower, as well as looking after the rights and welfare of the temporary workers and providing the possibility of contributing to the development (not only in economic terms) in their communities of origin. It would also have an impact on the places or regions where recruitment would take place in line with the national interests.

The bases for the beginning of this plan can be found in the labour agreement signed between Colombia and Spain, whose implementation along the proposed line can be fostered by invoking the Spanish co-development policy (see: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2005a and 2005b). This policy would not only promote the same plan (which in theory is its *raison d'être*), but also lend support to the temporary workers and carry out other activities co-financeable by the Colombian State, as in fact is happening in the *Pagesos* programme through territorial authorities (Mayors' Offices, Department Governments and the authorities in Bogota) that are participating as partners. Obviously, the details need to be worked out through discussions and bilateral agreements with the initiative led by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Colombia.

The implementation of the proposal would mean, on the Colombian side, the involvement of other institutional actors that would enable integration and consistency with the territorial plans at a local and national level; this would take place under the direction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and with the advice and support of the IOM, which currently provides significant knowledge and experience for the model. The other actors should at least include the following: National Planning Department (*DNP*); National Learning Service (*SENA*); Presidential Agency for Social Action and International Cooperation (*Accion Social*); Ministry of Social Protection, Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, and

the Ministry of Environment, Housing and Development. As complementary actors and under the coordination and supervision of the State there should be universities and non-profit organizations that could play an important role, especially if their participation was seen as an opportunity for social projection rather than as a source of resources.

The institutional conditions of knowledge and experience exist for the large scale implementation in Colombia of the *Pagesos* TCLM model and its use as a lever for the development of rural areas, and not just simply as a resource for the “exportation of manpower” which is a just concern of many people. Nevertheless, the global economic situation raises doubts about the possibility of taking the matter forward at this moment.

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6. COLOMBIAN INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MIGRATION: CONSISTENCY BETWEEN MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT⁵³

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International migration will always be an alternative way of life for people and it has become a constant feature in recent years, especially for Colombians.

The start of significant Colombian migration can be traced back to the sixties which coincided with the end of political violence in the country; the second wave of migration dates from the 1980s and lasted until the 1990s; and the third and last wave started in the 1990s and is still continuing now. The migration of Colombians to settle in different destinations has not been homogeneous and every time there has been a wave of migration it has had particular characteristics depending on when it actually occurred.

The general pattern of migration in Colombia includes movements within the region, and from the region to North America and Western Europe. Migration reflects the interaction of international, national and personal circumstances.

These international migration movements can be caused by a variety of factors including the following: *economic*, which are mainly related to the demand for manpower in developed countries and the low wages in the countries of origin; profound political changes that a State of origin can go through; cultural aspects, whenever the majority of the population in developing countries sees migration as synonymous with personal, family and social success (“American or European” dream); the existence of social networks established both in the places of origin and destination, which create possibilities of more easily overcoming the obstacles that can confront the migrant before, during and after the decision to migrate as well as the process itself; the *particular characteristics of the destination*, such as language, climate, distance from place of origin, the perception of the local people towards the immigrant “new members” of the society, the immigration policies, and the restrictions which immigrants may face; the *natural disasters* and cultural, racial, religious and

53 Special thanks to Johanna Saenz, consultant for the “Colombia Nos Une” (Colombia Unites Us) Programme of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who collaborated on the issues to do with the Integrated Migration Policy.

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political persecution. These are among the many other factors which make individuals and Colombians even more so, make the decision to leave their country.

On the other hand, and contrary to what might be thought, globalization has not created migration because migration is as old as humanity itself. Rather, globalization has stimulated migration movements through technological progress in communications and transport. Similarly, globalization has meant that the international migrant does not become completely assimilated into the place of destination, and the ability to maintain links with the migrant's place of origin has meant that the migration process becomes two-way, giving rise to constant and multiple connections for migrants as well as for non-migrants.

According to estimates made with indirect models that take into account the changing situation since 1985, the National Department of Statistics (*DANE*) has calculated that in 2005, there were **3,378,345** Colombians permanently residing overseas (8% of the total number of Colombians), and in almost every country of the world, but particularly in the United States, Spain, Venezuela, Ecuador and Canada.

Most Colombian migrants residing outside Colombia are living in heterogeneous conditions. In other words those who are in United States are not living in the same conditions as those who reside in Spain; in addition some of the immigrants in both countries are regular, but without doubt a high percentage may be irregular immigrants which is something that can act as an obstacle for those Colombians who wish to live under the same conditions as nationals of the host country. In contrast those Colombians who are regular migrants can of course enjoy the same conditions as nationals of the host country.

One of the characteristics of the Colombian international migration is that it is linked to *labour migration*, as many of the nationals who have decided to migrate to developed countries have done so because of the job opportunities these destinations offer and the better wages offered by companies and industries. Furthermore, the possibility of obtaining informal employment in these places is an option that becomes ever more relevant for Colombians who consider that their quality of life can improve overseas.

It should be noted that international migration has negative elements that produce a variety of obstacles for migrants and States. The trafficking of people, irregular migration, clandestine activities, labour exploitation and the vulnerability of the human rights of the migrants, among other factors produce a feeling of instability for them, their families and for States.

In the face of this, and in search of dignifying the process for Colombians wishing to migrate, the Colombian State, through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Directorate of Consular Affairs and Overseas Colombian Communities and the "Colombia Nos Une" (Colombia Unites Us) Programme managed, in 2001, to conclude an agreement between

Colombia and Spain concerning the regularization and regulation of migrant labour flows. Under this Agreement, it has been possible to establish and operate new migration processes for the Colombian population wishing to migrate to Spain. Its central objective is to channel job opportunities from Spanish businesses and industries that recognize the talents of Colombian workers as a positive element in fulfilling their objectives and it is covered by all the employment and migration regulations necessary for a good stable process. This is why this type of agreed migration process lends dignity to the migrant and produces safe and regulated migration flows.

More importantly, it is through such mechanisms that the two States have managed to minimize the negative impacts that surround migration and it is one of the best current options for those seeking to migrate.

Under the present migration agreement with Spain, a method has been created to articulate the needs of businesses with those of migrants. With the collaboration of IOM Colombia, the Catalan Union of Businessmen in Spain (-agricultural region par excellence) - and the collaboration of various Colombian State institutions such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Social Protection and the National Learning Service (SENA). This Temporary and Circular Labour Migration (TCLM) *plan* has been successfully implemented.

The TCLM is worth highlighting for several reasons: it is an example of controlled labour migration system, that by being an initiative of national companies in the country of destination is regulated and approved by the States (source and destination), allowing the migrant a regulated stay in the destination country, which produces legal certainties both for the employer as well as the employee, and it is a stimulus for legality, and reduces illegal activities.

The TCLM is a temporary process, as it covers work activities over periods of time that range from six to nine months, with the possibility of an extension up to two years. These are factors that make the migrant return to Colombia with work experience as well as personal experiences that can be made use of in the country or origin on a periodic basis. This is because these migrants have the option to return to the country offering employment in order to work whenever the employers in the destination country request the services of the temporary worker (for a season and/or harvest). This is what makes the process *circular*.

Currently, under the TCLM model more than 5,800 talented Colombians have benefited and consequently so have their families as well as the Catalan agricultural sector, the Spanish economy and of course, Colombia.

The consolidation of this labour migration scheme has counted with the participation of local government authorities in Colombia and Spain, as well as interested institutions

such as: (in Colombia) the *Carboandes* Foundation, the Nashira Corporation, Volcán Galeras, local mayors in Bogotá, departmental governments and other municipal mayors; and in Spain, the *Unió de Pagesos (UP)*, the *Fundació Pagesos Solidaris (Fundación Agricultores Solidarios (FPS))*, the Government of the autonomous community of Catalonia and the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Home Affairs and Labour and Social Affairs. A coordinated and integrated process for strengthening the TCLM scheme for the Colombians, without doubt requires a number of elements that need to be highlighted such as the existence of corporate social responsibility. This latter point must ensure: the achievement of adequate job offers for our migrants; their temporary settlement in the place of destination and their return to Colombia; a process of cultural exchanges; the benefits of social protection (healthcare and pension) – suitable living conditions; and good treatment. It is important that businesses both in the country of origin as well as destination recognize Colombian human talent, and are aware that the migrants are the “engine” for their development and therefore for the countries involved in the process.

The articulation of the labour migrants to the process of return to Colombia certainly contributes to the success of the TCLM scheme. In addition, the coordination and cooperation of Colombian national companies and the support of Spanish employers reflect the main *raison d'être* of the scheme, which is to strengthen, generate and maintain the development of the migrants and their communities of origin.

The project “Melón piel de sapo”, which is a type of melon grown in Catalonia, has been the outcome of this attempt to promote the closure of the circular migration of Colombians involved in the TCLM scheme. The Carboandes Foundation in Colombia and the FPS in Spain managed to get Spanish employers to undertake an agricultural viability study for the cultivation of this type of melon. This project also benefited from the collaboration of *SENA* the National Learning Service institute in Colombia that provides continuous technical training to migrants as well as cooperation in the implementation of productive projects.

The melon project mentioned above is being developed in the Department of César, and at the beginning of 2009 saw its first result when it managed to produce the first melons suitable for export that will meet the Spanish demand whenever there is a seasonal shortage in Spain.

This project allows businessmen to be able to depend on the product when there is a demand. It enables the TCLM migrant beneficiaries to apply the knowledge they acquired during their migration experience. It also generates employment and development in the zone where this agricultural production takes place, and it benefits the families living there. Thus the TCLM scheme is fulfilling its role in respect of development and coherent migration, and there is joint participation by the different sectors in the countries of source and destination as well as by the States. Under these principles dignified labour

is established for migrants and stable conditions are produced that ensure rights relating to migration, work and development.

Taking all this into account, and in order to coordinate and centralize, promote and manage activities and specific programmes for the benefit of Colombian international migrants, the Colombian State through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as one of its foreign policy goals for 2010, is proposing the design of an Integrated Migration Policy (IMP) involving all government actors that contribute to the migration process.

In addition, the State has been making progress in respect of migration processes. However, migration is something which poses new challenges in so far as accompanying the Colombian living overseas, in order to strengthen its positive effects on the development of the country. This implies the formulation and implementation of coordination and inter-institutional support strategies in order to respond effectively and coherently to the challenges posed by migration.

Colombian governmental institutional actors that are involved in the migration process include members of the Inter-sectoral National Commission for Migration (Decree 1239 of 2003) such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of the Interior and Justice, Ministry of National Defence, Ministry of Social Protection, Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism, Ministry of Environment, Housing and Territorial Development, and the Ministry of National education; the Department of Administrative Security (*DAS*), the National Planning Department (*DNP*), the Colombian Institute for the Promotion of Higher Education (*ICFES*) and the Colombian Institute for Educational Credits and Technical Studies Overseas (*ICETEX*) also play a role. Similarly, and with the aim of providing a more comprehensive service, the National Learning Service (*SENA*) and the National Statistics Department (*DANE*) are attached to the methodology.

Thus, in accordance with the guidelines found in the National Development Plan 2006-2010 it is necessary to produce a “Conpes” (National Council for Social and Economic Policy) document that defines a coordinated and regulated comprehensive public migration policy that responds to the needs and expectations of Colombian citizens living overseas.

The (Conpes) document on the government comprehensive migration policy is submitted for consideration by the National Council for Economic and Social Policy (Conpes). This policy integrates the guidelines, strategies and interventions for Colombians living overseas and foreigners residing in the country. It focuses on the following aspects: 1) dealing comprehensively with each of the development dimensions⁵⁵ of this population, and 2) improving the effectiveness of the instruments used for the implementation of strategies and programmes for the migrant population.

55 The development dimensions are understood to be those human potentials in economic, educational, social, political and cultural matters that can be promoted by the State

As a central objective it hopes to ensure that adequate, effective and coordinated attention is paid to all the development dimensions of the Colombian population overseas and foreigners residing in the country. By fulfilling this central objective, it will be responding to the limited attention paid by the Colombian State to the issue of migration, as well as define the necessary institutional and organizational guidelines for the implementation of the suggested strategies and goals.

Moreover, with the implementation of the proposed action plan, the following long term objectives will be achieved:

1. To defend, protect and guarantee the rights of Colombians living overseas and of foreigners living in Colombia.
2. To strengthen the transfer of the skills of Colombians abroad to the country, as well as the maintenance and expansion of training opportunities for Colombians overseas and for foreigners in the country.
3. To guarantee a permanent, adequate and effective supply of State services to Colombians overseas and foreigners in Colombia, taking into account the permanent changes surrounding migration.
4. To guarantee a migration process that meets international standards.

The specific objectives of the “Conpes” comprehensive migration policy are:

To define the necessary institutional and organizational guidelines for the implementation of actions in respect of the migrant population.

To achieve full implementation of the actions proposed for each of the development dimensions of the migrant population.

Each of the goals in the “Conpes” document will be aimed at the widening and creation of opportunities and capabilities of the neediest people taking as a baseline the protection and widening of their rights. This, in turn, will allow the Colombian State to coordinate its actions in an international context which can benefit the Colombian population under these mechanisms that promote a dignified, safe and orderly migration process and which create greater coherence between international migration and development.

International migration and each of the systems that can be implemented to promote good practices require the interaction and the good will of many different actors. Governments, businesses and organized civil society must maintain good relations, communication, participation, cooperation and coordination to benefit mutually from the link between migrants and development.

7. MIGRATION AS A DEVELOPMENT GENERATOR IN THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN. AN EXPERIENCE BUILT ON PARTNERSHIPS

Carboandes Foundation (Fundación Carboandes)⁵⁶

The Department of Cesar, located on the north coast of Colombia, with a population of more than nine hundred thousand people has historically been very involved in agriculture but over the past two decades this has decreased due to violence.

In the face of this situation, the economy of Cesar turned towards the major exploitation of thermal coal for export and this became the hope for those uprooted from the rural areas. However in spite of this, today the region has high unemployment rates that exceed the national average and large groups of informal workers do not even manage to earn the monthly minimum legal wage.

Cesar is where the Carboandes Foundation is located. It is a locally owned company that has been mining in Colombia for more than 20 years and it is very aware of its social responsibility in its area of influence as well as in the country as a whole.

The Carboandes Foundation was founded in 2005 with the aim of promoting the development of community projects that would generate income and employment, as well as environmental programmes.

This Foundation began to promote social projects in the area where the company had influence, in cooperation with sub-national public institutions and organized communities. Later, it linked up with the International Organization for Migration (IOM) with whom it now has a close relationship and which was a starting point for coming into contact with the *Fundació Pagesos Solidaris de Catalunya* (FPS) which is where everything began.

As the mission and vision of the Carboandes Foundation coincided with the TCLM program that the IOM and the FPS were leading, the first migration experiences with people that had an agricultural vocation began.

⁵⁶ The Carboandes Foundation is a private entity that promotes and encourages social and business development in the Department of Cesar. This is a region in the north of Colombia whose Economic activity is based on agriculture, cattle and cola mining. This Foundation promotes and encourages social and business development through participating in sustainable development projects.

The first contact

In 2007 the first contact took place with representatives of the *FPS*. From this meeting emerged an interest in participating in the project, because from the regional perspective there was the chance of generating employment and income, as well as the opportunity for the transfer of technology to the agricultural sector and opportunities for international cooperation together with permanent support from the IOM.

For its part the *FPS* was interested in the possibility of developing a relationship with a non-profit organization supported by the private sector, There was also the added value of the proximity of the Department of Cesar to the port of Santa Marta, located on the Colombian Atlantic coast, which could trigger a interesting opportunities from a social and commercial point of view.

So the IOM took its first steps in Colombia in implementing the TCLM model with a private organization. Thus it expanded its sphere of action particularly in an area that could, in addition to providing temporary agricultural workers, achieve co-financing for the model and open the door to possible commercial partnerships.

This was how a short-list of men and women willing to participate in the process was drawn up. They took part with a view not only to generate their own income, but to become a multiplying factor for technology that people could learn to operate in Lleida, and in turn promote productive projects for the benefit of their communities.

The Carboandes Foundation started this project with 50 people from the Department of Cesar and finally 140 people travelled from the rural municipalities of Jagua de Ibirico and Valledupar, in the second half of 2007, bound for the different farms in Catalonia. This was the first test that in the end proved positive for: the participation of women; cultural exchanges; learning about agricultural production methods that were different to the local methods; the proximity of a productivity scheme; knowledge about the production chain; and, very importantly, the participation of young people with the ability to learn and produce changes.

Of these 140 people, 63 returned in 2008, along with another 195 new people who were selected and who spent that year in Spain giving their all in order to perform well during the agricultural harvest season programme, but also to bring development to their own region. That same year, the TCLM programme was extended to other rural areas of the Department and it found new partners.

The key factor: partnerships

The experience of the Carboandes Foundation with the implementation of the TCLM programme in Spain has largely been possible thanks to the institutional accompaniment achieved in the country of origin. This has been an experience put together by many re-

gional actors. 2007 saw the support of the mayor of La Jagua de Ibirico and the National Learning Service (SENA) in respect of training. In 2008 the Government of the Department of Cesar provided support through its Institute for Development (*IDECESAR*) and the Committee of Coffee Growers of Caesar, which contributed significant resources to the programme for: recruitment processes; training in the place of origin and destination; the management of formalities and procedures; and the accompaniment of productive projects that were generated on the initiative of the temporary workers within the framework of co-development training in Catalonia. This training provides a methodology for designing and implementing productive projects with a social impact in Colombia.

Positive outcomes

Without any doubt the TCLM model in the Department of Cesar has yielded positive outcomes. The improvement of the quality of life of the temporary workers is the first measurable outcome that in some way affects the development of their community, given that most of them are local people from small villages in the Department of Cesar. Upon their return the temporary workers strengthen their family and interpersonal relationships, improve their quality of life and plan their future wellbeing through either individual or group projects.

The temporary workers who so far have been part of this programme work with enthusiasm in productive initiatives that contribute to the local development in the places of origin as a result of this regulated migration.

Examples of this are three collective productive projects designed by temporary workers which need to be highlighted. Today they have the financial support of the Catalan Cooperation Agency. The first is the cultivation of exotic flowers in the municipality of Pueblo Bello, an indigenous and mestizo community located in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada; the project is led by a temporary worker and the plan is to benefit 20 families in the community. The second is a chicken farm in La Jagua de Ibirico, with the participation of a group of 12 temporary workers. The third project is the breeding and raising of goats in the settlement of Los Venados, a small community close to Valledupar, which will benefit its leader and a small community group.

It is very important for the Carboandes Foundation to highlight the interest of the temporary workers in presenting proposals and productive initiatives, where agriculture-related projects stand out.

In the face of the enthusiasm that the productive initiatives generate, the Carboandes Foundation and the Catalan *FPS* have proposed a pilot fund for the financing of productive projects, which would involve the Government of the Department of Cesar, *SENA*, international cooperation agencies and the temporary workers. The aim is for each actor

to provide an equal amount of money, and the project would be activated when international cooperation and the temporary worker have contributed the 50 % necessary to begin implementing the project.

The large positive result that stands out from this whole process, and which the people of Cesar are becoming more and more interested in, is the change of attitude found in the temporary workers on their return because they arrive with a different vision of life. They now see a greater value in their land, their environment, their family and the opportunities in the projects in Cesar that they can lead. The simple fact that a man or a woman can travel to work in Spain, and learn about new technologies, get to know a different society, with a different organization and different rules, makes it possible to awaken that inner spirit of leadership in so many of them; on their return they feel different and they assume a different outlook on life.

More development

For the Department of Cesar the TCLM programme has not only enabled a group of people from Cesar to leave the country to work and to save some money and to head some productive projects, but it has also strengthened relations with international actors that, in a similar way, can create a medium-term impact on the local development of the Department.

As result of the partnership with the IOM and the FPS, the first phase of the project of support for small and medium-sized producers of tropical fruit and vegetables in the Department of César was undertaken. This was funded by the Catalan Cooperation Agency in alliance with *Ámbito Rural*, a Catalan farmers' organization. Today this project has got the agriculturally-minded people of Cesar thinking of the niche markets that exist in Spain and that can be supplied from Cesar. Five products have been identified: melon, watermelon, pineapple, papaya and mango and sample tests have already been carried out with melons and watermelons.

This is a project that is still in the stage of socialization with farmers and investors and of the distribution of technology packages to encourage the local farmers. So far, progress has been made in the financial structuring of a pilot project to plant five hectares of a type of melon, which will be coordinated by the Carboandes Foundation and financed by private entrepreneurs, and whose produce will be exported to Spain with the participation of the *Nufri* company.

Conclusions and reflections

Because this is work in progress that still has some weaknesses, it is necessary to draw conclusions that aim to create a better dynamic in the TCLM model, both at source and destination. So a training phase was implemented in 2008 in the place of origin of the workers in order to enable those chosen to establish a work plan with some clear goals,

aimed at the development of their nuclear family and their community environment in the expectation that they would take on the challenge of their work with responsibility and take full advantage of the training agenda in Spain and the possibilities of funding for social and productive initiatives.

The spaces for co-development in the implementation of the model are very important because it is through these that the opportunities that benefit from the TCLM process in Spain are consolidated for areas in the Department of Cesar.

The experience gained in the two years of work on this issue shows the need to strengthen the social work in the place of origin of the workers so that they take part in the migration process fully aware of what they are doing so that on their return the plan they developed their work in Spain is fulfilled. That is why it is necessary to begin to establish better contacts with their family and community and provide a solid accompaniment on their return from overseas which is a key to the realization of the projects and initiatives of the temporary workers.

The Foundation will intervene in those vulnerable and deprived areas of small rural towns, where the people who have benefited from the TCLM model originate from.

Together with the social work in the country of origin there will also be a constant strengthening of institutional relations with public and private entities, and all the actors will assume corresponding responsibilities.

8. SOME REFLECTIONS ON MIGRATORY FLOWS IN THE CATALAN REGION IMMIGRATION SECRETARY OF CATALONIA

Catalan Secretary for Immigration

Introduction

Often, migration is said to be a result of the poverty, the lack of freedom, the lack of employment opportunities or the lack of social protection in the countries of origin. It is necessary to talk about these so-called “push” effects but they are not enough to explain the phenomenon of migration as if this were the case how is it possible to explain that our immigration is not constituted only by poorer people in the countries of origin, nor the fact that those countries where immigrants come from are very often not the poorest countries in the world.

So it must also be borne in mind that among the reasons that cause migration there are also the so-called “pull” effects centred on: the demographic situation of receiving countries (with little natural growth); their economies (characterized by the creation of employment and the stagnation of productivity); the mismatch between labour supply and demand; and the incorporation of women into the job market. To this list could also be added the phenomenon of globalization, which has made the world a much smaller place and that has enabled movements that were previously unthinkable.

In the case of Catalonia, to accept all these reasons involves accepting the structural nature of the act of migration because: the low birth rate of Catalonia; its tendency for sustained economic growth despite the cycles; and the inevitable opening up of its economy to the rest of the world are also structural.

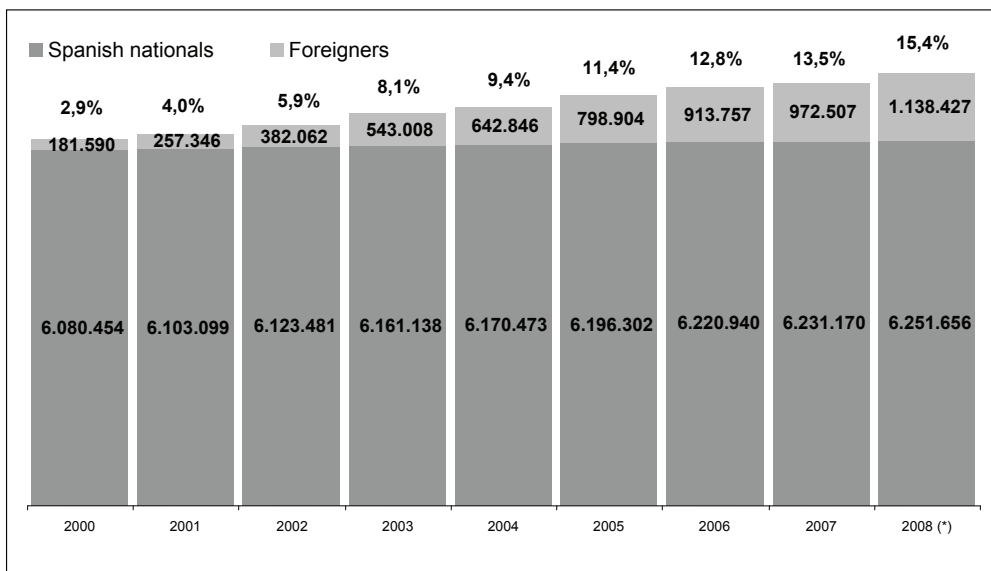
In addition, to accept all these reasons also implies the need to improve both the productivity of our economy as well as the activity rates, in particular of women. There is also a need to improve the levels of internal manpower training that are adjusted to future needs.

Finally, this analysis also invites the assumption of responsibilities within the framework of European and international decisions to work successfully for the benefit of developing countries.

Catalonia

Between 2000 and 2008 the number of foreigners living in Catalonia increased from 2% to 16.2% of the total population.

The “new Catalonians” come from 176 different countries and among those that stand out, in order of the number of immigrants, are Morocco, Ecuador, Romania, Bolivia and Colombia, representing in total 44 per cent of the newly arrived immigrants.



Source: National Statistics Institute (INE). Official population census on 1 January each year. (*) Secretary for Immigration. Provisional census on 1 January 2008.

Main countries of origin of the foreign population registered in Catalonia (2007)

	TOTAL	%	MEN	WOMEN
Morocco	191,652	19.7	118,246	73,406
Ecuador	81,831	8.4	38,165	43,666
Romania	63,534	6.5	33,361	30,173
Bolivia	51,584	5.3	21,782	29,802
Colombia	42,797	4.4	19,342	23,455
Italy	37,750	3.9	22,173	15,577
Argentina	34,528	3.6	17,392	17,136
China	33,689	3.5	18,303	15,386
Peru	30,144	3.1	13,989	16,155
France	29,561	3.0	15,189	14,372
Pakistan	25,362	2.6	22,119	3,243
Germany	20,937	2.2	10,834	10,103
Brazil	20,194	2.1	8,488	11,706
United Kingdom	18,673	1.9	10,141	8,532
Dominican Republic	17,063	1.8	6,855	10,208
Other 161 countries	273,208	28.1	154,640	118,568
TOTAL FOREIGNERS	972,507	100.0	531,019	441,488

Source: National Statistics Institute (INE). Official population census on 1 January 2007

Immigrants come to Catalonia because its job market has attracted them. It is impossible to imagine sectors of our economy as important as restaurants, construction, agriculture, trade and health care services without immigration, which in January 2008 represented 13.2% of all contributions to our social security system.

Unlike the urban character of the 20th century migrations, the 21st century migrations are distributed in a more balanced manner throughout the country, despite the pressures of the segregated housing market. Thus, immigration has a strong presence in most social spheres (urban and rural) and involves a stronger relationship with the receiving society than occurs in other countries near Spain.

The magnitude of these processes has generated a strong impact on public opinion. Various opinion surveys reveal that immigration tends to be one of the issues on which citizens focus a lot of attention. There is a negative perception of administrative irregularities and there are grievances about the access to public services and the lowering of their quality, while at the same time there is talk about the need to increase the integration of foreigners.

Therefore, although it is clear that immigration is part of Catalonia, sometimes people see it as a problem. Catalonia therefore faces a bit of a paradox which needs to be resolved and managed in a rational way and in the collective interest. That is why the Government of Catalonia thinks there is a need to develop the national immigration pact (*Pacte Nacional per a la Immigració* (PNI)), signed on 19 December 2008, the text of which contains the points of consensus among the vast majority of political parties, civil society, trade unions and employer organizations, regarding the management of immigration in so far as: the mobilization of internal resources; the management of migratory flows; and assistance to co-development.

National Immigration Pact and the Law in respect of welcoming immigrants and returnees to Catalonia (Pacte Nacional per a la Immigració (PNI) y Llei d'acollida de les persones immigrades i retornades a Catalunya): towards a good immigration management system and the integration of immigrants

For the first time in the history of our democracy a significant percentage of residents do not enjoy all the rights of citizenship such as that of political participation. Neither are the basic tools available for personal autonomy such as: knowing the language; equal employment opportunities; knowledge about basic aspects of the host society.

It is necessary to overcome these shortcomings if progress is to be made on: turning the new population into full citizens; participation by them in all areas of society; the achievement of equal rights and responsibilities. But this cannot succeed without considering the demands of society as a whole.

This is understood to be:

1. Arranging the migration flows in accordance with the law is *sine qua non* for a proper employment process.

2. Public services must be accessible and of good quality for the population as a whole if there is an aspiration for equality in so far as rights and responsibilities within the context of living together in harmony.

3. Knowledge of the language of the host society as well as political participation are indispensable for drawing together a diverse society and finding a public common culture.

1. National Immigration Pact: arranging migration flows

In the face of the migration flows into Catalonia three actions are necessary:

a) Mobilize internal human resources to ensure the quality of productive competitiveness and to ensure the moderation of the same flows.

b) Manage external flows through legislation and the reality of the situation.

c) Manage the flow in a responsible and coordinated way together with the development of the countries of origin.

Below, each of these actions is explained:

(a) In the first case, to increase the quality of internal resources and thus promote the moderation of the migration flows it is important first to promote equal access to the specific policies of continuous training and employability adapted to the foreign workers, particularly those who are unemployed or at risk of unemployment.

Secondly, it is important to plan measures of accompaniment, guidance and mentoring to ensure access to the job market of young people with problems in finding employment.

Thirdly, it is necessary to carry out monitoring and accompaniment of the family reunification process, by ensuring coordination between the responsible administrations. It is also necessary to promote the legislative changes and provide the necessary mechanisms to prioritize access to work permits for persons with residence permits for family reunifications.

(b) Management of external flows through the strengthening of the Government presence overseas through Servei d'Intermediació Laboral en Origen (SILO) (Labour intermediation services and training in country of origin) which states what the need is for foreign recruitment.

In addition, proper management of the migration flows means combating illegal immigration by increasing resources to inspect worksites and workers and by increasing the effectiveness of criminal proceedings against those people who recruit foreigners who do not have the necessary documents.

(c) Finally, Catalonia considers that host countries should limit and compensate human capital disinvestment as an element of shared responsibility, by establishing public cooperation protocols between countries of origin and migration destinations in matters of co-development, trade and institutional strengthening.

For this it is also important to promote the transfer of remittances through transparent channels and at a lower cost.

2. National Immigration Pact: adapting public services to a diverse society

The integration of the new population will depend, to a large extent, on the capacity of public services to meet social demands, either because they incorporate the new citizenship into the normal system, or so that society as a whole is clear that immigration is not the cause of poor services.

Therefore, public services must be adapted to a new range of users and resized, in order to avoid conflict among people competing for scarce resources.

The public services will become engines of inclusion and cohesion if they preserve the principle of universality of access and if they avoid any type of discrimination based on nationality. For this it is essential maintain an adequate budget and organization.

In this regard, a key tool for integration is, of course, the registration of the new citizens on the municipal electoral roll, especially in a context of significant administrative irregularities. Thus, the electoral roll becomes the primary tool for public managers to learn the realities about the population.

Moreover, mention should be made here of the role of the future *Llei d'acollida de les persones immigrades i retornades a Catalunya* (Catalan Law in respect of immigrants and citizens who have returned from living overseas) to which we refer in detail later.

3. National Immigration Pact (PNI): integration into a common public culture

What is meant by “common public culture”? Integration should be understood as a bi-directional, dynamic and continuous process among persons residing in the same territory, among those who were born or have resided there for a time and newcomers. So that this bi-directional process can successfully work there needs to be a common, shared, space for communication, coexistence, recognition and participation by everyone. This is the only way that the idea of nation can remain the point of reference with which the population that works and lives in Catalonia can commit to and identify with.

Managing to achieve solid foundations for this common area of communication and coexistence involves, for example, the following: promoting the participation of newcomers in public life in all its aspects; making the Catalan language the way of communicating and the common public language for everyone through promoting its use and the diffusion of the knowledge of linguistic diversity as a heritage of Catalonia; achieve coexistence in the plurality of religions and beliefs through the institutional recognition of the religions present in Catalonia and by guaranteeing their practice, within the limits of the law and the respect for individual rights; ensure equality of opportunity between men and women; promote policies aimed at children and young people through specific educational initiatives and mechanisms such as children’s play centres, youth centres and youth associations, etc; and develop policies aimed at older people in the form of volunteer programmes in which they promote their role as agents for welcoming the newcomers. It must be taken into account that addressing specific actions to different age groups, apart from responding to their needs, encourages the perception of shared common interests, of common life purposes, and it makes it evident that what unites citizens has more weight than what divides them as children of diverse cultures.

In this general scenario that sets out what the Catalan Government’s policy has to be on immigration and integration over the next twenty years, there is a fundamental ele-

ment of integration, promotion of equal opportunities and, therefore, of social cohesion, which is what the *Llei d'acollida de les persones immigrades i retornades a Catalunya* (Catalan Law in respect of immigrants and citizens who have returned from living overseas) is, and that is currently close to being approved.

This law (*Llei d'acollida*) is seen as a far-reaching educational tool, focused on the preparation for entry into the Catalan job market and in the promotion of social and personal autonomy of immigrants and those Catalans who, having lived overseas, decide to return to the country.

For this an initial welcoming service is being established that consists of offering the immigrant, or potential immigrant, a personalized service by a welcoming agent who assesses the immigrant's needs and directs the immigrant to the different educational resources that the service provides, as well as to other types of resources on offer.

In the first instance, the resources offered by the service are based on training in the following areas:

- The Catalan language, in accordance with the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR).
- The job market, as well as employment rights and issues that may affect foreigners.
- The key features of Catalan society and its institutions, the functioning of public services and fundamental rights and responsibilities.

The initial welcome service is intended to be offered first in the country of origin. Preparation in the country of origin prior to the arrival in Catalonia is a key factor for facilitating the integration process. But the service is also intended for newcomers that can be accessed through local administrations. On the basis of the fact that a contextualized welcome in the municipality or “comarca” (administrative area) is more efficient and useful, the Catalan Government sees the initial welcome service as something to be carried out in collaboration with local authorities, since the welcome and integration are the responsibility of administrations and all the social sectors. Therefore welcome, integration and diversity programmes will also be developed in companies and workplaces in common agreement with the social agents.

This new law that represents a pioneering legal initiative in the whole of southern Europe, recognizes and takes advantage of the work done in the area of welcoming and integrating the immigrant population, firstly by the municipalities, but also by associations, trade unions and companies. It is therefore a system based on the collective experience gained during the last twenty years.

In addition, the development of the law provides for the establishment of a unified translation service throughout the territory, as well as the creation of a virtual welcoming campus.

All this is intended to provide basic skills to immigrants in order to foster their autonomy. The reward to society is that foreigners become citizens who are more ready and able to contribute to the improvement of which will now be their society.

Catalonia recognizes itself as a society in which the welcome and integration have a structural character because migration is seen as something lasting, as has been the case for many years. Managing this involves being willing to make a reciprocal effort as an investment in the future both of the immigrant population and the receiving society that will ensure migration flows that are increasingly regulated with a more systematic integration process.

9. CATALONIA IN THE CURRENT GLOBAL CONTEXT OF MIGRATION MOVEMENTS: CYCLES AND EVOLUTION

D. Vicente Font Boix, President

Paulino Torras Domènech Foundation

1. Catalonia in the context of international migration

One of the most striking events of the final 25 years of the twentieth century was the dramatic increase in global international migration from South to North. This was something unprecedented in terms of how it developed and, had it not been for the sudden appearance of the global financial crisis, that was showing signs of continued and unbridled growth. But everything seems to indicate that, in the same way that this took hold of unsuspecting Governments and societies, the economic stagnation that we are now living with will oblige us to readapt to the new and difficult future.

While elsewhere in Europe it is possible to speak of a process that started just after the end of the Second World War, the Spanish experience began its upward curve shortly after joining the European Union. Together with financial support for the new community partner and the growth of its economy, new jobs were beginning to appear with the consequent rise in demand for labour. This would lead to a sudden transformation of Spain from a place of emigration to one of immigration, and the start of something unprecedented in its history, characterized by the emergence of a new flow of foreign migrants.

Because of its productive structure, Catalonia, along with Madrid, the Basque country and the region of Valencia, is one of the engines of the Spanish economy. In addition because of its very low birth rates and its geographical situation, Catalonia quickly became one of the most attractive locations for immigrants in Spain, along with Madrid and Andalusia. This happened at a time in its history when it regained its autonomy that in turn was blended with a strong political and cultural debate about Catalan identity. Therefore these new migration flows caused a profound change in the Catalan socio-political environment.

Below is a brief look at the development of these new migrations in their different cycles and strictly in the context of Catalonia.

2. Chronology: Migration cycles and the relationship between large waves of migration and the economic and political situation in the places of origin

There is a curious coincidence between the cycles of the different waves of migrants arriving in Catalonia and the political and economic crisis situation in the places of origin

– the so-called *push-pull* – factor that in turn coincides with the boom periods and biggest growth in the Catalan economy and that is seen in the increased demand for labour in certain productive sectors. Examples include the overseas publicity campaign to attract foreign investment to Catalonia, the Barcelona pre-Olympic campaign, the rise in the construction and tourism sectors after the Olympics of 1992 and the move away from the countryside by young people.

Broken down by region, migration to Catalonia is broadly speaking as follows:

Africa:

This is a continent where, since the declaration of independence by various countries, unemployment has always been structural. This is why, despite the strong political upheavals that have been plaguing the continent since the 1970s, its migration soon acquired an employment character. Its presence in Catalonia took place in three lengthy periods: from 1975 to 1986; from 1986 to 1995; and from 1996 to date.

Between 1975 and 1986 the first wave occurred that left the countries of origin bound for the northern Pyrenees, such that Catalonia featured only as a stage of the journey. Unable to pass beyond the northern border of Spain because of the creation of the Schengen visa area to which Spain did not yet belong, these migrants were forced to stay.

Between 1986 and 1995, the arrival of the second wave of immigrants occurred, which was mainly composed of people fleeing the conflict in countries such as Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea-Bissau, the Ivory Coast, Congo and Angola. The rest were economic migrants and came from countries such as the former Spanish colony of Equatorial Guinea, Senegal, Cameroon, Nigeria and the Gambia, among others.

The third wave has been from 1996 to date, and has largely been clandestine in nature. Almost all of its members arrive in small makeshift boats in the Canary Islands and Andalusia, and subsequently make the move to Catalonia, either under their own steam or as result of the implementation of governmental measures to distribute them around the country as a result of the lack of legal mechanisms to send them back to their own countries. These immigrants are victims of trafficking of migrants and increasingly include women and young people. Since 2005, Spain has been trying to react to this by pushing forward the signing of immigration cooperation agreements with the countries of origin of this new wave of migrants, in order, among other things, to involve these countries in the fight against the illegal trafficking of people.

Among immigrants from Africa, Moroccans should be highlighted as their numbers have continued to grow between the whole period covered here which is between 1975 and 2008.

Latin America:

Although there are references to the presence of Latin American migrants in Catalonia since the 1960s, it is only from the 1970s when their presence started to show steady growth, initially for political reasons in order to escape the dictatorships throughout Central and South America. During the 1990s the profile of Latin American immigrants changed from being political migrants seeking refuge to being economic immigrants in search of work. This change was influenced by the failed policies adopted taken by Latin American Governments and which affected almost the whole subcontinent.

In general terms, migration from Latin America destined for Catalonia, was at its highest during the period from 2001 to 2004. By January 2003, half of the residents from outside the European community in Spain were Latin American, led by Ecuadorians (close to 400,000 immigrants). Of the latter, 70 % were concentrated in four provinces: Madrid (38 %), Barcelona (15.2 percent), Murcia (11.8 per cent) and Valencia (5.7 %). The other nationality that stands out by its number is Colombians. Although it is not possible to provide details here, the four very illustrative examples are given to show the momentum of labour migration from Latin America (Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia and Ecuador), starting with Argentina as a case that is particularly emblematic.

Argentina: in the middle of the second term of President Carlos Saul Menem, Argentina entered into an economic recession. This caused the collapse of the financial system of Argentina and economic measures (the so-called “corralito”) taken by the Government caused a real stampede of Argentines out of the country from 2001 to 2005. This was when the Argentine community in Catalonia experienced strong growth, up to current levels.

Bolivia: the arrival of Bolivians to Spain has occurred over a short period of time, but it has been very intense. More than 600,000 Bolivians emigrated between 2002 and 2007 with Spain one of the favourite destinations. Women who were mothers and aged between 25 and 45 accounted for 50% of the total, thus making huge contribution to the feminization of Latin American immigration. The size of this immigration wave can be explained by the fact that Bolivians did not require entry visas to Spain until early April 2007 which is similar to what happened in previous years with nationals from the Dominican Republic, Ecuador and Colombia. According to the *SUP* (United Police Union), 55% of Bolivian immigrants arrived in Spain irregularly through the Barajas airport in Madrid, 20% arrived at the Prat airport in Barcelona, and between 10 and 15 % came in by land, and always with a tourist visa. Only 5% arrived by sea in so-called “cayucos” or small makeshift boats, from Africa.

Colombia: between 1990 and 1995, Colombia entered into a period of economic crisis that deepened between 1996 and 1999. Both the exit records as well as the Annual Span-

ish Immigration Statistics indicate an intensive number of Colombians arriving in Spain between 1999 and 2001. In January 2002 the tourist visa requirement for Colombians to enter Spain came into force, something that had little effect on slowing down the migration from that country, but figures did begin to show a slow down between 2004 and 2005, thanks to the improvement of the economic situation in Colombia.

Ecuador: unlike other Latin American groups such as Peruvians and Argentines, the Ecuadorian migration was of little significance in the 1990s. Since the start of this century, however, it has grown nineteen-fold in the space of three years and Ecuadorians became the largest group of immigrants, even overtaking Moroccans in 2004, which traditionally has been the largest group of immigrants in Spain from outside the European community.

Another equally significant group of immigrants is Peruvian, particularly because it is the group with the longest presence in Catalonia; but as has already been stated, this article is going to limit itself to the four cases mentioned, and the cases of Salvadorans, Hondurans, Cubans, Dominicans, Mexicans, Brazilians, and Venezuelans, etc, all of whom have quite a significant presence in Catalonia, will be left for another occasion.

The main common feature in all cases is that they are about migration that occurs as a result of economic crises in the respective countries, so they fully meet the description of labour migration with specific nuances for each country.

Central Europe:

Immigrants from here started after the fall of the Berlin wall. Their profile is of highly skilled economic migrants or with extensive professional experience fleeing the failures and lack of expectations in their countries. This group includes Romanians (who make up the largest group), Bulgarians, Poles, Ukrainians, former Yugoslavians, Kosovo Albanians, Bosnians, Croatians and Serbs.

Asia:

Among Asians, Filipinos, (or more specifically Filipino women) were the first group of migrants arriving from Asia in search of employment in Catalonia. Their presence goes back to the 1970s and is explained by the cultural ties formed by the Spanish presence in the Philippine archipelago. In the early 1990s, Filipino men began to arrive, in most cases as part of the process of family reunification. After Filipinos, there soon began to appear, little by little, immigrants from China and then Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis. These cases also involved economic migrants who began to appear at the beginning of this century, after the failure of the so-called *Asian miracle* when the region realized it could not cope with so many unemployed people.

3. Sociological profile of the new migration flows

The foreign population has very different demographic profiles depending on their origins. The EU pyramid is one of an ageing population. The African population pyramid stands out because the gender imbalance is very marked (the male population is double that of females), and it is an extremely young population. The American pyramid is the opposite of the latter: women outnumber men and the focus is on people of working age. The Asia and Oceania pyramids are characterised by being mostly male (67 % are men) with a majority of young adults of working age.⁵⁷ As for occupations, there is a clear link between the culture of work and experience in the place of origin, with jobs which these immigrants take on predominantly in the services sector, agro-industry and construction. With regard to their location, although at the beginning there was a direct relationship between the place of origin of the group and the place of settlement, there is now a wide-spread distribution throughout Spain.

In respect of the feminization of migration, the Filipino women have played a special role as they were the first to emigrate and are the majority in their group. After them come the Ecuadorians, Dominicans and Colombians; in the rest of the cases, the female presence is basically a result of family reunions that legal immigrants have been involved in since 1991. This is a new concept that first appeared in Spanish legislation aimed at foreigners in the wake of the first mass regulation promulgated under the Agreement of the Council of Ministers on 7 June 1991 on the regulation of foreign workers.

4. Impact on the Catalan society

The arrival of these new waves of immigrants occurred completely unforeseen by the Spanish Central Government and the Government of Catalonia and therefore caused great confusion and perplexity that was displayed peacefully at all levels of Catalan society. The impact of the immigrants was particularly felt in the working-class districts of the cities and rural areas. From the strictly sociological and academic perspective this impact occurred and was tackled over three long periods as follows:

First period: 1975-1990. Debate opens on what to do or how to act in the face of the unexpected arrival of these new citizens, highlighting the need to promote a new management strategy policy for the new situation.

Second period: 1991–2004. This debate focuses on the identity and cohesion of Catalan society and was finally resolved with the wager on the legal route as the most suitable for supporting, with guarantees, the new framework of coexistence.

⁵⁷ Source: Government of Catalonia, Secretary of Immigration.

Third period: 2005-2008. It gives impetus to the start of a positive reading on immigration, once its beneficial effects on the economy, demographics, culture and overseas image of Catalonia have been scientifically proven. In this context the concept of *residential citizenship* was coined and incorporated into the Catalan glossary on immigration,

In the three cases, the common feature is to ensure the defence of the human rights of the immigrants, to seek their orderly and peaceful integration into the Catalan society and that their integration does not alter the Catalan way of life.

5. Legal and competence framework: legislation and policy of the Government of Catalonia

In all the Spanish State, foreigners are exclusively the responsibility of the central Government, as is stated in articles 11 onwards of the Spanish Constitution. Organic Law 7/1985 of 1 July on the rights and freedoms of foreigners in Spain marks the beginning of the law on foreigners. However, its decentralized structure means, by virtue of the transfer of certain powers to autonomous Governments - such as health, housing, education, culture and employment in the case of Catalonia – that the Catalan Government manages the immigration process as regards settlement and social integration. It is under this procedure where actions have been and are being implemented that are directed towards the standardization of the presence of immigrants within the borders of Catalonia through the Catalan Government Decree 188/2001 of 26 June that covers foreigners and their social integration in Catalonia. This Decree establishes the functions and services that the Government of Catalonia had to provide within its competences, and it guarantees access to public services for the immigrant population.

On 27 June 2001, the plenary session of the Catalan Parliament approved the document of the Studies Commission on the immigration policy in Catalonia. This document ratified the general lines of action that should guide the social action and policy of the Catalan Government on immigration matters. On 31 August 2000, the Catalan Government created the *Immigration Secretariat* with the mandate to coordinate public policies on migration.

The other administrative entities for managing migration in Catalonia are the municipalities and the “Comarca” councils (*Consejos Comarcales*). These are strictly local bodies that since 1997 have been handling the implementation of the local citizenship and integration plans. Mataró was a pioneer in this respect.

Currently, the *Immigration Secretary* is driving forward a process that under the generic heading of *National Immigration Pact* has the objective of establishing the foundations for a definitive common migration policy applicable to the whole of Catalonia.

Despite not being responsible in respect of the control of borders, visa extensions, the granting of residency and nationality, Catalonia, as an important centre of immigration in Spain, as well as having its own government, has facilitated the implementation of public policies to manage immigration that have enabled the enjoyment of a significant experience, as well as notable recognition from the rest of Spain.

6. The PTDF on the study and analysis of immigration in Spain and Catalonia

The Paulino Torras Domènech Foundation (PTDF) was legally established in 1970 and its participation on the issue of foreign immigration began in 1987 – beforehand it had been involved with Spanish internal migration to Catalonia – after their statutes were adapted and modified with the aim of *matching them to the reality of the time without actually changing the spirit of the Foundation that was set by its founders*. Its early links with the IOM, as an observer member with them since 1993 and similarly with the ILO since 1994, has enabled it to become a pioneering institution on immigration in Spain.

Since its beginnings this foundation has focused on three areas: the human rights of immigrants - anticipating by several years the IOM; economic development; and multiculturalism. In respect of the latter it has placed special emphasis on the integration of foreign communities as it considers that this is one of the biggest challenges that Europe faces during the 21st century. There has been a focus on the study of critical aspects of the integration process such as: the legal dimension surrounding the status of being a foreigner; their insertion into society through employment; female migration; the family aspect; and the policies of local integration.

During 1989-1990, the PTDF organized the cycle foreign immigration and the law. In the following year, 1990-1991, it organized two more: one under the generic title *immigration and society*, and another under the title of the regularization of foreign workers. On the occasion of the enactment of the agreement of the Council of Ministers of 7 June 1991 on regularizing the situation of foreign workers, which was of significant importance in Spain because of its employment, social and family repercussions on foreign immigrants, the PTDF not only conducted a study with the help of responsible parts of central Government at that time in the field of immigration, but also actively contributed to its development with critical and objective reflections on the regulation of immigration in Spain and the respect for the human rights of immigrants. A second study at the same time was entitled *International Migration in Europe since 1945*.

In justifying its line of action, the *PTDF* year-book for 1989-1990 states the following “... *in addition to the interest that foreign immigration has sparked at all levels in Spain, the care and protection of the immigrant population is one of the founding principles*”.

Therefore it is possible to talk of a sense of anticipation by our Foundation in the promotion of the study of migration in Spain. The Foundation quickly became a point of reference for the State on the issue, first because its publications were among the first in this field, and secondly because their relevance has been recognized both in the academic world and among the different public authorities and the organizations specializing in the care of immigrants. Since the 1990s our Foundation has conducted regular meetings with the participation of experts that have been calling for the help of society to contribute to the understanding and assimilation of the immigration phenomenon which is already an irreversible reality in Spain (see annex).

7. Towards a likely review of the discourse on immigration? From massive regulation to promoting a policy of return. The global financial crisis acting as a brake on the South - North immigration

On 6 June 2008, in its contribution to mark the end of the first Master's degree course on Immigration and Social Mediation at the *Universitat Rovira i Virgili* of Tarragona (Public University of Tarragona), (a course which our Foundation helped to develop), the Foundation made reference to two new facts in Spanish immigration policy. One of these is the issue of return, with regard to the Directive of the same name which the European Union approved on 16 June. The Foundation pointed out that "return" signified a new facet in the management of immigration in Spain, and equally underlined the importance of the respect for human rights of the people affected by every case of "return" as well as the need for this to be addressed holistically within the wider context of immigration management, since this is all about human beings regardless of their legal status. The other fact is the enactment of the *Royal Decree - Law 4/2008 of 19 September on the advance payment of accumulated credits of contributory unemployment benefit to non-EU origin foreign workers that return voluntarily to their countries of origin*. The latter shows once again the sense of anticipation in the Paulino Torras Domènech Foundation in addressing current key aspects of the phenomenon of immigration.

There was also a warning of the risk that the current global financial crisis might negatively affect the respect for the human rights of immigrants and stated that their protection could not be ignored at such difficult times.

A very short time has elapsed between talk in Catalonia of "a role for every man and woman", to the talk now of "return" and "co-development" as new ways to deal with the complexity of immigration. This leads people to believe that another page is being opened in the study and analysis of international migration.

The brief tour made of the migration cycles in Catalonia has demonstrated that during the 33 year period from 1975 to 2008, Catalonia has experienced an extraordinary

demographic, social, cultural and overseas image-projection transformation that has been without parallel at any other stage in its history. Without daring to forecast how all this will end, there can definitely be talk of the emergence of a new more pluralistic, more open, and more dynamic society and therefore more coherent in terms of the current process of globalization and greater interdependence and interconnection between societies, peoples and cultures.

ANNEX

List of the most relevant activities that have been carried out and that are being currently carried out by the Paulino Torras Domènech Foundation in the area of immigration

1. Law, *Immigration and business*, 25 and 26 April 2007 with the collaboration of the College of Notaries in Catalonia.
2. Symposium on *Health and immigration*, 25 and 26 October 2004, in collaboration with IOM.
3. *Irregular sub-Saharan immigration through Morocco and on to the European Union*, held on 19 November 2002, in collaboration with the ILO, the International University of Catalonia and the European Institute of the Mediterranean.
4. *Tolerance and Multiculturalism* held on 29 October 2001.
5. *Immigration and human rights* held on 16 October 1997.
6. October 1994: first collaboration with ILO consisting of an economic contribution to the study on *the Struggle against the discrimination of migrant workers and ethnic minorities in the work arena*.
7. Course 1991-1992: *Migration policy and development cooperation*.
8. Course 1990-1991: *Immigration and society*.

Since the 2007-2008, the Paulino Torras Domènech Foundation has been jointly presenting the Master's programme on Immigration and Social Mediation at the University of Lleida and the Rovira y Virgili University of Tarragona.