

Irregularities in the Motherland

Essays on

(In)Formality, (Il)legality and (Un)Employment
of Colombian and Ecuadorian born Migrants in Spain
before and during the Great Economic Recession

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Table of Contents
Index on
Publications, Figures and Tables

Contents

I	Introduction	1
II	Essays on (In)formality, (Il)legality and (Un)employment	13
1	Economic Crisis and Migrants' In-Between	15
	Introduction	16
	Framing Society, Labour Market and Legal Regulations	18
	Data and methodology for a "hard-to-reach" population	25
	Lives in <i>limbo</i> , resistance and resilience	29
	Conclusion	38
	References	40
	Annex	44
2	Remittances in a Migrants' Life Course	47
	Introduction	48
	Theorising changing migration status and remittance sending	49
	Colombian- and Ecuadorian-born migrants in Spain	54
	Data and methodological challenges	57
	Growing residence and new motives for sending money	60
	Conclusion	66
	References	67
3	Resilience in crisis? Gender Differences in coping with the Labour Market Crisis	73
	Introduction	74
	Conceptualising Migrants' Spaces of Action in a Work-Life Matrix	77
	Data sources and methodological considerations	81
	Gendered <i>visible</i> and <i>invisible</i> resilience in the Labour Market	85
	Conclusion	102
	References	103
	Annex	108
III	References	115
IV	Appendix	127

List of Figures

1.1	Forms of migration status and trajectories	22
1.2	The analytical framework	25
1.3	Examples of life-lines from four interviews (selected variables)	27
1.4	Migrants' positions in (in)formality, working condition and sectoral integration from 2003 to 2013	34
1.5	Distribution of Colombia and Ecuador born populations in Spanish provinces (2008)	44
2.1	Inflows and Stocks of Latin American migrants in Spain	55
2.2	Residence regulations and possible status transitions between permits	55
2.3	Variance of remittances over the years	64
3.1	Interrelated spaces of (in)formality and critical irregular status within the autochthonous and immigrant Spanish population	79
3.2	Work-Life Course Matrix	82
3.3	Visual comparison and interrelation of MCVL and CEBS data sets	84
3.4	Distribution of Formal Work by Sex in 2006, 2009 and 2012	90
3.5	Migrants' Positions in the Work-Life Course Matrix: (Un)employment, (Ir)regular Status and (In)formality	100
3.6	Example of selected interviews with variables as time-lines	110

List of Tables

1.1	Overview on region, sex and country of birth in sample data	28
1.2	Migration status transition and differences between country of birth	34
1.3	List of expert interviews	44
1.4	List of fully transcribed migrant interviews	45
1.5	Parameters and descriptive statistics	45
1.6	Distribution of sex and nation and variation in labour market participation by sector and occupation	46
2.1	Expected relations between remittance sending, explanatory variables and status changes over time	54
2.2	Descriptive information on the interview data set	60
2.3	The effect of migration status changes on remittance sending	62
3.1	Distribution of migrants in detailed economic sectors and number of work- places	87
3.2	Changes of long and short contracts over years and shares of female labour	88
3.3	Multiple labour arrangements: terms of contracts and workplaces	92
3.4	Explaining days of Social Security in the work-life course matrix	94
3.5	Distribution of migrants in detailed sectors, (in)formality and migration status	97
3.6	Matrix of employment, migration status, (in)formality and working hours .	98
3.7	CEBS variables description	110
3.8	MCVL variables description	112
3.9	Comparability and Interrelation of CEBS and MCVL data sets	113

Part I

Introduction

Introduction

Migration is a part of our lives that exists despite nation-states trying to manage, reduce or even stop it. The interests of people in all parts of the world to improve their living standards is stronger than any conceivable obstacles that those nations might impose to hinder migrants on the move. Recent examples of Syrian migration to Turkey and Europe, *the wall* constructed by the United States of America against Mexican and South American immigration and the current attempts and struggles of the European Union to control the Mediterranean border via the European border agency of FRONTEX are well discussed examples of attempts to control migration. At the start of this millennium, the new attempts to *manage migration* have already provoked a wide variety of research on the effects of politics to '*keeping them in their place*' (De Genova, 2004; Adamson, 2006; Bakewell, 2008; Boucher, 2008; Cvajner and Scortino, 2010). Though the measures taken by governments are often unable to fully stop or hinder migration as much as politically desired, any new rules, administrative orders or physical obstacles will impact the number of migrants (Vecchio, 2016), at least those who are officially visible (Arango et al., 2009; Stern and Öjendal, 2010).

Changing rules in countries impact not only on the inflow, but also on how migrants are perceived and are able to re-establish their lives in many dimensions. Spain, as the geographical focus for this research, has undergone major shifts in its migration policies. From the 1990s onward, Spain has received the largest part of migrants in Europe and the relative largest share of all OECD countries (Rodríguez, 2009; Díaz et al., 2012; Arango, 2013). Pressured by the European Union, Spain changed its receptive and open immigration model in 2002. With the financial crisis reaching the Spanish labour market in 2008 the country reverted in the following years to one of emigration.

The current research focuses on the continuous changes and transmissions between *legal* and *illegal* migration, *formal* and *informal* labour market participation and periods of *(un)employment* between 2003 and 2015 for Colombian- and Ecuadorian-born migrants. The scope of the project lies beyond the statistically well-represented legal labour migration. It is the arrangements of *liminal* legality (Menjívar, 2006) and continuous (il)legal status, (in)formality and (un)employment that range of the edges of legal migration as a common fixture of non-Western/non-European migrants life that motivated this research

(Jenkins, 1978; Reyneri and Fullin, 2011; Fellini, Guetto, and Reyneri, 2018).

The pronounced inflow of migrants towards Spain, starting in 1998, can be framed by reviewing *global* variables such as economic conditions there, migration policies in the US, the civil war in Colombia and the economic crisis with ultimate 'dollarisation' in Ecuador in 2001 (ex. Viruela and Torres, 2015; Herrera, 2012, 129f). For Colombian and Ecuadorian migrants, Spain offered easy access. Not only do they share the language, but also politically and culturally many countries maintain strong relations with their former colonial 'motherland' (Díaz et al., 2012). Until 2003, Colombia and Ecuador had tourist visa regulations that allowed their citizens into Spain without any control. Many of the *first generation* migrants present today simply overstayed their 90 day tourist visas.

This research begins in 2003, when Spain altered its visa policies with Colombia and Ecuador due to the political pressure of the European Union to better control and manage migration inflow. Those people building *bridgeheads* in Spain brought their families or found partners there. Family reunification and transnational family arrangements, with frequent travel between both continents, established strong ties between both ends of the migration channel. The majority of the Colombian- and Ecuadorian-born migrants arriving before 2003 now call Spain their home. Many of their children were born there, and the majority went to school and established social networks with friendships there. Often the families bought houses in Spain (Castaño, 2014; Rincken, 2014; Martínez et al., 2015).

Migrants find themselves confronted with various obstacles in daily life guiding them into *liminal* legality with continuous shifts between legal and illegal behaviours. Michael J Piore (1979) theorised that immigrants incorporation into mostly Western countries constituted a form of segmented labour market. In his view, migrants positioning in the labour market is limited to a specially conditioned labour market due to residence rules, labour policies and social structuring in *modern industrial societies*. A variety of qualitative studies on (ir)regular migrants in different Western countries have confirmed this view, demonstrating that working conditions and social and economic participation of migrants are influenced and structured differently due to the absence of regular access to many institutions (Massey, 2002; Engbersen et al., 2006; Leerkes et al., 2007; Sabino and Peixoto, 2009; Maroukis et al., 2011).

Recent research on Latin American migrant labour market participation in Spain is predominantly routed in sociological, ethnological or psychological perspectives (Fellini and Guetto, 2019; Fellini, Guetto, and Reyneri, 2018; Galvéz Muñoz and Rodríguez Modroño, 2016; García, 2017; M. Lozano and Rentería, 2019; Mooi-Reci and Muñoz-Comet, 2016; del Rey et al., 2019). Studies can be divided into (i) those conducting qualitative research and focusing exclusively on legal or irregular migrants and those (ii) based on quantitative methods including strictly registered migrants within official data bases. But

lives of migrants are not exclusively organised in legal or illegal spaces nor does migrant labour market participation exist in defined formal or informal spaces. If they are to master daily life, it is the daily need of people - migrant or not - to adopt to continuously changing legal, social and economic conditions and establish an economic interchange between (il)legal, (in)formal and official (un)employment. The current COVID-19 pandemic and the change of presidency in the United States of America have both shown precisely how fragile and interchangeable are the rules, norms and codes for participation. Those rules define our space of action and, hence, our daily economic behaviours.

Hence, this dissertation draws on Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) critique on neoclassical economics' missing context and social embeddedness to understand economic action. The attempt of this current research is to link spheres that heretofore have been analysed separately, subsuming sociological, ethnological and juridical insights and methods under an economic focus for a holistic understanding of the economic action embedded in social structures. The dissertation follows migrants in their struggles with social and economic arrival and participation in Spain during the selected period, no matter their migration status or forms of employment. Social and legal structures define economic action beyond the boundaries of statistical visibility (Goldring and Landolt, 2012).

Three original research papers approach the topic from a single perspective and methodology. All three have a common data base which is the self-collected Colombian- and Ecuadorian-Born Sample (CEBS) data set of 80 Colombian and Ecuadorian migrants and 11 experts on Latin American immigration into Spain. This data is based on semi-structured interviews. Besides qualitative interpretation, the data was transformed into a discrete, quantitative panel data set. Different data sources have been added wherever the research questions required additional data. The main aim of this dissertation is to show the possibility of following migrants in their life courses even if common statistical representation would ignore periods of irregular residence and informal work and exclude them from analysis. From a methodological point of view, this aim calls for a cautious mixture of methods and sources to address statistical shortcomings in quantitative economic analysis. Hence, the aim is not to apply the most sophisticated econometric model on the data sources. It is my motivation for this dissertation to find suitable and sound solutions to the gaps and dropouts in the statistical representation usually ignored in data-based economic migration analysis.

Chapter 1 and 3 both take the Spanish labour market as their central interest. The two chapters address methodological answers to the complexity of including spaces of unemployment, informality and undocumented status into analysis. As for most migrants, in Europe or anywhere else, those statistically invisible spaces are pieces of their daily lives. Both chapters contribute to a better and more holistic assessment of the economic contributions of migrants in their adopted country. Chapter 2 connects the migrants'

new home in Spain with their countries of birth. As in the other chapters, the analysis uses times of irregular status, informal work and other *liminal* legal arrangements as the common in migrant life course. The analysis is adopted accordingly. Hence, all chapters' central aim is to find analytical and methodological answers to the phenomena of (il)legal and (in)formal situations, and social and legal limbo that structures and explains economic activities beyond the boundaries of the usual statistical perspective.

Chapter 1 explores the '*Economic Crisis and Migrants In-Between*' assuming that the ability of migrants to (re)shape spaces between dimensions of labour market access, (in)formality and (il)legal status is a more important asset than simply achieving legal migration status. The aim of this paper is to analyse structures, personal factors, behaviours and strategies by migrants in Spain during the economic recession. The analytical strategy is to follow Kubal's (2013) 'semi-legality' view of migrants as the important and most powerful actors in (re)shaping spaces of action even in times of crisis. Her article reviews important legal norms and how migration and residence is formally organised in Spain. In addition to the legal framework of public perceptions of migration and the concept of '*irregularidad sobrevenida*' are discussed with their possible effects on migrants' *degrees of freedom* to act in-between politically desirable categories.

Using an exploratory mixed-method design for the application of the CEBS data set (see Creswell and Clark, 2007), the paper compares migrant trajectories in times of crisis. Using an open coding system, the qualitative insights are carefully and systematically combined with an descriptive quantitative approach applying a transformed 'work-citizenship-matrix' on the cases (Goldring and Landolt, 2012). The results question the conventional wisdom of a linear progression from undocumented to permanent residency or nationalisation. With the migrant life courses, many forms of (in)formal and (il)legal incertitude have been detected, showing the creativity and the agency migrants use to extend their possible responses to legal, social or economic obstacles. Two major forms of semi-legality have been detected. While migrants buy formal-type contracts with no intention to work, as a means to maintain legal status, this might be seen as a creative response to the demand for such opportunities. Actual unlawful falsification of contracts has also been the case. The research also reveals new forms of response to the crisis, making circular migration and multi-site employment a new strategy of resilience. With strong social networks and children retaining migrants to their places, responses to the crisis found new forms of translocal and even transnational circularity to confront the crisis.

'*Remittances in a migrant's life course*' is the theme of Chapter 2. Here the aim is to have a closer look at the transnational relations Colombian and Ecuadorian migrants

maintain by remitting money to their countries of origin. Using the data collected with the CEBS data set, the approach explores the motives to remit. Most studies so far focus on single motives (Stark, 1995; Poirine, 1997; Agarwal and Horowitz, 2002; Rapoport and Docquier, 2006; Fokkema et al., 2013). The contribution of this research is in reviewing the state-of-the-art conditions offering a comprehensive categorisation of motives to remit. Allowing for changing motives during migrants' life courses, the analytical approach combines qualitative insights contrasted with the results of a small-N panel estimate. Responding to the open research question on possible increase or decrease of remittances during migrants' life course in Spain, the article reveals new insights.

The estimate demonstrates the importance of legal status on remittances sending in the case of Colombian and Ecuadorian migrants in Spain. Following the estimation results, each higher level of migration status - for instance, from temporal to permanent residence permit - leads to a 50% increase on the propensity to remit. Beneath this detected relation of migration status and remittance behaviour, lie the motives of migrants to remit change. The article shows that *exchange* motives are replaced by *altruistic*, *inheritance* and *investment* motives maintaining a constant flow of remittances over their life courses in Spain. The crisis might impact these conclusions, but it could not be revealed to what extent the economic crisis impacted the findings.

Chapter 3 asks for the migrants '*Resilience in Crisis?*'. Returning to the analytical approach of Chapter 1, using a transformed work-citizenship-matrix (see Goldring and Landolt, 2012; Landolt and Goldring, 2010) the paper takes a gender sensitive view in analysing crisis effects in the labour market. Following the life courses of migrants, the CEBS data set has been compared to the official MCVL data from the Spanish Social Security system. The methodological approach contrasts quantitative results with qualitative insights from interviews. Questioning the 'man-cession' (see Bargain and Martinoty, 2018) the research follows the inclusions and exclusions during the life courses of the migrants in the Spanish labour market.

The research assumes that higher numbers of part-time contracts at various workplaces, and the shift from informal to formal employment made women more flexible to resist the Great Recession. Bringing together data for the formal and the usually invisible informal and undocumented space the study's contribution is of a long-term holistic analysis on the life courses of migrants in times of crisis and recovery. The developed work-life course matrix confirmed the assumption showing women as of better resilience to the crisis. Yet men resisted, too. They went from the visible space into the usual statistically invisible spaces of informal labour arrangement, while the analysis shows women were able to shift from predominantly short-term, part-time contracts to more long-term, full-time employment.

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Part II

The Essays on (In)Formality,
(II) Legality and (Un)Employment of
Colombian and Ecuadorian born
Migrants in Spain before and during
the Great Economic Recession

Chapter 1

Economic Crisis and Migrants'

In-Between:

Trajectories of legal status, work and
(in)formality from Colombian and
Ecuadorian born migrants in Spain

Immigration and Economic Crisis in Spain: An Introduction

Public and political discourses in Europe focus on the struggle young Spaniards have in finding access to the labour market with high levels of unemployment since 2008. Due to the Economic crisis (ff. named simply *crisis*), Spain changed within a very short period from a country receiving high numbers of immigrants to a country of emigration for nationals and migrants alike. Though specially young Spaniards emigrated by crisis-driven effects, migrants have been affected differently by the changes in Spanish labour market and economic system. The insights presented in this article shed light on a selected immigrant fraction of the Spanish population - dwellers from Colombia and Ecuador. Research on the situation before the crisis revealed the vulnerability already experienced by LA migrants. Through this crisis and changing patterns on migration from and to Spain, some researcher already highlighted some challenges migrants' face confronting the situation, because of the precariousness of their legal status, formal residence and labour market access, which in turn affects the selection of occupations available to them (Godenau, Vogel, et al., 2012; Alonso, 2012; Godenau and Hernández, 2014; Esteban, 2015). Fruit pickers and care-workers, for instance, are well known public images exemplifying those structural limitations Latin American immigrants find in the Spanish economy.

The aim of this research is to take a closer look and follow migrants on their lifelines between 2003 and 2015. Hence, the interest of this article is to relate the effects legal regulations, labour market structures and the crisis have on legal status and work trajectories of Colombian and Ecuadorian born migrants. Related to the adoption of coping strategies before and during the crisis, the article also asks how formality and informality play a role in establishing in-between spaces of economic and social (re)action for these migrants. Those situations of in-between refer to the agency of migrants that create spaces of social and economic action within or between the different dimensions of labour market access, (in)formality and (il)legality. I assume migrants' ability to find, create and (re)shape such spaces becomes a more effective asset than achieving legal status. I argue that, though having legal status is an asset, it doesn't necessarily secure their individual migration projects, especially in times of economic crisis.

This paper covers a special period of immigration in Spain, between 2003 to 2015. The year 2002 is related to an increase of Colombian and Ecuadorian immigration to Spain, though first arrivals were registered already in 1998. First bridgeheads arrived around 1992 in Spain. Most of the dwellers entered via tourist visa and overstayed. Rodríguez (2009) classifies the period prior to 2005 as 'irregularity as the model'. I use *irregular* and *undocumented* as synonyms to mark the migrants' missing legal status in the analysis. *Illegal* I use solely to qualify the nation-states legal power on the migrant.

The implementation of harsher control and barrier policies on immigration in Europe forced Spain to implement regulations to reduce inflows of migrants from 2002 onward (Arango et al., 2009; Aparicio, 2010; Turrión and Sala, 2010; Martínez et al., 2015). The Spanish authorities implemented new visa regulations for Colombia, in 2002, and for Ecuador in 2003, such as return tickets and proof of large reserve funds. The result was a fast drop of immigration, reducing to mainly families' reunification (Martínez et al., 2015; Viruela and Torres, 2015, p. 59). With the massive immigration of about 242.500 Colombian and 382.200 Ecuadorian immigrants until 2003, the cornerstone was set for a new vital fraction of the Spanish population (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2017b). Collective regularization in 2002 and 2005 tried to solve most of the legal status struggle migrants faced in their first years in Spain. From 2003 onward policies impacted the residing migrant population by difficulting their abilities to confront the future crisis (Viruela and Torres, 2015). Such measures consist of hard requirements to show sufficient weeks of formal social security payments within a period to obtain legal status prolongation, preference of nationalized inhabitants to enter specific jobs or restrictions to access health-care for undocumented migrants. With this scenario, one could dismiss the possibilities and the space(s) of agency (Michael J Piore, 1979) migrants possess for resistance and restructure if focus solely is on nation-states regulations and its implications (Kubal, 2013; Viruela and Torres, 2015, pp. 12, 26).

Prior to the crisis, migrants easily found work in specific sectors of the labour market due to high demand. In a few days upon their arrival, the majority found work in the (in)formal labour market. As with other Southern European countries, Arango et al. (2009) speak of an immigration model to solve structural problems in the labour markets. Albeit the common model, most studies also demonstrated the special role Spain had among the Mediterranean countries (ex. Arango, 2013). Spain received the largest part of migrants in Europe and the relative largest share of all OECD countries (Rodríguez, 2009; Díaz et al., 2012). The main variables of this Spanish model were the liberal labour market policies, weak internal control policies, positive attitudes and perceptions of the population and (historic) networks of migration also grounded in colonial legacy.

These variables frame the growing presence of immigrants from the 90s onward on Spanish territory (Reyneri, 2001; Arango et al., 2009; Maroukis et al., 2011). Spain has undergone crisis-driven social, legal and economic changes that impacted on most of the aforementioned variables. Although the crisis started in 2007, the social and labour market effects were recognizable from 2008 onward (Pajares, 2009). The economic crisis split up several indicators in 'before' and 'after' 2008. It is in the scope of this article to focus on Spain's internal factors and the influence they had on the status and work trajectories from migrants residing in Spain. I will follow Colombian and Ecuadorian born migrants in their strives to ensure their migration project in Spain. By migration project, I refer to the

intersected struggle on labour market access, legal status, and residence all migrants face during first years and some even permanently during their stay in a foreign country. The aim is to analyse the structures, personal factors, behaviours and strategies encountered by migrants in Spain. With their constant effort to achieve stable lives and legal status security, the connections between the vectors of labour market access, (in)formality and legal status are analysed in conjuncture for this research. The units of interest are the migrants' individual and collective agency with which they deal with legal framings and income possibilities, and their active constructions of in-between spaces to ensure their residence. Hence, this paper contributes to a better understanding of long-term mobility patterns of migrants (Cobb-Clark and Kossoudji, 2000).

The article is structured as follows. A theoretical frame is developed in the following part. Contributions on labour market segmentation and social stratification are combined with theories on migration and (il)legality to built the analytical body. Data and the chosen methodology is explained in the second section. The third section analyses the cases from the interviews on the identified categories and finally conclusions are given on the findings.

Framing Society, Labour Market and Legal Regulations

The right to leave and reside in a country is a recognized fundamental human right (United Nations, 1948, article 13). This general human right misses its important counterpart since the right to enter is regulated and managed by nation-states. This asymmetry of rights is a *de facto* limitation of general human rights assigned to migrants on the move (Baldwin-Edwards, 2008). Barriers and regulations imposed by national governments to regulate immigration have their impact on the size of the migration flow, on the legal migration proceedings, and on social attitudes towards migration from the residing citizens of each country (De Genova, 2004; Minghuan, 2009; Landolt and Goldring, 2010). Recent public debates in the USA and some European countries exemplify this link between migration policy changes and problematization of migrants on the move very well. Current situations are valuable examples for the criminalization of asylum seekers and the *making of* undocumented migrants as a result of unresolved jurisdiction between nation-states. They are also examples of the unwillingness of some nation-states to grant fundamental human rights to people on the move. These policies also found their backlash in changing public perceptions and attitudes towards immigration in the US and many of the European countries (to take a more scientific view on recent changes, see De Genova, 2013).

Understanding undocumented migration only under the frame of legal power, as a "*making of illegality*" (De Genova, 2004) induced by a nation-state, ignores migrants as important actors. In following Kubal's work, I take these actors as the central unit of

analysis. This offers possibilities to understand and analyse the shape of power from nation-states and the different forms of resistance to it (2013, p. 12). Migrants' agency is able to surpass obstacles originally designed to guide, hinder and control migration processes. Furthermore, I understand the migrants striving for a better life as the most powerful actors and as the architects of space(s) of in-between. It is the agency of the migrants in relation to institutionally and socially defined limitations that create the spaces of in-between (Menjívar, 2006, p. 1008). The following paragraphs theorize how I understand the constructions of spaces of in-between for this article and how the concept can be operationalized to analyse migrants' trajectories in legal status, labour market access and (in)formality.

(Il)legal status and (in)formality

Literally taken, *legal* is the opposite to *illegal*, as *formal* is to *informal*.¹ There are multiple combinations of *(il)legal* and *(in)formal* depending on the dimensions to which these concepts apply. *Informal* I use for involvements such as working without contracts or social security, sub-led flat renting or tax payment without legal declaration or with no adherence to rules. *Illegal* refers solely to the missing legal status. Socially coined and signified, we usually rank *legal* as being better than *illegal* and *formal* better than *informal*. In migration processes *(il)legal* and *(in)formal* space(s) may open or close willingly or unwillingly at any moment of time. Spaces of *legality* and *informality* may have overlaps when combining different dimensions, for instance, legal residence with *informal* work. Hence, in a *legal* case, the multidimensional involvement of people in society does not neglect *informal* involvement in one or another dimension (Kubal, 2013, p. 11). Likewise, possessing no valid residence permit should not be understood as setting the migrant out of all *formal* space(s).

Legal status is often seen as the key asset for the prospects of migrants. Van Meeteren et al., 2009 (2009) have shown the role researchers play on the construction of “*illegality*”. Setting “*illegal*” as a permanent prefix for the migrant constructs hierarchies, showing the legal status as the major constraint for all other dimensions of involvements. Especially for the case of Spain the multiple involvements migrants had prior to the crisis were not so constrained by their legal status, but after 2008, public perception changed the effects legal status had on other involvements.² In a nutshell, an *irregular* migrant in 2004 had

¹I will only write the concepts of *illegal* and *informal* in this section in *italic* to highlight the fluid character of in-between binary understandings. Subsequent use of *italic* writing highlights the concepts in specific cases to explain.

²I do not neglect the importance of a legal status for many migrants to secure their migration project. It is to say that the *irregular* status impacted on their planning security on residence and future and, hence, on resilience in general. Therefore legalization was important. Many other aspects of vulnerability have to be cautiously checked on their direct connection to the legal status.

different possibilities and is perceived differently as the same continuing *irregular* migrant in 2011. Hence, the theoretical approach developed here calls for sensibility to changes over time on possibilities of migrants and their spaces of in-between. It is in the scope of my attempts to better understand how different dimensions in the life trajectories of migrants in Spain are interrelated or may constraint one another.

The constructions of space(s) of in-between are results in migrants' everyday life readjustments to parameter changes in the dimensions. Changing parameters in one dimension may constrain on the abilities to maintain or to achieve better situations in other dimensions. Informal work for instance clearly constraints the relation between migrants and the nation-state in ways of voice, representation, taxation and sometimes in access to public goods, but in the case of Spain, access to health insurance and free medical services was secured.³ One important juridical fact about this interrelations is that because of the null possibilities to enter regular work, undocumented migrants have only access to informal jobs (Goldring and Landolt, 2012, p. 17). The reverse assumption that, hence, the informal labour market exists mainly because of irregular migrants has no empirical evidence, as informal work exists in any place and related to any form of legal status. In Spain, the autochthonous population is used to *informality* (Maroukis et al., 2011). Its existence depends on general attitudes and acceptance in society, the probability of control and the level of penalty. From this point of view, undocumented immigrants may only influence the quantity of *informal* workers (González-Enríquez, 2010; Godenau, Vogel, et al., 2012).

Kubal (2013) proposes the concept of “*semi-legality*” as a possible approach towards viewing these phenomena through an analytical lens. This concept allows for an understanding of multiple continuous layers of inclusion and exclusion in different dimensions. Furthermore, the concept explicitly refers to situations of being *in-between*: (il)legal and (in)formal at the same time. Kubal refers here to situations of in-between within the dimension of legal status as she shows the ‘fluid and flexible status’ migrants possess. *Semi-legality* reflects their possibilities in reshaping legal space(s) through their agency (2013, p. 7). To better understand the flexibility and fluidity imagine a migrant having various occupations, of which two are informal and the main is formal. The formal job (s)he obtained simply by paying social security on her/his own to employer. By the same time the migrant handed the query on nationalization in because of having a legal occupation for years now. The migrant also asked for the renewal of his temporal status, as (s)he can not be sure to surpass the nationalization process. This migrant, for instance, shows in a typical day-to-day situation how legality on the first sight is legal but is constructed semi-legal. Moving the spot on the migrant forth in time to the day if, for example, nationalization is granted changes everything as well as in the case if (s)he loses her/his

³These federal law regulations have been changed in 2013. Only some *Provincias Autónomas*, for instance Andalusia, still provide free public health access also to undocumented migrants.

only legal occupation.

Hence, to better understand a migrant's involvement in the society, it seems more appropriate to speak of complementing, interdependent and overlapping phenomena, rather than opposing, creating those space(s) of *in-between*. I propose here multi-layered, infinite configurations instead of clear-cut binary concepts usually used to categorize migrants for the sake of analysis. The concept *in-between* extends this understanding to different dimensions of migrant involvements in society, such as the labour market. In interview analysis of migrants' life trajectories, I constantly identified situations where they actively re-negotiate these overlapping categories, taking several jobs of formal and informal character at the same time and renegotiating fake contracts to fulfill quota requirements for social security to keep their legal status (see also Torres and Gadea, 2015, p. 26).

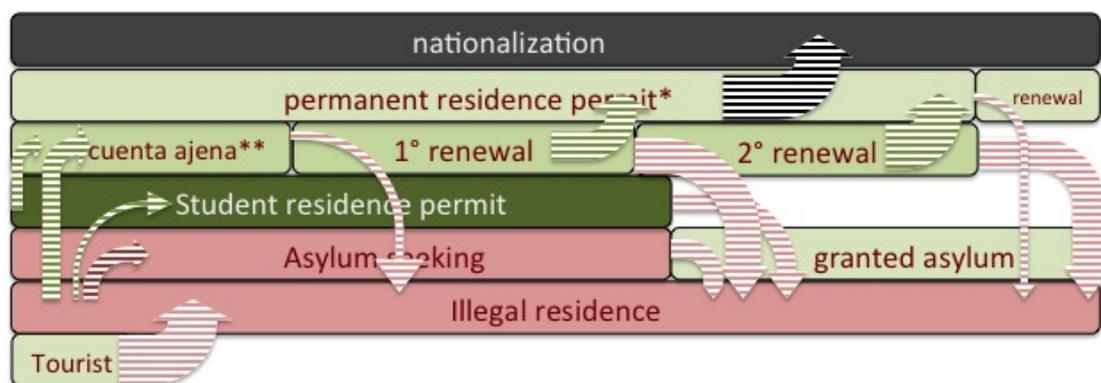
Migration regulations and *irregularidad sobrevenida*

Understanding how migrants' in-between are constructed in society relies first on legal regulations and construction of categories and hierarchies between migrants. By Spanish immigration law, migrants are sorted into five categories. These categories are tourists, students, temporal and permanent residents and nationalized foreign born residents. Asylum seekers and those granted asylum form the sixth category, but regulations follow international commitments from the Geneva convention and the New York protocol. Figure 1.1 (p.22) shows all categories of permits and also the possible trajectories between them with arrows. The size of the arrows approximate the number of movements and drop outs from one permit to another. For the purpose of this article, differentiation between asylum seekers and other temporal migrants can be neglected. Asylum seekers hold a type of temporal residence permit under special international agreements and those granted asylum have same legal opportunities as nationalized foreign born. Other possible temporal permits are related to work and family.

Irregular migrants do not fit into any of these categories. Usually, they perform as if they were 'the rest' (Kubal, 2013, p. 11). In the case of Colombian and Ecuadorian migrants in Spain, until the collective regularizations in 2002 and 2005, residing undocumented was the new normal and those with legal documentation were widely perceived as 'the lucky rest' (González-Enríquez, 2010; Martínez et al., 2015, p. 61). For this article categories of (i) undocumented, (ii) tourist (iii) temporal, (iv) permanent, (v) nationalized and (vi) asylum granted are formed as the variables to consider in the analysis. Asylum seekers, students, and workers with temporal permits are subcategories of the temporal variable, as they all have a date as a hard constraint to continue legal status.

Tourist and student visa are crucial to understand legal entry constructions creating in-betweens in society. First, tourist and student visa have been widely used for the immigration to Spain. Second, tourist and student visa are used as differentiation between

Figure 1.1: Forms of migration status and trajectories



Source: Authors compilation

those migrants entering from Latin America and other irregular migrants in Spain. Moroccan migrants, for instance, are a well researched case for Spain (see ex. Godenau and Hernández, 2007). Those coming over land or by boat usually do not obtain tourist or student visa. Differentiation results in this case, in forms of hierarchy between migrants. I will not be able to analyse constructions of hierarchy between types of migrants in Spanish society in this article, but it is noteworthy that *degrees of freedom* from Latin Americans are greater compared to other migrant groups. Shared colonial history, western lifestyle and Christian religion are factors that augment Latin American migrants' agency in in-between situations.

In Spain migrants that once achieved legal residence will claim to *be fall* into a situation of *irregularidad sobrevenida* (Herrera, 2012; Martínez et al., 2015, pp. 138, 63). As one expert states:

*“The concept of sobrevenido has different applications. One common understanding is that the person has done everything to legalise, but administration was not capable to legalize. And there are these concepts that because of any reason an irregular situation occurred and this left the migrant without official residence. Hence, the person was established and out of nothing the migrant finds himself in irregularity.”*⁴ (E1:36-38)

On the one hand, this socially constructed *in-between* opens up new spaces of agency for undocumented residing migrants that entered via tourist or student visa from Latin America. The migrants are not longer liable for the irregular status - the situation has *be fallen* the migrants. This differentiation in understanding illegality does not alter the

⁴For all included quotes: Author's translations, Spanish original: “[...]. El concepto de sobrevenido tiene distintas aplicaciones. Un sentido común es de que la persona ha tratado todo de hacerse oficial, pero la administración no fue capaz de arreglar su estancia. [...]. También hay ese conceptos que por causa cualquiera vino una situación irregular por cual se convirtió sin residencia oficial. Entonces la persona se ha creado estabilizada, pero de vuelta se encuentra en irregularidad.”

migrants' position in society completely, but influences the attitudes of the society towards migrants and opens up degrees of freedom for the agency of migrants in the dimensions. In the sample, I found several situations of *irregularidad sobrevenida*, especially in times after the crisis (see table 1.2 and figure 1.4). The methodological approach of following migrants in their lifelines reveals situations of *irregularidad sobrevenida* and I will pay special attention to the influence on other dimensions. In this sense *irregularidad sobrevenida* is the socially coined expression for *in-between* and one of the analytical categories to follow in the dimension of (il)legal.

The labour market dimension

So far I delivered theoretical scaffolding on the two dimensions of *(in)formality* and *(il)legality*. Social practice turns positioning inside these dimensions from categorical to continuous. I provide here examples of similar efforts of describing effects of legal and social practice, in relation to labour market access.⁵ In their study on Latin American migrants in the Toronto region, Goldring and Landolt construct an index of precarious work. They are able to show that if one wants to capture abilities of foreign born workers in the labour market, a variety of individual and structural factors have to be compiled (2012, 17ff). Hence, with labour market access I group several variables that will be discussed in what follows.

Godenau and Santana (2010) and Godenau, Vogel, et al. (2012) analyze the functioning of irregular migration as a suitable response to the demand in special sectors of the labour market. The reduction of labor costs through a large proportion of informal work force increased significantly the competitiveness of countries like Spain in the past (Baldwin-Edwards, 2008; Godenau and Santana, 2010, p. 5). Informal work could, therefore, be seen as an economic strategy tolerated and adopted by society and politics contradicting the discourse on “securitization” (Rudolph, 2003). In their analysis, Díaz et al. show that both axis - the economic function and national security - are parallel discourses from the political parties in Spain (2012, p. 819). Díaz et al. assumed that the functioning of visa politics in many southern European countries fostered not only segmentation as one part of social stratification in the labour market, but also ethnic segmentation within the labour market (2012, p. 822). Reviewing the studies on how the access to the labour market in Spain is structured, there is a consensus on what Torres and Gadea (2015) call *ethno-stratification* on sectors and even specific occupations. García is able to show how ethnicity is used for differentiation in limiting access to the labour market. Ethnic stratification places migrants in the *limbo* either they have to be 'others' or 'Spanish' to enter specific sectors or occupations. For Spain, it is the postcolonial legacy of *othering*

⁵“Access” refers to the constant need of “starting over again”, I also detected in the interviews (Herrera, 2012).

in structuring migrants access to the labour market (Godenau and Santana, 2010, p. 2).

The demand on migrants to fill in a specific segment of the labour market was theorized by (Michael J Piore, 1979; Michael J. Piore, 1972). Labour market segmentation theory explains the patterns with which migrants fill the gaps in the labour market to obtain a livelihood. Well paid jobs with fixed contracts and high social acceptance form the first segment. The secondary segment is constituted under the conditions of jobs with low-skill requirements, low supply from the autochthonous population and often socially not attractive with a bad reputation in the society (Michael J Piore, 1979). In extension to Michael J Piores' theory, Godenau, Vogel, et al. propose three segments with higher entry barriers between the segments (2012, p. 63). In their understanding, the labour market splits into (i) *the permanent segment*, (ii) *the temporary segment* and (iii) *the informal segment*.

Landolt and Goldring take a more flexible approach by conceptualizing the relationship between migration status and labour market participation as a *work-citizenship-matrix* (see also Goldring and Landolt, 2012). The quadrants they construct by the vectors of legal status trajectories and labour market stratification allow for a more dynamic view on the migrants positioning within the matrix. In line with what has been discussed before, the informality of work constructs an (in)formal/(il)legal in-between, blurring the categorical boundaries of the permanent and temporal segments. Informality constructs an additional dimension, what Godenau, Vogel, et al. conceptualized as a third segment. I argue that (in)formality should, especially in the case of Spain, be understood as an intersection with other dimensions and not as a separable segment. For the analysis, the variables of sectoral and occupational access play a crucial role in identifying the overlaps this might have to informality, irregular status and the capability of migrants to confront the economic crisis.

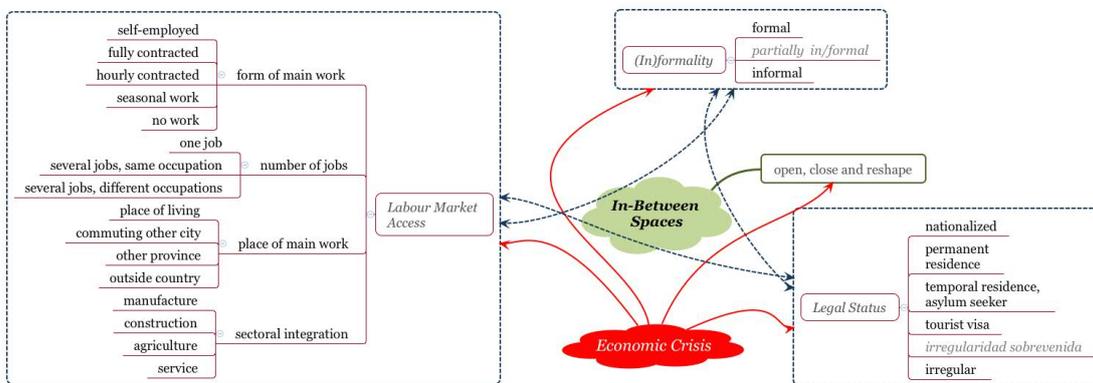
Dimensions, variables and intersections: the analytical framework

I propose here an extension and operationalization of the *work-citizenship-matrix* developed by Landolt and Goldring on Latin American migrants in Toronto. Based on the theoretical considerations, the framework consists of three dimensions (i) labour market access, (ii) legal status and (iii) (in)formality. Figure 1.2 graphically captures the idea of the interrelations between different dimensions by setting the constructions of in-between space(s) as a possible outcome. The migrant is the central point of departure for the analysis through these variables. Migrants are simultaneously involved in all three dimensions. Using the multidimensional picture of a spider-web, this analytical frame helps discuss systematically how (ir)regular migrants are able to act in legal space(s) and in-between spaces simultaneously. Possibilities of resistance and limitations of actions can be analyzed between the dimensions and also within each of these dimensions between the

variables over time. The scope of this analytical framework is to find changes in dynamic view over time. It serves to describe and explain the trajectories migrants experience over time in the dimensions of (in)formality, (il)legal status and labour market access.

The dimension of labour market access splits up into four variables used similarly by Goldring and Landolt (2012) for their IPW-Index. The dimensions of legal status and (in)formality are single variable dimensions with five and three parameter values respectively (see figure 1.2). In-between spaces may open, close and reshape by specific combinations of the parameter values defined and described in the variable framework. There are 56 theoretical possible combinations of parameter values between (in)formal and labour market access in this framework. Only the variables *number of jobs* and *form of main work* can be related to the creation of in-between spaces. Both variables of *place of main work* and *sectoral integration* will give important additional structural information, but only the parameter *outside country* can open up in-between spaces of semi-legality or semi-formality when migrants work outside the country but are not supposed to do so. The crisis is addressed reviewing the influence on the dimensions with their variables, the interrelations, and changes between them and on the reconfiguration of between space(s).

Figure 1.2: The analytical framework



Source: Authors compilation

Data and methodology for a “hard-to-reach” population

Finding a suitable answer for the hidden character of parts of the selected groups, this work draws on field work carried out between 2013 and 2015 in mainly four urban areas of Spain. Because of their social and migratory situation, migrants can stay in hidden segregated social spaces of work and leisure. Undocumented dwellers are not only difficult to capture in official statistics, but also often not visible to the naked eye in public spaces. As those spaces are important to include into research focused on such population, the

aim of this article is to provide a methodological answer at levels of data collection for inclusion, data treatment and also interpretation.

Conducting the interviews, multiple methods of 'en-passant', market or celebration involvements in migrant quarters, regular visits of meeting-points such as football/basketball fields or places where they pick-up workers for harvest, were sampling methods to access this hidden population in their social spaces. Active approaches in front of consulates/embassies helped to find migrants that are officially registered in this province, but work and live in other provinces or countries. Snow-ball procedures were also applied for the achievement of the final sample of 80 migrants. The 11 selected experts were first contacted via email and selected because of their reputation to the topic or because they had been identified as important mitigation actors.

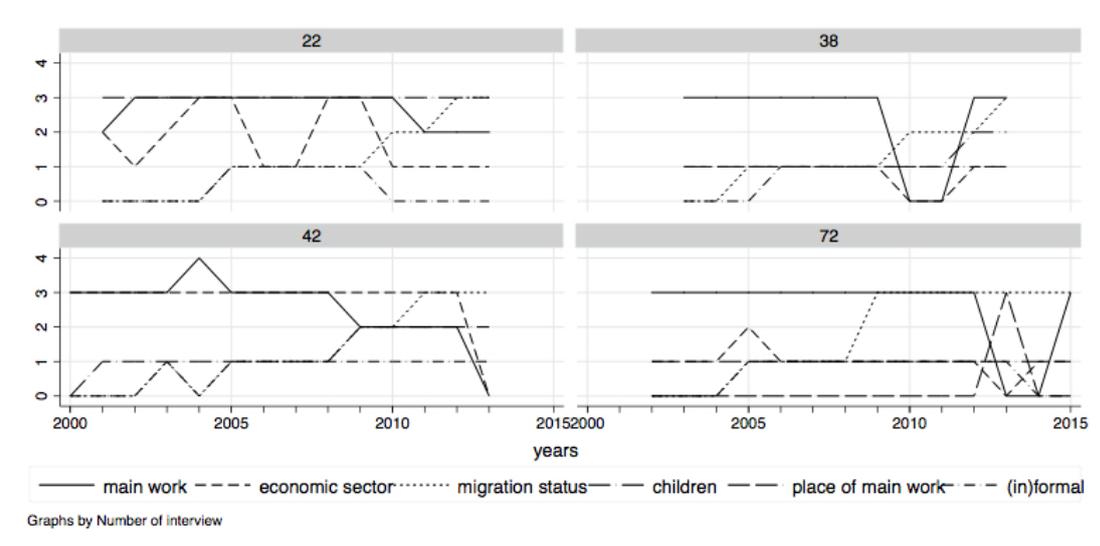
All interviews were conducted in a specially developed semi-structured style. All were taped and notes were taken throughout the interview. In the case of migrants, a time-line from their arrival in Spain to 2015 helped to gather the data about specific points in time when changes to any relevant variable occurred. The lifelines of each migrant were built carefully along the time-line by asking and constructing the life of the migrants in Spain since their arrival. The information on changes in family situation, schooling, migration status, (in)formality, labour market integration (working conditions, working hours, form of contract, place of work, occupation, etc.), education and qualification have been assembled subsequently along the time-line. This methodology includes also active search on contradictions in the lifelines. Repeated back and forth for each variable ensured and improved the quality of the constructed lifelines in the course of the interview. Figure 3.6 gives an example of four migrant lifelines on the variables of *main work* (none/-part/full/selfemployed), *migration status* (none/temp/permanent/nationalized/asylum), *economic sector* (none/service/agriculture/construction/industry), *children* (0,1,...,i) and *(in)formal* (0/1) taken from the data. Visibly here, changes in the lifeline of one variable can be used to verify reported dates of changes in other variables in the active search for contradictions to cross-check and improve confidence on the reported information.⁶

Data collection and sets

A total of 80 migrant and 11 expert interviews were conducted in the three Spanish provinces of *Canarias*, *Madrid* and *Comunidad Valenciana*. Though the field of research was mostly limited to the urban areas of *Madrid*, *Valencia*, *Alicante* and *Santa Cruz de Tenerife* the selection of convenient places included also migrants from remote areas and also migrants working in other provinces (see table 1.1). The sample is built out of two

⁶Changes reported by migrants have been marked in the time-lines in the year they occurred.

Figure 1.3: Examples of life-lines from four interviews (selected variables)



Source: Authors compilation, persons 22,38,42 y 72, variables extracted from interview data

case-unrelated sets (2013/2014 and 2015).⁷ The first set of 60 interviews was conducted in November 2013 and April 2014 in all provinces and the second set of 31 interviews including some extended information on the crisis was collected in November 2015 in *Valencia* and *Madrid*.

The aim of collecting the two data sets on migrants was to achieve a good statistical representation on the shares of sex, age, country of birth and migrant status similar to the *padrón*.⁸ Comparing the *padrón* picture with the specific data from the sample the proportion of migrants born in Ecuador (57.5%) and Colombia (42.5%) in 2013 reflect the dominance of migrants born in Ecuador (456.233/55.16%) compared to those from Colombia (370.823/44.84%) (*padrón* data from Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2017a in parenthesis, see also table 1.1). Women in the total sample are slightly underrepresented constituting 48.8%. Ecuadorian born women are included with 47.5% (52,56%) in difference to Colombian born with 52,9% (57,86%). The great share arrived Spain around 2000 with a mean age of 27 (table 1.5, p.45). The age distribution of this sample is congruent with distributions shown in Actis; Martínez et al., with 80% and more in the age of labour activities (2009; 2015, p. 37). Table 1.1 shows the distribution of Ecuador born interviewees in the provinces of Madrid with about 28% (32%). 65% (11%) of interviewees

⁷I tried to gather data from 2014 interviewees in a second wave. Only four migrants from 2014 responded to repeat interview in 2015 of which 3 were realized. Insights are analyzed qualitatively only.

⁸There is no reason why the bias in the *padrón* data is non-systematic privileging one age or sex group more than another with under- or over-representation. Therefore the statistical information on the composition of Colombian and Ecuadorian migrants can be taken as an orientation.

reside in Valencia and 4.3% (1.5%) in Las Canarias. For the Colombian fraction, 23.5% (23.5%) reside in the province of Madrid, about 64% (14%) in Com. Valenciana, 6% (7%) in Las Canarias and a small fraction of each 2.5% in Murcia (2.0%) and Catalonia (17%) (*padrón* data from Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2017a in parenthesis). Figure 1.5 (see p. 44) shows the distribution of both migrant groups in the Spanish regions following registration in the *padrón* in 2008.⁹

Table 1.1: Overview on region, sex and country of birth in sample data

2013 region	Ecuador		Σ	country of birth and sex			total			in %
	female	male		Colombia		Σ	female	male	total	
Madrid	6	7	13	5	3	8	11	10	21	26.3%
Valencia	14	16	30	12	10	22	26	26	52	65.0%
Murcia		1	1		1	1		2	2	2.5%
Canarias	1	1	2		2	2	1	3	4	5.0%
Catalunia				1		1	1		1	1.3%
Total	21	25	46	18	16	34	39	41	80	
in %	45.7%	54.3%	57.5%	52.9%	47.1%	42.5%	48.8%	51.3%	100%	

Source: Authors compilation, based on interview data

The methodology for the subsequent analysis follows an approach that Creswell and Clark (2007) classified as an exploratory design. It follows a sequential order of descriptive statistics contrasted with qualitative methods combined with further simple statistical analysis based on the same interview data. Statistical population data on Colombian and Ecuadorian migrants was used for the orientation in the selection of the cases, the provinces to conduct interviews and to achieve comparable shares of sex, age, country of birth and migration status. The in-depth interview analysis of expert interviews and some selected migrant interviews gathered in 2013 served for the first orientation and readjustment of interviews conducted in 2014 and 2015. The expert interviews helped to adjust data collection and interpretation in the same way as the intense literature review on existing research did.

From the 80 migrant interviews, 15 have been carefully selected sensitive to representations of age, sex and country of birth. These 15 migrants and all expert interviews have been fully transcribed.¹⁰ The remaining 65 interviews have been cross-red on the notes taken during interviews for this article and interesting cites are single transcriptions from the tape of the interview. Transcripts have been coded following a grounded theory approach of an open coding system (Mey and Mruck, 2011). Two loops on all interviews ensured coherent and complete coding with the final coding system. During analysis categories in the codes were formed based on the three dimensions and their variables as

⁹Because of budget and time restrictions the field work focused very much on *Valencia*. Distributions in figure 1.5 validate this selection in part.

¹⁰I thank Nicolas Rios Herrera (Colombia) for the help on the transcription, the cross-reading and interpretation options on Colombian and Ecuadorian expressions.

shown in the analytical framework. Spaces of in-between have been identified and some have been cited in the analysis for the discussions. In a second step, expert interviews were used to reflect and review statements from single migrants on structural and crisis effects. Active search in the interviews was applied in similar situations of in-between in other interviews. Statistical calculations based on the same interview set allows comparing singular interview findings with the whole sample. Here I make use of numeric coding on parameter values for each of the variables.

Lives in *limbo*, resistance and resilience

The first descriptive analysis of the interview sample, provided in table 1.2 (p.34), shows trajectories from mostly insecure legal status in 2003 to secure status in 2013 when permanent status, asylum or nationalization was obtained by the majority of the interviewees. Despite the general status upward trend (see positive trend *docu* figure 1.4) many of the migrants reported of struggles in securing their migration project in other dimensions. I refer to sufficient income, access to health and unemployment insurance but also to the hidden story behind the general status trend to really make and sustain their living.

The individual information which legal status a migrant possesses is compiled in the statistics on legal status. This trend serves in many cases as a reference how the struggle on legal status in the first years of the millennium has turned into a story of success. José (50,CO) told how he obtained his legal status in 2005 by buying it from his employer. He had to pay for all social security by himself, but formally the employer payed. José obtained by this agreement the *cuenta ajena*, the one year temporal residence.¹¹ What he describes is not a single story. Many of the migrants that obtained legal status at any time were often obliged to *pay* for their status. This informal/formal arrangement to change from illegal to legal status creates legal security only on first sight. Migrants were confronted with similar problems of securing legal status again when crisis impacted in 2008 on the labour market. Most of the legalization took place in 2005. The economic crisis hit when most of the migrants tried to renew their temporal residence for the second time (2005+ 1year *cuenta ajena*+ 2years temporal= 2008; see figure 1.1, p.22 for the trajectories). Some were already able to apply for the permanent permit out of the first temporal renewal. The majority awaited the second renewal and, hence, migrants found themselves in the *limbo*. They needed sufficient income and sufficient weeks of formal work per year to be able to apply for the permanent status just at a time when both was very scarce.

¹¹“[...]Entonces cuando llegó la regularización de Zapatero, el hombre me dijo, 'Te doy papeles'. Yo le dije 'Vale'. Pero entonces el chico me dijo "No te pago seguridad social, no te pago nada. Tú mismo la pagas". Yo le dije "Hágale", [...]” (M6,155-157).

There are inconsistent information to which quantity the crisis impacted on informality for the total labour force in Spain, but employers strategies in former Spanish crisis always have been to augment informality at least partially (Torres and Gadea, 2015, p. 14). Several interviewees in the sample from agriculture or construction coincide on such strategies reporting on *alternating* in/formal employments at their same work places (see also Martínez et al., 2015). As Victor (27,EC) - an orange harvester - reports: *[...]there you work three days, but only one is official.*¹² Informality impacts on the status trajectories of migrants, as migration law requires sufficient quota payments to social security per year to renew temporal permits. Rumiñahui, the biggest Ecuadorian NGO in Spain, tried to back their affiliates in their struggle. The President of the NGO, Vladimir Paspuel, argued that the root of the *limbo*, many of his compatriots found themselves in, was because they thought of just letting the crisis pass. They relied on social security transfers out of the payments they effected the years before. In Spain unemployment payments are limited to a maximum of two years and when many of the migrants reached the end of payment, the crisis still had not passed.¹³ The situation doubled the pressure from two sides on the migrants. Interviewees themselves used the claim of being in the *limbo* when talking about their struggles in this times. First, they had little to no income and their need for finding access labour market aggravated for financial reasons. On the other hand, for those holding temporal permits they found themselves confronted with requirement of having a formal contract at least for some more weeks or months to renew their residence permit. As president Paspuel resumed it: *[...] Not for those with permanent [permit], but in the first, in the second [renewal], there yes, there it is the contract that counts [...]. Because of this situation it is why persons become invisible right now.*¹⁴ Given the high percentage of temporal contracts and relating higher shares of informality in times of crisis to the migration regulations, one can suspect substantial numbers of migrants finding themselves without secure legal status anymore (Pajares, 2010; Torres and Gadea, 2015, p. 13). What migrants call the *limbo* are synonyms for spaces of in-between. They move in interstices to assure sufficient income and to secure residence at the same time. This struggle of in-between has a strong impact on the economic performance, the possibilities to make use of or achieve future qualifications, the power of bargaining and therefore it also impacts on income situations (see Herrera, 2012, p. 12). The spaces of action in times of crisis for those in-between have certain restrictions on their abilities to respond (Goldring and Landolt,

¹²*[...] ahí te hacen trabajar tres días y cotizas un día.* (M12:235).

¹³*[...] [...] entonces todos los Ecuatorianos, miles de Ecuatorianos se van al paro. Y todo el mundo cree que el paro y la crisis, ah, son dos años. El paro para cuanto tiempo tienes? dos años. [...] Pero se va pasando, pasando, pasando y hasta que [...] se acabó el paro y luego [...] ningún contrato. [...]* (E6,38-47).

¹⁴*[...] En la permanente ya no, pero en la primera, en la segunda ahí sí, ahí sí cuenta el contrato [...] exacto, entonces vez, por esta situación hasta que las personas se hacen mas invisibles ahora [...].*

2012, 16ff). Using *limbo* in the same sense, García (2017) describes how co-ethnic workers struggle with the ethnic stratification of the labour market in Spain. Migrants of co-ethnic descent between not being sufficiently “others” to enter low remunerated and also not fully “spanish” enough to enter the high remunerated segment refers to hierarchies found in the interviews between different migrant origin. Their strategies to leave the *limbo* try to surpass these obstacles defined by labour market and immigration policies and also imposed by the society structuring access to the labour market.

Some of the migrants report of false contracts such as in the case of Freddy (52, EC). He knew of some Colombians in front of the consulate that sold false contracts for 200€ to obtain the renewal.¹⁵ Others instead turned back to their practices already executed during the legalization in 2005. Although they found themselves with little financial budget, many migrant found arrangements within their networks of friends, family or former employers to bargain a fictive formal contract to cover the time needed. “[...] *He gave me a contract I had not to work for. [...] Just to have my documentation, [...]*”¹⁶ Neither migrants really worked in those jobs nor they had found any formal access to the labour market as it appears in official statistics. Even worse, those arrangements aggravated the financial situations of the migrants just to secure their migration project in one dimension - the legal status.

... acá no hay crisis papá, aquí hay que buscarse el trabajo! Crisis, legal status and labour trajectories

The cite given in the heading might make one wonder. Victor (27, EC), undocumented because of police records since 2012, is one of the examples in the sample that achieved to change work frequently with always improving his salary to 1800€/month in 2015. He claims that most of his compatriots opted for a passive strategy in confronting the crisis. “*Here in Spain work doesn’t fall on your feet or into your hands. You have to search for work*” he told me.¹⁷ José (50, CO) with permanent status reports “[...] *... at this time [2005-2009] it was wonderful. Since about 2011-10 its bad. [...] They released me... us from work. Yes, since June 2010 I am unemployed. [...]*”¹⁸ These two responses surprise by their diverging perception of the effects of the crisis on the labour market. Victor assumes “*no crisis*” for himself. On the opposite José relates his personal struggle

¹⁵ “[...] *no te miento cuando vine habían unos colombianos que hacían papeles falsos que te los vendían 200 dolares, 200 euros te los vendían ellos un contrato de trabajo. [...]*”

¹⁶ “[...] *Me dio un contrato sin trabajar en la empresa. [...] Tener mi documentación pues, [...]*” (M12:190-200).

¹⁷ “[...] *..aquí en España [...]. El trabajo no te va a venir a los pies, o a las manos. Tú tienes que buscarlo el trabajo.*”

¹⁸ “[...] *..en esa época estaba lindo. [...] Desde el 2011-10 por ahí vengo mal. [...] Que me... nos tiraron a todos. Si, desde junio de 2010 vengo desempleado. [...]*” (M6:103,205).

on finding access to the labour market very much to the before and after the economic crisis. Adding the third dimension of legal status to this picture, Victor is currently undocumented, but he is able to even improve income significantly. His perception of the crisis might therefore be strongly influenced by his adoption to the in-between spaces he has to move and make his living in. Instead José established and formalized his life in every dimension before crisis and he finds himself now with little perceived degrees of freedom to secure his income.

Herrera, Pajares and Rodríguez among others have shown that improvements are not only connected to legal status and work, but also on the mere form of employment (Rodríguez, 2009; Pajares, 2010; Herrera, 2012). Especially for women the strong ties to the service sector place them in lower positions in an analysis sensitive to these dimensions. Empirical scaffold from the interview sample for this notion can be reviewed in table 1.6 (p.46). The construction sector is purely male, the industrial is predominantly male and the service sector is dominantly filled with female labourer. This distribution is also stable over time and only intra-personal changes occur between the specific sectors. Returning to the examples of José and Victor, the difference of viewing the crisis might also be the sectoral engagement. José had always worked in the service sector. Victor had changed between agriculture and construction sector frequently. The recent improvements in payments he achieved in the construction sector.

In the interviews I found several examples how the economic crisis affected on the relation between the (in)formal and labour market access dimension. The most obvious one is that although some are officially registered as unemployed and receive public transfers, they continue to work as informal workers. Table 1.6 shows only for three Ecuadorian interviewees such strategy. Most of the interviewees are confronted with unemployment and no work at all or they continue to work under changing conditions. For instance Ricardo (41, CO) who holds permanent residence today. His work has turned completely informal since 2010 as a result of the crisis. Leonardo (39, EC) reports additionally of cuts in the payments - from formal 80€/day to now informal 30-40€/day.¹⁹ This is not a singular trend. In 2003 43.2% (68.4%) of Ecuadorian migrants' main work was informal in the sample. In 2006 this share diminished to 6.5% (33.3%) and already in 2010 it rose to 32.6% (34.4%) again and maintained at 34.8% (38.2%) in 2013.²⁰ Differences between the migrants origins are visible here as informal work of Colombian born (in parenthesis) diverges from the Ecuadorian trend. Differences in years of arrival might explain this, as a share of Colombian migrants in the sample arrived recently and informal work often is important at arrival. Also this seems to be related to occupation, as Colombians tend

¹⁹“[...]. Por ejemplo antes, se ganaba, [...], un promedio de 80 euros diarios, sabes? [...] Ahora sacan 35 o 40€.” (M13:82,84).

²⁰Focused on Ecuadorian born Martínez et al. report much lower rates of 7.8% in 2009 and 9.3% in 2014. This might be due to questionnaire style and interrogation method.

to work more in the industrial sector and in other occupations in the service sector (see table 1.6, p.46).

Making use of the whole interview sample, figure 1.4 (p.34) gives insights on the movements and interrelations between (in)formality, form of work and sectoral occupation over time.²¹ The dots in the graph are a visualization of migrants movements in and out of in-between spaces over the time. The lower the dot is set on the left axis, the more the migrant is degrading for one or more variables of (in)formality, form of work and sectoral integration. Additional information is given through the trends on variable *docu* (right axis) showing the migration status obtained. The general trend for all the interviewees on (in)formality, form of work and sectoral occupation is showed as *matrix_{wfs}*.

McKay (2013) report upward migration status trajectories from their Spanish interviewees as seen in table 1.2. Unfortunately no justification is given to crisis impacts (table 3.2 2013, p. 38). Figure 1.4 shows for 2003 a middle positioning for the great share of interviewees in relation to (in)formality, sector and form of work. The trend *docu* shows on the contrary that the mean on status in 2003 was still undocumented (*docu*=0). To control for educational level, the figure illustrates the dot sizes relative to the level of education. Those with higher educations found themselves mostly in higher positions. The visualization shows an upward trend regardless of their education in the years 2003 to 2007, leaving none of the interviewees in the “total 0” area in 2006 and 2007. In both years none of the interviewees worked informal and was without legal status at the same time. The effect of the crisis in 2008 is a structural break, dropping even some with highest educations into “total 0”. Others with relative low educations accomplished their aspirations and scored higher even in times of crisis.²²

José has obtained a *bachillerato* as highest education. Although Victor has only basic schooling, he seems to perform better in times of crisis. This result coincides with many studies in which the process of migrants labour market insertion is disconnected from their educational level. Among others Kloosterman et al. (1999) and Herrera (2012) describe sectoral or occupational restrictions as of eliminating educational achievements . In the cases used here higher education did not help José to perform better. Instead Victor shapes actively his spaces of in-between achieving high monthly salaries in informally contracted work in the construction sector - the one most effected during economic crisis - paying even social security while at the same time being undocumented.

²¹The numeric coding out of the interview information assembled an unbalanced panel for 80 migrants and *t* years since arrival. Table 1.5, p.45 shows the information on the parameters and descriptive statistics. (In)formality is coded as binary 0/1; form of work is 0= no work, 1=education/schooling, 2= part time employed/self-employed, 3= full time employed, 4= self employed; sector is 0=none, 1=service, 2=agriculture, 3= construction, 4= manufacturing,industry.

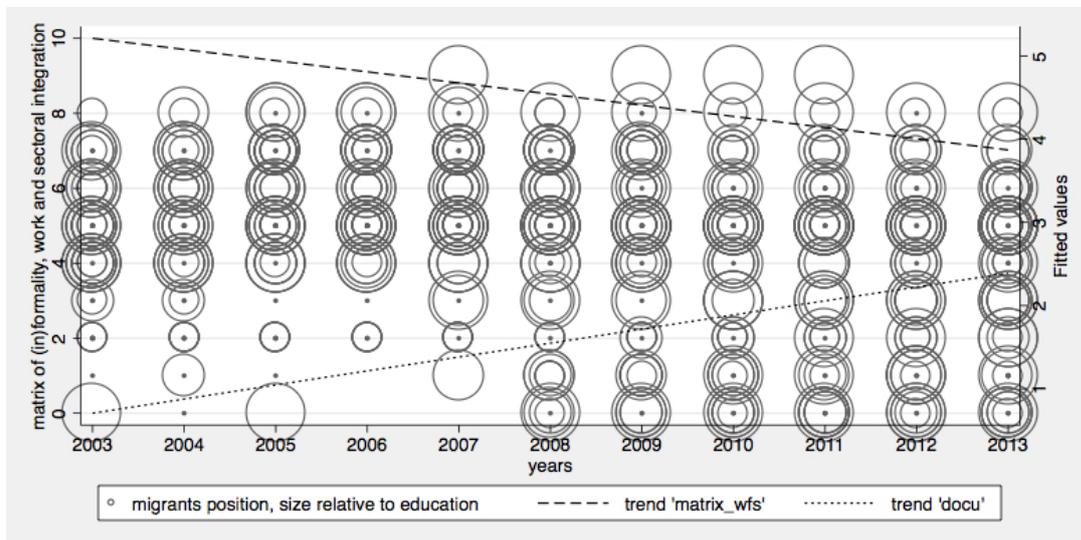
²²Esteban (2015) found same effect as consequences of different strategies to confront crisis.

Table 1.2: Migration status transition and differences between country of birth

migration status	years and nation							
	2003		2005		2009		2013	
	EC	CO	EC	CO	EC	CO	EC	CO
undocumented	22	11	3	7	4	5	4	1
temporal	15	4	32	8	17	14	2	5
permanent	6	2	8	4	12	4	12	11
nationalized	1	1	2	3	13	8	28	14
asylum granted								1

Source: Author's elaboration. Respondents single count for each year, extracted from unbalanced panel data. Coloured dark grey = highest count, light grey = second highest count.

Figure 1.4: Migrants' positions in (in)formality, working condition and sectoral integration from 2003 to 2013



Source: Author's elaboration. Based on interview data. The shown *'matrix_wfs'* variable is calculated as a \sum_{wfs} of work, sector and (in)formal variables.

Same-same or different in times of crisis? Comparing migrants' trajectories

The economic crisis was primarily a labour market crisis with results of quickly rising unemployment rates (Pajares, 2009; Concepción Carrasco Carpio and Serrano, 2011; Alonso, 2012). Milady (35, CO) stated “[...] *It is the moment you loose your job, man, that’s when crisis starts. [...]*”²³ The first that have been hit were men working in the construction sector (Herrera, 2012; Arango, 2013, p. 6). Leonardo (EC), a former construction worker states “[...] *..as construction paralized, now there is nothing, you*

²³ “[...] *en el momento en que tú pierdes tu empleo, hombre ahí es donde empieza la crisis.[...]*”

know?"²⁴ Although changes in the variables on labour market access can be detected all over, differences between origins and gender are apparent (Herrera, 2012). Lutz shows in many aspects how gender configurations play an important role in the selective process of occupations. In their study Martínez et al. provide an evolution of Ecuadorian born occupations similar to that in table 1.6. With gendered sectoral division they report 75% of women working in the service sector in 2014 (Martínez et al., 2015, p. 68). With the words of Estefania (CO) "[...] ..practically there is nothing. If there is, it is for women, but internal, looking after elderly."²⁵

In the sample I found strong evidence for the gendered composition of migrants sectoral insertion. Table 1.6 demonstrates very impressively how gender divisions intersect mainly between service and construction sectors in the sample. The table is also a visualization of the incapacity of women to leave the service sector as it has also been found in several other studies before (Herrera, 2012; Lutz, 2008; McKay, 2013). No women in the sample is working in the construction sector and only one in the industrial sector. Women working in the service sector are also more restricted to specific occupations like elderly and child care. Despite this fact of limitation, women tend to surpass crisis much better than men do. Hence, women carry the burden of income generation in times of crisis in many of the settings found in the interviews. Time restrictions due to pregnancy and care in the younger age as well as limited time due to family obligations in general impact on the couples relations, but not on the performance women have in the labour market. Women's obligations seem to aggravate during crisis as reported in the interviews and also in other studies (Herrera, 2005b; Herrera, 2005a; Strosio, 2010). Complementary, many men report struggles on finding new jobs and prolonged times of unemployment. One strategy of men visible in table 1.6 is of changing sector and occupation. As a response to crisis - especially Colombian men - change to the service sector in new occupations.

Roberto told me that "[...] *confronting the crisis, a Colombian is a person that has the capacity to stand and face the crisis, he does not surrender.*"²⁶ Comparing the pictures of both nationalities the experts interviewed coincide that the Colombian migrants tend to solve crisis situation better.

Data delivered from the Colombian embassy showed that procedures of qualification recognitions raised substantially in the last years. This leads to two conclusions: First, many have not made use of their qualifications yet obtained in Colombia and, second, the search for work is shifting to other occupations. In the sample the educational background of Colombian migrants - especially male - is much better. So far, migrants often seemed

²⁴"[...] ..como se ha paralizado las obras, ya no hay nada, sabes?" (M13:72).

²⁵"[...] ..prácticamente no hay nada. Si hay, para mas que todo para las mujeres, pero de internas, cuidando a personas mayores." (M3:92).

²⁶"[...] ..frente a la crisis, el colombiano es una persona que tiene la capacidad para soportar la crisis y afrontarla, no se rinde." (M7:60).

to worked in other occupations not related to their former education. In situations of the crisis Jose's higher educational degree does not help him to secure legal status and formal access to the labour market. A factor helping Colombian male in crisis situations is, that they did not occupy that marginal positions in vulnerable sectors (see table 1.6). It is the Ecuadorian male that lives in the *limbo* mostly. For this group, spaces of in-between are spaces of survival as they face highest rates of unemployment and even most examples of undocumented status were related to Ecuadorian men. It is their agency to shape semi-legal spaces in finding solutions to confront the crisis.

...la crisis, debe uno convertirla en oportunidades: Responses to the crisis

During the fieldwork the dominance of the crisis in discourses led to the central question on how migrants respond to the crisis. Clearly, the final answer to the crisis is remigration and both groups alike have lost significant shares of their populations in Spain (Herrera, 2012; Olmos, 2014; Esteban, 2015; Torres and Gadea, 2015). Special programs from Ecuador as well as the structured return program of the Spanish government had their impact on remigration. Focusing on those that remained in Spain, temporal return has become a feature in last years. For Ecuadorian born Martínez et al. found shares of about 61% having travelled at least once between 2009 and 2014 to Ecuador. Secure status and unsecure labour market have augmented this number in comparison to periods before. Eastern European migrant groups working in Western European countries are commonly cited examples for circular migration (Triandafyllidou and Marchetti, 2013, p. 340). Geographical proximity and possibility of land travel makes circularity here an easier and cheaper task.

In the case of Ecuadorian or Colombian migrants circularity has to take new forms, as distance, migration regulations and costs hinder frequent travel. During crisis circularity has found new expressions: First, I found evidence that women seem to travel more frequently to the country of origin to maintain kin relation and this specially in the case of Ecuadorian women. Double nationality on Spain and the country of birth fosters this form of circularity. Second, circularity has now two new reference points: Ecuador and the work place, as the place of work is now often located in other provinces or even other countries. With reference to the agriculture sector Leonardo states *“what exists is field work, people go to France, those having their permanent residence, or [Spanish] nationality, they go abroad, you know? Many people are leaving to work abroad”*.²⁷

Introduced in times of crisis, circularity seems a suitable answer to cope with effects

²⁷ “[...] ..lo que hay ahora es el campo, la gente se va para Francia, los que tienen [...] la tarjeta comunitaria, o nacionalidad, se van a trabajar afuera, sabes? Mucha gente se está yendo afuera a trabajar.

and at the same time maintain family residence in Spain. Sometimes it sounded like adventurous experience as for instance José stated “[...]. *Since then I have been to the US, I was in Israel, went to England, to work... In England I stayed one year, in New York six month, in Israel three month...*”²⁸

In the sample, mostly men commute frequently between Spain, France and other European Countries to sustain their living (see figure 3.6, p.110, Nr.72). In all cases where migrants commuted to France, travel was mostly organized by Spanish agencies of temporal work. Within the sample also women (EC, CO) travel to destinations in other provinces or countries frequently with beginning of the crisis. In a comparison in the sample on sex and origin Colombian male are least mobile. I found most interviewees involved in forms of circular labour migration at the front of consulates taking care of bureaucracy. It might be the selection of the sampling method to have high shares of those migrants in this sample compared to other studies. I found significant numbers of Ecuadorian male especially in Valencia that were involved in circular labour migration. Martínez et al. (2015, p. 114) also refer to circularity as an adoption strategy stating that the shares of those with experiences are very low. I assume that sampling specially in front of the consulates integrated a share of the Ecuadorian born population in Spain that is less visible in other studies. The dominance of Ecuadorian male in some sort of temporal or permanent circular engagement shows their mere necessity of finding other income possibilities when unemployment payments came to an end. The agriculture sector, as the most important access to labour for male Ecuadorian born in Valencia had not recovered yet. Due to their continuing unemployment some searched for work at agencies of temporal work and at least in Valencia they play a vital role for these new forms of agricultural labour circularity.

Umberto (52, CO), an industrial engineer I interviewed twice (April 2014/Dezember 2015), lived between Barcelona and Valencia (Benimamet) commuting every weekend home. In the second interview, direct at the arrival at the Valencia bus station, he reasoned his enduring circular life with his secure position at work in the industrial sector in Barcelona and at the same time a well established social network in Valencia. He supposed that if he would change his work to Valencia, the loss in income and position would not justify the reduced efforts on frequent travel. The new forms on circularity are also an expression of belonging. Umberto as well as Leonardo and many more have children well integrated in social networks and in school at their place of living. The abilities of migrants with these characteristics to find strategies in times of crisis are reduced because of their levels of social embeddedness. José (50, CO) told me that he can not imagine of going back to Colombia for two reasons: First, he is fully aware of the

²⁸ “[...]. *Desde entonces me he ido a Estados Unidos, he estado en Israel, fui a Inglaterra, trabajando... En Inglaterra estuve un año, en Nueva York estuve seis meses, en Israel estuve tres meses...*” (M6:171).

picture of the “rich” Europe still existent in Colombia. Going back would be conceived as shipwreck then. Second, all the years he and his wife worked to ensure the best education possible for his children. They also moved for better schooling of the children. Now he describes them - all born in Spain - as well integrated with friends and school and he finds himself impossible to remigrate to his country of origin. Hence, family obligations for those having children are now not only earning sufficient money in Spain. One driver of circular labour migration is to secure the networks and multiple integrations of their children in the country where they already found their home: Spain.

With circularity to work in neighbouring European countries like France, Belgium, Germany or England the transnational of their multiple sited labour engagement may create new spaces of in-between. Many migrants still maintain their regular life in cities like Valencia. With limited agency in Spain, they extend their labour market access towards other provinces or even countries to find suitable answers to their difficult situation. I was not able to analyse in deep how these new translocal or transnational labour engagements may open or (re)shape new in-between for the migrants. Some have mentioned the role agencies play in opening the access to these jobs. Interviews on these cases also revealed the informal character and the problems these work may cause for migrants again, as many employers in France are not willing to pay for the social security in Spain. Hence, the harvesting jobs found in France are suitable answers to secure income in difficult times but some insights indicate the legal struggle this might create in situations of renewal.

Conclusion

At the beginning of the millennium, Spain received the largest part of immigrants in Europe and relatively the largest share in all OECD countries (Rodríguez, 2009; Díaz et al., 2012; Arango, 2013). Spain - as many other Southern European countries- used immigration as a political response to solve structural problems in the labour market (Arango et al., 2009). Making use of this advantage many dwellers came from Latin America. When the economic crisis hit 2008 the labour market, migrants found themselves in a dire situation. Using the migrants as the central unit of interest, the article shows their individual and collective agency to deal with difficult situations in times of crisis. Their agency creates, finds and (re)shapes in-between spaces of social, legal and economic action to surpass obstacles defined by migration and/or labour policies. Spaces of in-between are conceived as social, legal and economic spaces of agency, as interstices between political, legal or societal structured categories. The interest of this article focused on the dimensions of (in)formality, (il)legality and labour market access. For instance, the article revealed discursive constructions of *irregularidad sobrevenida* and *limbo* in the Spanish society as synonymous descriptions for migrants in-between.

Analysing the lifelines of Colombian and Ecuadorian born migrants in the Spanish labour market between 2003 and 2015 the article uses a three step methodology. On a first step, 15 fully transcribed interviews are crossed by relevant codes developed in an open coding system. Afterwards, interviews with experts were used to validate findings and the sample of 80 migrants interviews was contrasted in a third step to find specifics or generalizations within the total sample. Applying the methodology to the cases, spaces of in-between have been identified in two mayor fields of the labour market. First, the insights provided on regularization and legal status trajectories question some conventional wisdom.

Many migrants appear to hold legal status and superficially, they officially do. The results from interview analysis question this linear trend of success as it neglects the vulnerability and dependence some migrants still have to find ways to buy fake contracts to possess legal status. Two forms of false contracts have been reported. While the first reported form is unlawful falsification, the second form of negotiating a formal contract with no intention to really work and pay employers for the contract is an expression of agency in-between legal and illegal spaces. Moreover, migrants worked informally and their way to formalize are false contracts to obtain their legal status. Hence, migrants may appear to work formally, but factually the work is informal. Migrants also appear legal, but it is the false contract lifting them into legal status. Second, migrants' individual labour market access includes frequent changes of formal and informal contraction in different occupations, same occupation with several combined jobs or in the same job at different times. As the examples of the interviews were able to show, these multiple interstices of in/formal are experienced at different or even at the same workplace. The *limbo* the migrants face is a result of relating legal status renewal to requirements of sufficient weeks of formal enrolment in social security. The interviews exemplify how migrants actively use their agency, taking on multiple jobs and involving their employer, as one possible solution to their in-between of in/formality and legal status struggle.

The analysis sensitive to differences between sex of migrants found women to take the burden of income generation as care work was available at all times. This phenomenon had sticky effects on the sectoral and occupational engagements of women. In the sample, the women remained in the service sector to sustain family income. Colombian men seemed to perform better during the crisis as they also were better able to adopt to new occupations and change between sectors. Ecuadorian males lived in *limbo* more often and their agency was restricted by the fact that some of them awaited that the overlapping of the crisis and their unemployment transfers was brief.

The article revealed interesting forms of migrants agency for dealing with difficult situations in times of crisis. One answer was labour changes between sectors and occupations. The comparison between the trajectories of José and Victor showed how flexibility is able

to compensate missing legal status in labour market access. These findings question the conventional wisdom that secure legal status is the key factor for migrants to achieve a living. Another form is circular migration to deal with crisis situations. As many migrants have children integrated at their place of residence, migrants agency has to take new forms. Many migrants in the interviews have been involved in forms of translocal and transnational circularity. Work places have been situated in neighbouring cities, provinces or even countries like France, Belgium, Germany or England. How these new forms of bordering circularity extend agency in in-between spaces and interstices between two nations and concurring regulations and jurisdiction is an open question. The article's results on the in-between spaces migrants master between labour market access, legal status and (in)formalities could be extended with promising future research to the new circular forms of migrants bordering labour endeavours.

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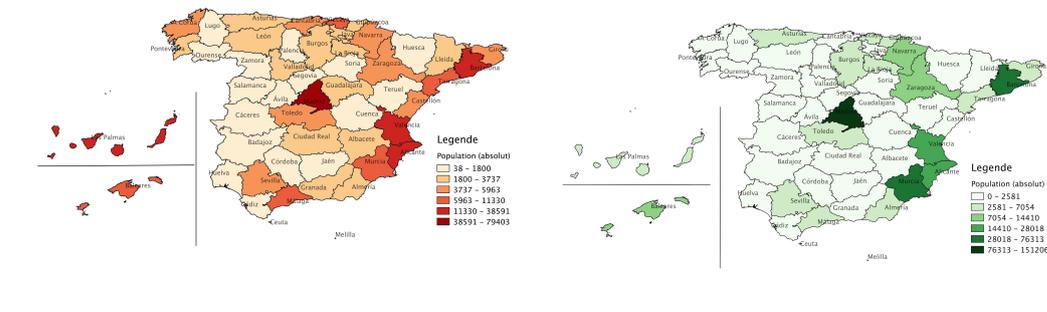
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Annex

Figure 1.5: Distribution of Colombia and Ecuador born populations in Spanish provinces (2008)



Source: Author's elaboration. Based on INE *Padrón* data.
red= Colombia born, green= Ecuador born, distribution in absolute numbers.

Table 1.3: List of expert interviews

	Name	Organisation	Work/Function	Group	Province	City
E1	J. Ramallo	Cabildo de Tenerife	Coordinador Banco de Datos / Documentación	all	Canarias	Santa Cruz
E2	J. Ramos	Cruz Roja Tenerife	Departamento Social, Trabajadora Social	all	Canarias	Santa Cruz
E3	G. de la Torre V.	Consulado de Ecuador	Consul Honorario de Ecuador	Ecuador	Canarias	Santa Cruz
E4	G. Ayala C.	Embajada de Ecuador	Primer Secretario	Ecuador	Madrid	Madrid
E5	W. Actis	Colectivo IOÉ	Investigador	all	Madrid	Madrid
E6	V. Paspuel	Rumiahui, Sede Central	Presidente	Ecuador (Colombia)	Madrid	Madrid
E7	A. Saravia	Rumiñahui, Sede Valencia	Trabajadora social, asesoramiento	Ecuador (Colombia)	Valencia	Valencia
E8a	C. Granados J.	Consulado de Colombia	Vice-Cónsul	Colombia	Madrid	Madrid
E8b	M. Medina A.	Consulado de Colombia	Jefe de Prensa "Colombia nos une"	Colombia	Madrid	Madrid
E9	M. Gutierrez	OGC Paquetaria	Gerente del Sede Madrid	Ecuador (Colombia)	Madrid	Madrid
E10	F. Daras	Valencia Acoge	Trabajadora social, asesoramiento	all	Valencia	Valencia

Source: Author's elaboration. Based on interview data

Table 1.4: List of fully transcribed migrant interviews

Nr	Name	Sex	Age	Country	Province	Padrón
M1	Israel	m	40	Colombia	Madrid	Madrid
M2	Magaly	f	47	Colombia	Madrid	Madrid
M3	Estefania	f	23	Colombia	Com. Valenciana	Alicante
M4	Milady	f	35	Colombia	Com. Valenciana	Valencia
M5	Solangel	f	49	Colombia	Com. Valenciana	Valencia
M6	José	m	50	Colombia	Com. Valenciana	Valencia
M7	Roberto	m	55	Colombia	Com. Valenciana	Benimamet
M8	Pilar	f	35	Ecuador	Madrid	Madrid
M9	Richard	m	44	Ecuador	Madrid	Madrid
M10	Freddy	m	52	Ecuador	Madrid	Madrid
M11	Joana Paola	f	27	Ecuador	Com. Valenciana	Valencia
M12	Victor	m	27	Ecuador	Com. Valenciana	Valencia
M13	Leonardo	m	39	Ecuador	Com. Valenciana	Valencia
M14	Olga	f	45	Ecuador	Com. Valenciana	Valencia
M15	Maria	f	58	Ecuador	Com. Valenciana	Alicante

Source: Author's elaboration. Based on interview data

Table 1.5: Parameters and descriptive statistics

Variables		Parameters						Descriptive	
	name	range	n	Min	Max	N	\bar{T}	mean	sd
i,t	nr (i)	1,...,i	80	1	80	1036	12.95	41.83	23.27
	years (t)	x,...,i	80	1992	2015	1036	12.95	2007.34	4.42
t invariate	sex	0,1	80	0	1	1036	12.95	0.53	0.50
	age	1,...,i	72	18	62	932	12.94	40.94	10.63
	<i>age_{arrive}</i>	1,...,i	72	7	60	932	12.94	2.74	1.04
	nation	0,1	80	0	1	1036	12.95	0.39	0.49
	arrive	x,...,i	80	1992	2013	1036	12.95	2000.73	3.34
	aso	0,1 ‡	80	0	1	1036	12.95	0.16	0.36
t variate	age_cont	1,...,i	72	7	62	932	12.94	33.98	11.24
	child	0,1,...,i ‡	80	0	5	1033	13	1.47	1.28
	<i>child_{res}</i>	0,1,...,i ‡	80	0	4	1032	12.9	0.84	1.01
	married	0,1,2	75	0	2	977	13	0.91	0.66
	<i>couple_{res}</i>	0,1,2	76	0	2	984	13	1.40	0.83
	edu	0,1,...,4 ‡	72	0	4	929	13	2.14	1.30
	<i>edu_{rec}</i>	0,1,...,i	56	0	3	741	13	0.38	0.64
	qual	0,1,...,i	75	0	15	965	13	0.73	1.25
	padron	0,1,...,i	80	0	28	1036	12.95	5.84	7.30
	<i>padron_{cc}</i>	0,1,...,i	80	0	6	1036	12.95	0.98	1.04
	docu	0,1,...,4 ‡	78	0	4	1015	13	1.45	1.08
	work	0,1,...,4 ‡	78	0	4	1011	13	2.43	1.11
	sector	0,1,...,4 ‡	80	0	4	1036	12.95	1.40	1.13
	occu	0,1,...,i	80	0	23	1036	12.95	7.55	6.60
formal	0,1 ‡	80	0	1	1036	12.95	0.63	0.48	
sal (month)	x,...,i	19	0	3100	176	9	1095.63	778.24	
<i>work_{place}</i>	0,1,2,3 ‡	17	0	3	244	14	0.16	0.59	

Source: Author's elaboration. Based on interview data.

‡Range is also ranked from 0=lowest to i=highest.

Table 1.6: Distribution of sex and nation and variation in labour market participation by sector and occupation

economic sector and real occupation	sex and nation (2006)						sex and nation (2010)						Variations (2006-2010)*						
	- female -			- male -			- female -			- male -			- female -			- male -			
	Ecu	Col	Total	Ecu	Col	Total	Ecu	Col	Total	Ecu	Col	Total	Ecu	Col	Total	Ecu	Col	Total	
no work**																			
none	4	1	5	3		3	5	4	9	6	4	10	4.8%	15.0%	8.2%	12.0%	25.0%	16.7%	
construction worker										1		1				4.0%		2.4%	
gardener										1		1				4.0%		2.4%	
salesperson							1		1				4.8%		2.7%				
total	4	1	5	3		3	6	4	10	8	4	12	9.5%	15.0%	10.9%	20.0%	25.0%	21.6%	
service																			
elderly care	4		4				3		3				-4.8%		-4.8%				
home/child care	2	1	3				3		3				4.8%	-10.0%	-1.6%				
cook	2		2	1	1	2	1		1	2	1	3	-4.8%		-3.7%	4.0%	-0.9%	2.2%	
waiter					1	1	1	2	3	1	1	2	4.8%	12.5%	8.1%	4.0%	-0.9%	2.3%	
industrial cleaning	2	1	3	1	1	2	1	2	3		1	1	-4.8%	2.5%	-1.6%	-4.0%	-0.9%	-2.7%	
house cleaning	1		1				1		1						-0.5%				
gardener				1		1										-4.0%		-2.6%	
salesperson	2	3	5	1		1	1	5	6	1	1	2	-4.8%	1.3%	0.1%		6.3%	2.3%	
hotel staff	2	1	3				1		1				-4.8%	-10.0%	-7.0%				
machine operator				1		1					1	1				-4.0%	6.3%	-0.1%	
metal worker											1	1					6.3%	2.4%	
surveillance		1	1		2	2								-10.0%	-3.2%		-14.3%	-5.1%	
driver					1	1					1	1					-0.9%	-0.1%	
storekeeper							1		1				4.8%		2.7%				
administration				1		1				1		1							-0.1%
nurse		1	1					2	2					2.5%	2.2%				
total	15	8	23	6	6	12	13	11	24	5	7	12	-9.5%	-11.3%	-9.3%	-4.0%	0.9%	-1.5%	
agro																			
harvester				2	1	3	1		1	3		3	4.8%		2.7%	4.0%	-7.1%	-0.4%	
storekeeper	1	1	2					1	1				-4.8%	-3.8%	-3.7%				
total	1	1	2	2	1	3	1	1	2	3		3		-3.8%	-1.0%	4.0%	-7.1%	-0.4%	
construction																			
construction worker				7	2	9				3	1	4				-16.0%	-8.0%	-13.3%	
electrician				1	1	2					1	1				-4.0%	-0.9%	-2.7%	
plumber				2		2										-8.0%		-5.1%	
painter				1		1				2	1	3				4.0%	6.3%	4.8%	
machine operator										1		1				4.0%		2.4%	
driver				2	1	3				1		1				-4.0%	-7.1%	-5.3%	
storekeeper										1		1				4.0%		2.4%	
total				13	4	17				8	3	11				-20.0%	-9.8%	-16.8%	
industry																			
electrician					1	1					1	1						-0.9%	-0.1%
industrial cleaning	1		1										-4.8%		-3.2%				
salesperson											1	1					6.3%	2.4%	
machine operator				1		1	1		1	1		1	4.8%		2.7%			-0.1%	
metal worker					1	1											-7.1%	-2.6%	
carpenter					1	1											-7.1%	-2.6%	
total	1		1	1	3	4	1		1	1	2	3			-0.5%		-8.9%	-2.9%	
Total Σ	21	10	31	25	14	39	21	16	37	25	16	41							

Source: Author's elaboration. From interview data. * Variations are differences in % relative to total sum of interviewees in each column.

**Occupations displayed under no work is informal work additionally done while receiving unemployment insurance.

Chapter 2

Remittances in a Migrants' Life Course: Migration Status and Changing Motives for Remittance Sending

The Case of Colombian- and Ecuadorian-born Migrants in Spain

Introduction

Most of the Latin American migrants arrived in Spain from 1998 onward, since the preferred route to the USA was increasingly replaced with destinations in Europe. Spain became one of the popular immigration countries for Latin Americans. This concentrated immigration flow changed the population composition of many Spanish regions and affected the social and gendered compositions in the migrant countries of origin (Jokisch and Pribilsky, 2002; Herrera, 2005b; Delgado and D. Lozano, 2007). The migrants (most of them of unsecure status) filled specific sectors in the Spanish economy as a cheap and stable work force during the economic upturn until 2007. Amnesties in 2002 by the Aznar and 2005 by the Zapatero government converted most irregular migrants to regular residents. This article follows the dwellers from Colombia and Ecuador in Spain over a period of 10 years and relates their struggles on residence to their remittance sending.¹ This paper aims to evaluate the effect of status changes on remittance sending over time. Theoretical literature suggests positive and negative effects of legalisation on remittances sent. One of the most important remittance motives in the case of Latin American migrants in Spain are the children they left in their home country (Cox et al., 1998; Rivas and González, 2011; Fokkema et al., 2013; Zapata, 2019). Since achieving a legal status is the dominant driver for family reunification, improvements in migration status result in a reduction of remittances. Alternately, ascending to more secure residence permits enhances the migrants' bargaining abilities on income and formalisation with employers (del Rey et al., 2019). Better contracts with higher income lead to higher remittance sending. Assuming the positive or negative effects of legalisation, this article aims to answer the two-tailed hypothesis one way or another.

Most studies in the migration-development nexus discussion focused on single motives to remit (Stark, 1995; Poirine, 1997; Agarwal and Horowitz, 2002; Rapoport and Docquier, 2006; Fokkema et al., 2013). Following the years of migrants' struggle for residence and resilience to social and economic obstacles, this research reveals changing motives to remit depending on the need of securing their transnational families' livelihood. Changes in motives to remit are not single answers to economic up or downturns in the host country. Those changes are the “*bifocal*” weighing up of opportunities in Spain and in their countries of birth to secure and improve their transnational livelihoods. Hence, the scope of this research is to allow for changing motives during the period.

An exploratory research design (Creswell and Clark, 2007, p. 75) was used for the semi-structured interviews conducted between November 2013 and April 2014 in the Spanish

¹In concordance with the insights from the interviews I will use the concept *residence* to point to forms of belonging, social integration and citizenship in the Spanish society: While the formal migration status might neglect their physical presence, their residence is usually not in question due to feelings of belonging and socio-economic integration. I understand irregular migrants as those without any legal status.

provinces of Madrid, Valencia and Canary Islands. The analysed period from 2003 to 2013 includes the Spanish economic turmoil from 2007 onward. The crisis and the caused effects of insecurity are a vital part of the migrants' life course and form a unique "natural experiment" on the transnational behaviours. The structural break and general data shortcomings on (ir)regular migrants are addressed using a mixed-method approach. The combination of the selected methods solves many methodological and bias problems.

In the next section, the theoretical literature on remittance behaviour is reviewed, and an analytical understanding of the complex interplay between status careers, family and remittance sending is developed. The second section is a description of the period and the migration structures analysed. This paper aims to give an overview on how the differences and similarities intersect between the Spanish regions, economic segments, gender and the two migrant groups in consideration. The third section explains the methodological and data challenges and gives descriptive information on the data used. The subsequent section analyses and combines the results obtained from the different methods, and the last section gives the summary.

Theorising changing migration status and remittance sending

"The migrant" in the literature on remittances is often differentiated in terms of economic welfare, social integration, gender, age and many other aspects but surprisingly often treated uniform with respect to legal status. Some studies focused on temporal residence permits only, but from empirical studies, we know that income, labour market and social integration, among other factors, depend on the migration status and the changes on it (Menjívar, 2006; Shuqin and Makoto, 2007; Van Meeteren et al., 2009; Maroukis et al., 2011; del Rey et al., 2019). Here, I will depart from the theoretical assumptions elaborated under the so-called *New Economics of Labour Migration* (NELM) (see Stark and Bloom, 1985). In the general discussions on the implication of setting the family and kin as the central factor in the migration process, three dominant models on remitting motives exist: (i) family co-insurance and risk diversification and (ii) altruistic and (iii) self-interest motivations from migrants abroad. There are a few more theories to relate here, and before assembling a theoretical body, the main ideas and assumptions behind the three dominant theories will be reviewed and related to some theoretical considerations on irregular migration.

The **co-insurance and risk diversification model** contradicts the neoclassical model of migration induced predominantly by wage differentials between countries or regions. In regions of dominant agricultural production and stochastic risks that may

lead to volatile income or income fallout, it is convenient for households to have one member migrate despite the little difference in the wages (see Rapoport and Docquier, 2006, 1150, for a comprehensive overview). The mere fact that the income of all members in a household is no longer positively correlated and income can be smoothed through migration is a sufficient incentive for having one member of the household in a distant geographic area. For such cases, it is hard to find any argument why the risk diversification strategy would not apply on irregular migration, too. Provided that the expected value (i) from having one member of the household migrated and (ii) the advantage of a diversified income is high, possible lower returns due to an unstable status career will be accepted. Remittance flows from migrants in such settings should hence be negatively correlated with individual or collective shocks in the sending households.

The **altruistic model** draws on different studies and centres around the major idea that family members care about each other despite being territorially separated (see ex. Cox et al., 1998, p. 59). The concept of "altruism" expresses no expected return from the receivers of migrant remittances. Empirically, there is little evidence of no real expected return. Using the theory developed by Mauss—even if altruism is expressed in interviews—"hidden agenda" on socially defined returns from frequent sending might be unexpressed. Since the concept is frequently used in relation to migrant sending and remittances, "altruistic" means no direct and open declared returns. In this concept, remittances depend positively on the income of the migrant in Spain and on the general well-being of the transnational household. Likewise, with the increasing numbers of migrants in the family, individual remittances should be negatively correlated (Lucas and Stark, 1985; Agarwal and Horowitz, 2002). Within this altruistic model, time plays an important role, since migrants are prone to remit less the longer they stay abroad. For an irregular migrant, kin and family ties play a strong role since his return is dependent on his detection or the future possibilities to legalise his stay. Assuming lower income because of irregular residence, one can expect remittances to be lower. Sending would rely mainly on the migrants' own will of residence despite his irregular status.

Within the category of **self-interest**, Rapoport and Docquier (2006) distinguish:

(a) Motivations of *inheritance*, what is understood as gaining and maintaining reputation in their community of origin. In this model, remittances are positively related to migrants' expectations of a good reputation but have an inverse relation to the number of migrants in the household. There is little evidence so far on the involvement of irregular migrants in collective remittance schemes or other financial investments that would predominantly be designated to improve migrants' reputation in their communities of birth. The insights gained in the sample also reveal how important community reputation is for migrants. However, in the case of migrants struggling for belonging in the host country, the effect of reputation on remittance sending is more focused on not failing the

expectations of their family.

(b) Motivations of *exchange*, for example, care for children left behind is done in exchange of remittances. The more the migrants ask for services in exchange, the more remittances must be sent. This has an important impact on the case in consideration as the descriptive analysis of the sample indicates. In 2003, the majority of the 21 migrants without papers (see Table 2.2a, p.60) left their children in their country of birth when residing in Spain without papers and asked other family members to look after their children (this is the *exchange care model*). Fokkema et al. (2013) discussed this behaviour as more relevant for temporal migrants, since their expectations on returns are higher. In the same logic, Carling indicates short-term migration as a key factor for remittance sending. He supposed a high and stable flow of remittances under temporal residence conditions. In his view, long-term establishment of communities has a reducing effect on remittances and makes them susceptible (2008, p. 56). The same negative relationship between residence perspective and remittance sending was indicated by Dustmann and Mestres. Estimating the migrants' remitting behaviour using a fixed-effects model for the German SOEP panel data, they found a lower propensity on remitting if the migrants have a long-term perspective on residence. The sample Dustmann and Mestres used includes information on the residence plans of the interviewees. Although the authors differentiate between specific uses of remittances such as saving, consumption or investment, temporal residence expectations have a positive impact on all types of remittances. Transferring this logic, one could expect a higher and more stable remittance flow in terms of irregular status, and transmission to a more stable and permanent residence would lead to a reduction in remittance sending (integrated in Table 2.1, time since arrival).

Also, other family contractual arrangements such as loans can be viewed as exchange (Stark, 1988; Cox et al., 1998). Poirine (1997) viewed remittances as an implicit family loan arrangement (considered here as *exchange invest model*). This view is a supplement to the other models since it is not exclusive to the other theories. In questions of time, this theory gives new arguments for relatively stable remittances flows over time and independent of which migration status achieved. Family loans are given to young people for their migration process and their economic progress. In a Peruvian household survey, Cox et al. (1998) found that remittances are often paybacks in an exchange-frame from children to their parents. They test whether remittances are sent altruistic or in exchange frameworks. They understand exchange as a two-period family loan arrangement, where remittances are expected paybacks for the given loan in the first period. Their results show that most of the remittances are sent between children and their parents in both directions. There are several important points here. First, the argument of household liquidity constraints as being a general driver for remittances in specific phases of a migrant's life course is of importance.

Additionally, Poirine included a third stage for elderly migrants since their remittances would function as savings and investments for later retirement (1997, p. 598). This model creates three life spans for migrants of which the latter two would be connected to remittance flows. According to his theoretical model, remittances sent depend on the loan amount, the "family interest rate" and the expected payback period (Poirine, 1997, p. 595). For irregular migrants, this temporal sequencing is of special importance since in the second sequence of payback, most of the migrants arrive and stay irregular. Additionally, a great share of remittances are transferred between parents and children, highlighting the importance of exchange motives for family settings with irregular migrants.

(c) The *strategic* motivations behind remitting must be reflected in a wage-equilibrium model (Fokkema et al., 2013, p. 545). This model predicts that high-skilled migrants will remit with a clear calculation on the job market competition. According to this model, they remit to prevent other migrants from coming. More migrants would lead to a deterioration of their future income. A model originally elaborated by Stark (1995) related individual and household income, education and strategic positioning. High household income therefore reduces remittances, and low income raises remittances depending on the individual income and education level of the migrant. In the case of Spain, this seems to be the weakest explanation of the effects of remittances. Evidence from own research here shows little to no incentive why (ir)regular migrants should hinder others from migrating by sending more remittances. On the contrary, own results and network theories (see Meeteren and Pereira, 2018) suggested a noticeable inflow of migrants based on those already remitting, since they value stable remittance flows as a clear incentive for their migration venture.

In all theoretical reflections, the income possibilities of migrants in the host country play a central role, as remittances can only be sent if income exceeds the subsistence needs of the migrant. For irregular migrants, most literature indicates lower income than regular migrants. This fact should not be understood as all irregular migrants being poor. Even if migrants find themselves in irregular conditions, the transnational family venture of migration anticipates such situations. Former contract arrangements (*exchange invest and exchange care*) or kin obligations (*inheritance and insurance*) can still apply.

Insights from research such as Cox et al. (1998), Herrera (2012), Zapata (2019) and others indicate a strong relevance of gendered aspects in remittance frameworks. Women, in general, tend to send remittances more frequently. Within gendered implications, Lucas and Stark (1985) contradicted the latter insights such as the case of Botswana sons where they tend to remit more frequently and stable than daughters. Just as gender is an important time-invariant characteristic to explain the differences in sending between migrants over time, cultural differences are also of importance in better understanding behaviours in the life course. One of the often cited studies about migrant and economic charac-

teristics is Edward Funkhouser's study on Nicaraguan and El Salvadorian migrants. The comparison between the two countries revealed that differences in sending remittances did not differ because of migrant or household characteristics. The discrepancies in remitting behaviour between both countries can only be explained using arguments of self-selection criteria for the migrants. In this paper, the insight on sex and country of birth will be addressed when comparing Ecuadorian- and Colombian-born migrants. Possible differences between the intersecting migrant groups need a review through migrant and expert interviews to control for such criteria.

The income of (ir)regular migrants mostly depend on the general accessibility of work, the demand and the general structure of the (informal) labour market. The theoretical approach developed by Michael J Piore (1979) and the modification for Spain undertaken by Godenau, Vogel, et al. (2012) helped in understanding the segmentation of the labour market in Spain. The existence of a huge informal segment offers great opportunities for irregular migrants to find a job due to the great demand for such work in specific sectors and the informal nature of hiring. This model of a segmented labour market was valid until the crisis in 2007. Afterwards, many authors referred to this as the deterioration of the informal and temporary segment and also indicated a reduction in the permanent segment (Koehler et al., 2010; Alonso, 2012; Lizarrondo Artola, 2014; Godenau and Hernández, 2014; Rincken, 2014).

For the theoretical framing, the theories displayed here will be combined here, since most of them implicitly refer to same explanatory variables and discrepancies occur more during the interpretation of results. Also, some motives are exclusive and usually several motives intersect in the remittance behaviour of irregular and regular migrants (Rapoport and Docquier, 2006, pp. 1139, 1161). This research aims to reveal whether and how status changes directly or indirectly influence remittance behaviour. Hence, there is a conceptual need to start from mixed motivates to include all possible variations. The lack of a ready-to-use theoretical model calls for an iterative forward and backward and a combination of qualitative and quantitative data during the analysis. This mixed-method approach generates a better understanding of how migration status changes influence remittance sending in the selected case.

Table 2.1 shows the expected relation between remittances and explanatory variables deduced from the theoretical and empirical review. From the dominant migration status of irregular residence in the sample, the signs in the rows of each motive indicate expected influences of the explanatory variables as deduced from the literature review. The last column in Table 2.1 indicates how status upward mobility is expected to affect remittance sending under the selected motive (irregular \rightarrow regular). Likewise, in the case of a migrants' drop in status, the signs have to be inverted with their effect on remittance sending.

Table 2.1: Expected relations between remittance sending, explanatory variables and status changes over time

Starting migration status	Motives	Explanatory variables on remittance sending					Status change	
		Migrant income	Migrant education	Time since arrival	Child CoB*	Child host	irreg → reg	
irregular	Altruism	+	0	-	+	-	++	
	Ex. invest	+	+	+	++	0	+ / 0	
	Ex. care		+	-	+	--	0	
	Inheritance	+	+	+	+	0	+	
	Insurance	0	0 / +	+	+	-	+	
	Investment	+	++	++	+	--	++	

Source: Author's elaboration.

Note: *Child CoB: Children still living in country of birth. In the last column shaded red: Expected positive influences of status upward movements on remittances. Expected results are indicated from “++” strong positive over “0” invariant to “- -” strong negative.

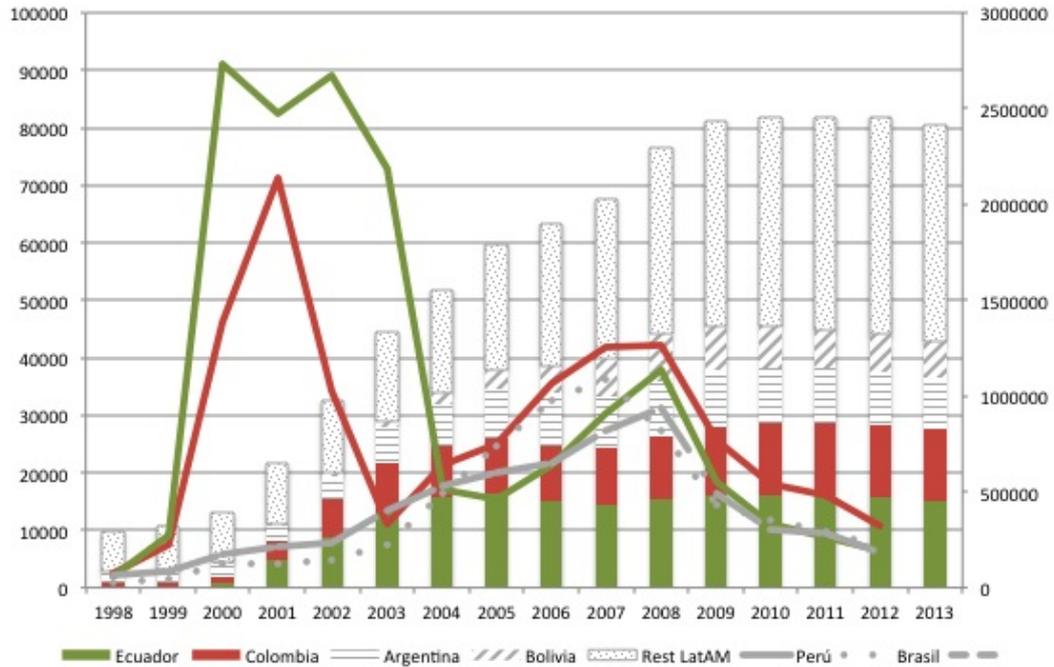
Colombian- and Ecuadorian-born migrants in Spain

Based on historic migration relations, Aparicio et al. (2008) showed that through established migrant networks, the information of “[...] *finding a [n informal] job in order to survive in Spain is easy [...]*” circulated and maintained a high supply on migrants. Most migrants entered officially Spain as tourists and overstayed their visa. Figure 2.1 shows the evolution of inflows and stocks of Latin American migrants from 1998 to 2013. The graph shows the selection of Colombian- and Ecuadorian-born migrants as being dominant ones in stock and inflow. Several interesting breaks in the structure of inflow can be observed. Immigration from Ecuador increased intensively with the dollarisation in 1999/2000. Similarly, the severe economic crisis in Colombia interrelated to the Mexican *tequila crisis* and the civil conflict led to an increased inflow of those dwellers. The Colombian and Ecuadorian governments signed binational agreements with Spain on circular migration of work force in 2001 (Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 2001a; Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 2001b).

In 2002, the inflow of Colombian migrants suddenly decreased and in 2003 the inflow of Ecuadorian migrants diminished noticeably after a short increase in the year before (see Figure 2.1). To reduce the inflow of migrants, Spain enforced tourist visa regulations for Colombian at the end of 2002 and for Ecuadorian migrants in 2003. By the end of 2003, 259.400 Colombian (57.1% women) and 387.565 Ecuadorian migrants (51.2% women) were already registered in the *padr-n*, building a huge labour force for the formal and informal segments.² Moré showed that more than 50% of all remittances sent from Spain came

²The numbers from the *padr-n* are the best approximation for the real number of residents, as also

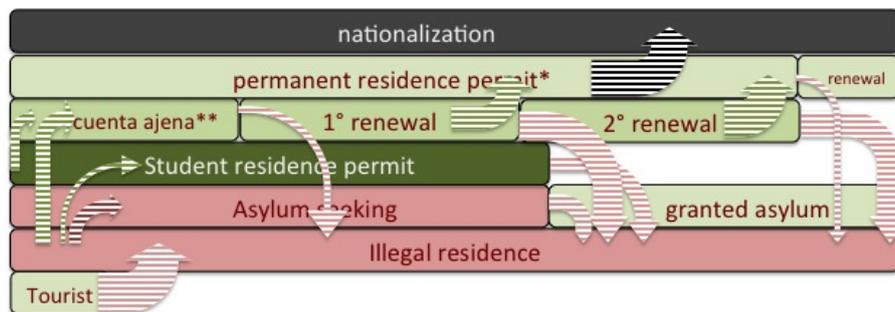
Figure 2.1: Inflows and Stocks of Latin American migrants in Spain



Source: Author's elaboration. From INE and OECD migration database.

Stocks: Migrants selected by country of birth, four nations with highest numbers, *padrón* statistics including irregular migrants; Inflow: Migrants selected by nationality, four nations with highest numbers.

Figure 2.2: Residence regulations and possible status transitions between permits



Source: Author's elaboration.

*Although named *permanent*, migrants must renew the permit every five years.

***cuenta ajena* is the one year temporal residence permit. It can twice be renewed for two years (total $\sum 5$ years).

from Ecuadorian and Colombian migrants. Colombian migrants accounted for 25.2% and Ecuadorians for 25.09% in official registered statistics. The numbers should be in red as an indicator since official numbers are very doubtful and show only a percentage of real sending (Moré, 2005, p. 13).

Figure 2.2 shows all the different residence schemes Spain must regulate including irregular migrants. Irregular migrants build the baseline under all the other defined forms of legal status. The possible transitions between different residence permits are all shown with arrows. Possible cases of *irregularidad sobrevenida* are shown with red-white striped arrows. The size of the arrows roughly approximates the empirical relevance of transitions between the different forms of permits. At the bottom of the graph, the tourist visa is set apart since it is a very limited legal residence permit, not allowing for any forms of labour or study. Though very limited, it has been the major opportunity for future residence for Colombian and Ecuadorian migrants.

With the constant civil conflict and the "war on drugs" in their country, Colombians also used the asylum status as one entrance option, and with 8,540 applicants between 2003 and 2013 (Ecuador: 90), they topped the asylum statistics between 2003 and 2006. Comprising 17% of all applicants in Spain, Colombian migrants played an important role in 2013. The approval rate of asylum is generally low in Spain. However, with only 500 positive asylum decisions for Colombian migrants in the period (Ecuador: 0), this form of immigration is an important possible access into irregularity, at least for 8,000 of them, including the case of Magaly: “[...]... *el manejo de la solicitud de asilo me lo denegaron y ya después de que lo deniegan ya uno queda desamparado e indocumentado totalmente.*”³(M1, line 34).⁴

For most migrants, the decision to immigrate was not a definite one. The lack of long-term perspective in secure migration status has an impact on the behaviour migrants tried to establish not only on their daily lives but also on their entry into the Spanish labour market (Prada et al., 2001; Delgado and D. Lozano, 2007; Actis, 2009; Concha Carrasco Carpio and Godenau, 2012; del Rey et al., 2019). The distribution and concentration of migrants follows patterns of existing network structures and sectoral labour opportunity structures in the Spanish regions.⁵

Integration into the Spanish labour market is crucial in many dimensions, and often, the position in the labour market influences the income. Migrants must deal with all sorts

irregular migrants are included. Due to the advantage of access to free health care, there was a high incentive for every migrant to register. These politics changed on the federal level in 2013. Public health care was no longer accessible with irregular status in all regions. This reasons the temporal selection for this research.

³[...]... *the asylum solicitude they refused and after the denial it leaves one completely homeless and undocumented.*

⁴The data sample of interviewees used for this research contains two of this cases.

⁵Regions and provinces are treated as synonyms referring to the Spanish geographic delimitation of *Provincias y Comunidades Autónomas* (CCAA).

of limitations guiding them predominantly in "*easy to enter*" sectors of the economy such as agriculture, household services, construction or general services (hotels and restaurants) (see Assner, 2019, for an in-depth analysis). In many economic sectors, it is rather a gendered concentration than a status related. Male migrant workers can be found mostly in construction and agriculture work, whereas women are more concentrated in domestic services, service and tourism-related jobs (QUIT, 2011; Hierro, 2013). For the domestic sector Sabino and Peixoto and del Rey et al. found that female Ecuadorian migrants are dominant compared to all other migrant groups (2019,2009, p. 22).

All the temporary and even the permanent residence schemes in Spain are tied to labour market needs and the existence of formal contracts for aliens who want to renew any residence permission. Many researchers showed that one possible outcome of the economic crisis in 2007 is the increase in irregular migrants due to unemployment (see Lizarrondo Artola, 2014, p. 432). The migration regulations were changed in 2009 with *ley 1162/2009*. The extension of permits was de-linked from employment and formal contracts. In 2011, with *ley 1620/2011*, social security, formalisation of work and legal status were confirmed for those migrants working in domestic services (del Rey et al., 2019, p. 157). Therefore, the expected high number of migrants in *irregularidad sobrevenida* did not appear (Lizarrondo Artola, 2014, p. 432). Still, the crisis had its impact on the migrant population and raised unemployment with subsequent legal struggles (see figure 9.2 Assner, 2019, p. 246). The migrant dataset shows an increase in irregular status after 2008, indicating cases of *irregularidad sobrevenida* (see Table 2.2a, p. 60). There are many reasons in the sample for the drop back into irregular status, but the predominant ones are police records of male migrants which hindered the renewal.

Data and methodological challenges

The data for this paper were gathered from 80 migrant and 9 expert interviews conducted in the Spanish provinces of Madrid, Valencia and Canary Islands in November 2013 and April 2014. This data source serves two purposes: (i) in-depth analysis of transcribed interviews from experts and migrants and (ii) extraction of computable information from the migrant interviews for an unbalanced small-N panel from 2003 to 2013 (named Colombian- and Ecuadorian-born Sample, CEBS).

The combination of methods follows a sequential order of qualitative and subsequent quantitative analysis. The in-depth interview analysis of expert and selected migrant interviews gathered in 2013 served as the first orientation and readjustment of interviews conducted in 2014. The expert interviews also helped adjust data collection the same way as the intense literature review on existing research. The insights from the qualitative analysis served as instrument development for the quantitative approach, helping find and

define necessary variables. In the second step, quantitative and qualitative insights were shrunk to an interdependent forward and backward process during the estimation and interpretation of results obtained from quantitative analysis. Following the classification offered by Creswell, Clark, et al. (2003), the combination of methods follows in terms of (i) *Implementation*, a sequential setting with qualitative data on the first step, (ii) *Priority* between datasets is equal, but final power is given to qualitative analysis in critical cases of interpreting the results, and (iii) *Integration* of qualitative and quantitative results is done at levels of analysis and interpretation.

The sampling of interviewees was a mixture of access mitigation through institutions or associations and predominantly *en-passant* searching of interviewees at meeting points such as football pitches, in front of consulates, public parks and Ecuadorian or Colombian cafes or bakeries in urban migrant quarters. The questionnaire included measures to ensure *snowball* procedures from one interviewee to possible others. Detailed transcription was done for 16 migrant interviews, selected carefully by country of birth, sex and migration status during the review. All nine expert interviews have been fully transcribed. Expert and migrant interviews were analysed using an open coding system in qualitative data analysis (QDA) (Mey and Mruck, 2011).

The small-N CEBS panel was assembled ex-post using special *life course* interview methods from sociology, anthropology and psychology (**Wingens:2011aa**; Clausen, 1998). All interviews were taped, and the migrants' life course was additionally drawn with the help of the interviewee during the interview on a specially designed timeline. The semi-structured interviews were conducted in a way to discover important markers in time. The markers have been set on the timeline in the notes to assemble ex-post a defined set of observations for all interviewees from their arrival. The set consisted of five central information: (i) migration status, nationalisation (ii) family/family unification, (iii) schooling, higher education and qualification, (iv) work situation and (v) remittances. Other studies also included information on income. Within a review of at least 10 years, frequent in-jobs changes and a mixture of informal and formal income and often several jobs at the same time in the migrants' life course made it very difficult to gain reliable information on the income. This led to the decision that no information on income changes can be assembled this way. Income is approximated by forms of employment and by the on-the-job qualification to control for better income opportunities. Information on remittances has been proven to be reliable as control questions and responses revealed. Remittances are sent more stable, and changes in behaviours are often connected to specific events or changes in the transnational family settings. Several questions have been linked to the timeline to control for mistakes in ex-post answers and ensure high reliability. Reference was made to specific and important markers in the life course to actively control for contradictions in the timeline with any of the observations.

The notes on the timeline and the records have been matched and reviewed several times. Unreliable information was dropped out of the observations. Some variables are missing for certain interviewees since they refused to or could simply not respond to related questions. Secondly, going backward in time, a limit migrant age of 16 years was set for the estimate. Intersecting the losses in the variables, the dataset for the estimate shrinks to $n = 62$. Although different measures were taken to ensure high reliability of the information, there are still some problems on the panel which have been made transparent in the description of the analysis.

To deal with the known CEBS shortcomings and to actively address possible statistical interpretation errors, the migrant sample of $n = 62$ has been tested on its power $(1 - \beta)$. Due to the hypothesis that migration status change leads to a change in remittance sending, the effect size was set to 0 for the H_0 of no effect on remittance sending by migration status changes. The power of estimating an insignificant relation, while it is significant to reject H_0 - reaches 0.99 ($\Rightarrow \beta \leq 0.01$) with a lower critical R^2 of 0.02. For the alternative hypothesis H_1 , the effect size was set to 0.6 due to the general status upward mobility in the sample. Estimating the necessary sample size for a power of 0.95 with $\beta \leq 0.05$, $\alpha \leq 0.05$ and a model with 6 explanatory variables, the calculated required sample size is 28.

The data collection is restricted to Spain, and only few information relates remittance senders with their receiving families (e.g. children's residence). All data points extracted from the interviews for each person i start with the year of arrival, although only years after 2002 were included in the analysis. The panel for the analysis is an unbalanced starting at t as 2003 or any later year of arrival and reaching a possible maximum of 11 different observations for each person i within time-variant variables (see Table 2.2a \sum interviewees over years). The panel also includes time-invariant variables such as gender and country of birth.

The mean age of the sample is 34. The interviewees in 2013 had none (23%) to 5 children (3%). The majority had 2 children (32%), 1 child (21%) or 3 children (14%). Six interviewees in 2013 had 4 children (8%). Eighteen percent of the interviewees have partners living in a foreign country/country of birth in 2013, 66% had their partners with them in Spain in 2013, and 16% had none. The relationships changed over the years as only 10% were divorced in 2003 and it increased to 25% in 2013.

Table 2.2b gives an overview on the two variables from the interviews with 49% of the interviewees being women and 67% of them residing in the province of Valencia in 2013. Most of the interviewees (57%) were born in Ecuador (the corresponding 43% in Colombia), and the mean year of arrival in Spain was in 2001. Although interviews have only been conducted in the Madrid, Valencia and Canary Island provinces, some interviewees are residents of other provinces such as Catalonia or Murcia.

Table 2.2: Descriptive information on the interview data set

(a) Migration status changes over years				(b) Gender and Regions (padrón)			
Migration status	2003	2008	2013	CC-Regions	female	male	Total
irregular	33	8	5	Madrid	11	10	21
temporal	19	40	7	Valencia	26	26	52
permanent	8	14	23	Murcia	0	2	2
nationalised	2	14	43	Catalunia	1		1
Total	62	76	78	Canary Islands	1	3	4
				Total	39	41	80

Source: Author's elaboration. Based on CEBS data

(c) Variable description for the unbalanced small-N panel

Variable	Description	Min	Max	N	n
nr	Number of interviewee	1	80	1036	80
year	years in the life course	1992	2015	1036	80
remittances	logarithm of remittances	0	11.78	964	75
sex	masculine=0, feminine=1	0	1	1036	80
age_{cont}	calculated continuous age	7	62	932	72
arrive	year of arrival	1992	2013	1036	80
child	number of children (0,1,...,i)	0	5	1033	80
$child_{res}$	children residing in Spain (0,1,...,i)	0	4	1032	80
status	irregular=0, temporal=1, permanent=2, nationalisation=3 (0,1,2,3)	0	3	1015	78
education	without=0, basic schooling=1, bachillerato=2, vocational education=3, university degree=4 (0,1,2,3,4)	0	4	929	72
work	unemployed=0, education=1, part-time=2, employed=3, self employed=4 (0,1,2,3,4)	0	4	1011	78
qualification	number of on-the-job formations (0,1,2,...,i)	0	15	965	75
cob	country of birth	0	1	1036	80

Source: Author's elaboration. Based on CEBS data

Growing residence and new motives for sending money

*“Porque claro, porque tú quieres ayudar a tu familia...
Por lo menos yo que se, con 20, 30 dolaritos...”*⁶

Leonardo, irregular migrant

The quote taken from one of the interviews shows an altruistic motive (Mauss, 2013). Leonardo suffers in times of little income and not being able to contribute to the transnational family income as he inwardly finds himself obliged to. Even if he is not asked to remit frequently, his motivation is maintaining the transnational kin by those sending. In a thorough review of all transcribed interviews, most of the theoretically described motives for (changes in) remittance behaviour are evident. Only the motive of *strategic*

⁶Because for sure, you want to support your family, with at least, let's say 20, 30 dollars. This migrant from Ecuador calculates his remittances in US-Dollar, focusing on the receiving end, even if he will send Euros. The national currency in Ecuador is US-Dollar.

behaviour to prevent others from migration was not reflected in any of the interviews. Although most motives can be identified in the sample, there is a time dependency on the motives.

During the first few years after arrival, there is a clear dominance of the *exchange care* and *exchange invest* motives. Those years are often related to orientation, struggles on labour market access and irregular residence in a migrants' life course. Those *exchange invest* motives are also (negatively) correlated with time. Talking with Israel about his arrival as an irregular migrant, remittances and family setting, he said, "[...]. *Si, claro, también mandaba porque debía dinero, y para llegar me tocó endeudarme y vender un coche que tenía, y unas cosas..* [...]." ⁷ (M4, line 198).. He made great efforts to pay his debt back for the travel expenditures as soon as possible even though irregular residence and informal work made it sometimes complicated to accumulate the money he was expected to send. Israel was not the only one who found himself in this situation as the testimony of Richard also shows "[...] *eso sí mandabas a pagar, esos 2000 [€], porque tampoco era tu dinero, esos 2000 [€].* [...]" ⁸ (M13, line 582).. Both continued to remit after they payed back their debt, but their motives changed to *exchange care* for Israel and to sequences of *altruistic*, *inheritance* and *investment* for Richard.

In the case of many migrants, after their arrival and first steps in regularisation, an array of motives open, and it is difficult to detect a dominant model with qualitative methods. Quantitative estimation of the computable small-N panel data helps detect a dominant model, if there is one. The estimation on the statistical relevance of explanatory variables is the key in finding a general trend on the money sent within the migrants' life course. Finding a significant relation between remittance sending, migration status and motive changes in the life course, the assumed relation is formulated as follows:

$$Y_{i,t} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_{i,t} + \epsilon_{i,t} \quad (2.1)$$

with β_0 as a constant, $X_{i,t}$ representing the array of variables for each person i with β_1 as the estimated coefficient for each corresponding variable. $\epsilon_{i,t}$ is the error term of unexplained variance in the life course. The variable of main interest within $X_{i,t}$ is the migration status/nationalisation information. A complete derivative theoretical model capturing also the wider context would include into $X_{i,t}$ four groups of variables: (i) variables to capture the migrants individual and familiar situation in Spain, (ii) variables on the economic and social situation in Spain, (iii) "bifocal" variables on the transnational family and (iv) "bifocal" macroeconomic variables on the economic and social situation in the country of birth.

⁷ *Yes, for sure, I also sent [remittances] because I owed money, and to arrive I needed to go in dept and sell a car I owned, and some other things..[...]*

⁸ *[...] this for sure you sent, those 2000 [€], because it wasn't your money, those 2000 [€]. [...]*

Table 2.3: The effect of migration status changes on remittance sending

remittance sending	β_1	(SE)
migration status	0.48***	(0.184)
age of migrant	-0.17***	(0.048)
education	0.26	(0.318)
work situation	0.39***	(0.101)
number of children	1.16***	(0.383)
children in Spain	-0.95***	(0.241)

N	568	R^2	within	0.096
n	62		between	0.050
Observation per n	1-11 (avg. 9.2)		overall	0.001

Source: Author's estimates. Based on CEBS data set.

Note: *** = $p < 1\%$, ** = $p < 5\%$, * = $p \leq 10\%$. A binominal dummy on the crisis has been tested without any effect on the goodness of the within estimate.

Several models have been estimated parting from the variables corresponding to groups i and iii. Information on the macroeconomic situation in Spain and the countries of birth was omitted, since it can be assumed that the mean of migrants would react in a similar way to changes and, hence, the similar reaction of migrants due to that omitted variables would be captured by the demeaned variables or by the intercept β_0 , if estimated with a fixed-effects model. Several random-effects models have been tested on the time-invariant individual information such as *sex*, *country of birth* or *year of arrival*. None of the time-invariant variables was significant. The cautious conclusion is that changes on the propensity to remit cannot be sufficiently explained through a migrants' individual time-invariant information within this small-N sample.

With no time-invariant variables left, the decision was to estimate a fixed-effects model. The significant variables in the final model are *migration status*, *age of migrant*, *work situation*, *number of children* and *children in Spain*. The number of *children in Spain* integrates the transnational family into the estimate. The variable *education* is not statistically significant, but together with *work situation*, they control for the missing income information. The results of the estimate are shown in Table 2.3.

The results show that the migration status changes have a significant positive and relatively high influence on remittance sending. Each higher level, for example, from *without papers* to *temporal residence*, leads to an approximately 50% increase in the propensity to remit. The highest effect on remittance sending are related to children in two ways. First, every child born of a remittance sender (*number of children*) increases the propensity to remit by about 110%. Similarly, every child residing in Spain (*children in Spain*) reduces the propensity to remit by about 95%. In line with these results, children have a higher impact on the propensities to remit than migration status. This result is in accordance with what is theoretically expected (see Table 2.1, p.54). One of the most

important drivers for remittance sending in the sample are children living in a country outside Spain:

“*Cuando estaban mis hijos allá, mandaba. Después, pues ya me los traje aqu’ a mis hijos*”⁹(M11, line 272,279). “*Nunca bajaba de 300 [Euros]. [...]. Porque pues, mis hijos estudiaban, no.*”¹⁰(M5, line 261-263). “*Cuando estaba mi hijo [allá] mandaba, pero mis papás [ahora] no necesitan.*”¹¹(M9, line 331).

Those cites underline the dominant motive of *exchange care* during the first years of (ir)regular residence in Spain. Connecting the residence status of migrants with the domicile of children, it becomes obvious that most parents brought at least the younger children to Spain with hopes for a stable future, as exemplified in the latter cites. Climbing the status ladder has a common trend with repatriation of children to Spain, although the relation is not a collinear one. The definition of what is *secure* or has *future prospects* varies heavily between the migrant individual opinions, and even a single household can have very diverging opinions how to evaluate the current situation for prospects on the migration project. Therefore, repatriation of children happens at all stages in the migration status career and in the life course.

Theoretically, in the *exchange care* motive, the effect of status upward movement and children repatriation on remittance sending is expected to be negative (see Table 2.1, p. 54). In the sample, many migrants changed their remittance behaviour. Like in the selected cites above, the change in domicile of children would result in a reduction of remittances. These indications have not been wrong as shown in Table 2.3 on the coefficient to *children in Spain*. However, only a few of them completely stopped remitting after they had their children with them in Spain (see also Figure 2.3). Changes were mainly made to the motives to remit than in the sending itself.

It took several years for a relevant share of migrants to secure their stay, and for some, it was an enduring struggle. Like in the case of Olga to their current situation in 2014: “*Ahora mismo estamos, estoy un poco... o sea, estabamos mal. Y economicamente, con la situacion de los papeles, que ahora por todo nos perjudican, nos miran, la situacion con mis hijos no podemos...*”¹²(M14, line 22).. Within the sample, around 10% of migrants had 6 to 9 cumulative years of irregular residence within the 11 years of observation. If legalisation happens to one of those long-term irregular migrants, changes in remittance behaviour must not only occur because of obtaining a legal residence but also because of a new stage in the life course. During their struggles for belonging and residence,

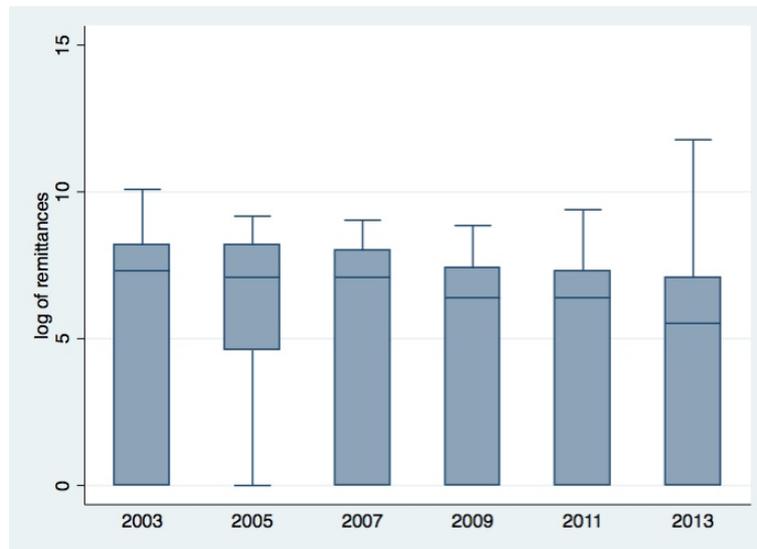
⁹ *When my children were there, I sent. Afterwards, I brought my children here.*

¹⁰ *I never undershoot 300 [Euros]. [...]. Because yeah, my kids studied, you know.*

¹¹ *When my child was [there] I sent, but my parents don't need it [now].*

¹² *Now we are, I'm a little ... Let's say we suffered. And economically, with the situation on the documentation, and now they harm us everywhere, they look at us, we can not stand the situation with our kids...*

Figure 2.3: Variance of remittances over the years



Source: Author's elaboration. From interview panel data set.

Note: Remittances displayed as the natural log of remittances per year.

migrants get older. With the migrants getting older, interests and motives on remittances also change. The significant variable *age of migrant* reflects this on the sample estimate, although it has a slight negative effect on remittance sending within a migrants' life course. The *investment* motive is highly related with migrants in advanced stages in the life course (see also Poirine, 1997). Those investments from 40 years onwards are in this case often transnational ones. Many migrants finance real estates in their countries of birth by remittance sending, even if they insist on Spain as their (new) home country.

For instance, Richard, today a restaurant owner with two dependencies in Madrid, explains his case very well at different stages in his life. He was one of the first Ecuadorians to arrive in Spain before the 1999 inflow (Figure 2.1, p.55). His first sending after arrival in 1992 and 1993 was payback for debts on travel expenditures under clear *exchange invest* motives. By 1998, his father started to construct a house. His monthly remittances were around 600 € to support the construction: “[...] 600 [€], as’, a veces más a veces menos, a veces nada...”¹³(M9, line 598). The motive of this sending was clearly *altruistic*. When his father died and his brother-in-law continued constructing the house in Ecuador, he changed his amount: “Ah’ se mandar’a por lo menos unos 1000 [€] mensuales...”¹⁴(M9, line 604). Richard stopped monthly remittances in 2005. However, in 2012, he and his wife started sending larger sums again:

“En septiembre... En noviembre, del año pasado, mandamos 100.000 [€].

¹³[...] 600 [€, monthly], roundabout, sometimes more, sometimes less, and sometimes none...

¹⁴There we sent at least 1000 [€] per month...

Y luego, este año en marzo, mandamos 30.000 [€]. Es que nos hemos comprado un terreno, y luego hecho la casa, y o sea, siempre estábamos mandando."¹⁵(M9, line 622-624)

After a break of 7 years, the motives to start remitting large amounts again are *investment* in their own future housing for retirement. As shown in Figure 2.3, the variances of remittances increase from 2011 to 2013. The changing remittance behaviours seems to now have clear (transnational) investment motives, and migrants sent larger single sums or higher amounts of remittances that led to a stable remittance flow over the years (see trend on mean in Figure 2.3).

Talking with the migrants on reasons for changes in remittance sending, many responded with reference to income reduction and unemployment in times of crisis. The crisis influenced the income of migrants in several ways, and aside from greater efforts to find work or to cope with situations of unemployment, the salaries also reduced significantly (see also Rincken, 2014; Martínez et al., 2015).

*"[...] del 2010 para acá, ya no hay cambio, o sea, ya todo se esta haciendo más duro... Ya no hay mucho trabajo."*¹⁶ (M15, line 201)

*"Sobreviviendo. Los que no estamos trabajando la pasamos mal, porque bueno, claro que tenemos familia. . . [...]."*¹⁷ (M16, line 52)

Many migrants in the sample refer to income drops by about 50% before times of crisis. Income reduction had several observable outcomes to the migrants' household that impacted in some cases remittance sending. First, money earned served more to satisfy basic needs and for payments on housing debt. In the sample, two male Ecuadorian migrants became homeless in Spain due to financial incapacity in serving loans longer (M3/M12). Several others expected to leave their houses soon as they stopped serving their mortgages. In such cases, remittances have been reduced to a non-avoidable minimum or to zero. The severe economic crisis in 2007 was the most dominant discourse not only in media but also in many of their daily conversations. Based on the assembled life courses, it was evident that most of them changed their behaviours more often within the life course and in relation to other variables like children, domicile changes, divorce, regularisation, (transnational) investments, saving needs or death of relatives in the country of birth.

The crisis might have a common trend in the sample, as it is a structural break in the data from 2008 onwards. Migration status played an important role on how the migrants

¹⁵*in September... in November, last year, we sent 100.000 [€]. And afterwards, this year in March, we sent 30.000 [€]. It's because we bought a piece of land, and then we built the house, let's be clear, we always sent money.*

¹⁶*[...] since 2010 until now, there's no change, or let's say, it's even getting harder. . . now there is not much work.*

¹⁷*Surviving. Those like us not working, we are suffering, because it's clear, we have families. . . [...]*

dealt with the economic effects of the crisis, and one of the most important answers was reflected in remittance sending (see also Assner, 2019, for the different responses to the economic crisis). After waiting for the crisis to pass, many migrants changed their value on future prospects in Spain and started preparing for their return. The cite from Richard above shows this behaviour. He started remitting larger amounts in 2012 again, with clear *investment* motive on real estate for his family (M9, line 622-624). During the crisis, a great share of Ecuadorian and Colombian migrants started to depend on subsidies. However, with limits set on subsidies, the crisis persisted:

*“Si, porque acabaron el paro, acabaron la prestaci-n del ayuntamiento y punto y no tienen nada. [...] han entrado en un callejón sin salida porque no pueden recibir ayuda de ningún tipo y están ahí.”*¹⁸(E6, line 225)

For this research, it is difficult to estimate if and to what extent the crisis has been a driver on those changing motives in remittance sending. What can be analysed in relation to migration status and remittances sent is that those with a secure residence could master crisis better and, hence, had better abilities to prepare their return with transnational *investment* sending. Not only because of formal access to governmental subsidies but also because their possible remigration to Spain was not endangered by missing documentation. The majority had already become Spaniards or had permanent citizenship.

Conclusion

This study focused on the changes in migration status, motives to remit and money sent. The research answered the question on how remittance sending is related to migration status changes. Parting from the two-tailed hypothesis of possible increase or decrease, this research contributes to the migration-development discussion on how regularisation influences remittances. This research follows Ecuadorian- and Colombian-born migrants in Spain over a period of 10 years using a mixed-method approach for a sample of expert and migrant interviews. With the selected life course perspective and a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, this research offers new insights on the competing arguments on possible increase or decrease of remittances through regularisation and residence. The results presented are based on qualitative data analysis for interpretation as also on a small-N fixed-effect panel estimate. The quantitative analysis makes use of computable information derived from 62 retrospective life course migrant interviews. Interpretations of the results were carried out with a sequential mixture of first qualitative for the orientation on the case, second quantitative to find general indications within the

¹⁸ *Yes, because the ran out of unemployment insurance, they end with town hall assistance and full-stop and they don't have anything. [...] they entered in a dead-end-road without support of any form and there they are.*

sample and a balanced mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods on the analysis and interpretation. The extended review from existing research summarises motives of *altruistic, investment, inheritance, exchange care and exchange invest* for frequent money sending.

The research revealed that each upward movement in residence permits leads to a 50% increased propensity of sending remittances. The results also show changes in motives to remit during the period. Effects of having (i) children and (ii) children with domicile abroad have been tested to be highly positive on the propensities of frequent remittance sending. This *exchange care* motive and *exchange invest* motive to pay back the migration cost are replaced by a wider array of motives on money sent to the countries of origin. After 2005, a mixture of motives such as altruistic, investment or inheritance sending replaced the first dominant motives. Family reunification through repatriation of children has a significant negative effect on remittance sending, since more children residing in Spain reduces the propensity to remit by about 90%. Within the sample, the effect of better job opportunities for family members and a change towards investment motives has tested to be stronger and kept remittance sending of migrants stable in their life course.

The qualitative and quantitative results clearly mark a relation between migration status and the remittance behaviour of Colombian- and Ecuadorian-born migrants. It is unclear to which extent the 2007 crisis effect could have been controlled with the methods used in this research. A panel data under similar conditions without crisis effect highlight different and still unobserved effects on the relation between status struggles and remittances in the life course of migrants. The differences between both selected groups should be interpreted with a careful eye, but the obtained results show that the country of birth also helps explain different remittance behaviours under similar conditions. With insights from the life course interviews and analysis of the data, this research gave indications to the importance of migration status in relation to propensities to remit.

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Chapter 3

Resilience in Crisis?

Gender Differences in coping with the Labour Market Crisis

The Case of Colombian- and Ecuadorian-born Migrants during the Spanish Great Recession

Introduction

The great economic recession from 2008-2013 has already provoked a wide variety of studies focusing on the labour market and the problems variously affecting different population groups. Spain, like other Southern European countries, has been addressed with a special interest of research in the strongly segmented labour market (Domingo and Gil-Alonso, 2007; Arango et al., 2009; Rodríguez, 2009; Esteban, 2015; Fellini and Guetto, 2019). The growing participation of female labour from 1995 to 2002, with large sectors of part-time and short-term contracts shifted interest towards the gendered effects in the labour market in Spain. This article contributes to this field of research by analysing the gendered outcomes in the labour market between 2003 and 2013.

In Spain the rise of female labour market participation coincided with the growth of Latin American immigration over the same period, reaching a peak between 2000 and 2002. The immigration model was backed by a receptive and open labour market strategy with low control and high flexibility. Spanish policies tracked the demand for cheap labour and implemented regulations according to the necessities of specific economic sectors. Flexibility and insecurity were often combined with hard, dirty work, mostly in specific segments of the labour market, and exchanged with lax government control in immigrants daily lives (Arango et al., 2009; Sabino and Peixoto, 2009; González-Enríquez, 2010; Maroukis et al., 2011).

The timespan selected for this article starts in 2003 with the period of economic prosperity (2003-2007). The onset of the global financial crisis from 2008 onward has been named the 'Great Recession' or simply 'The Crisis' with its repercussions in the Spanish labour market. In 2008 when the recession reached the Spanish labour market, the *rules of exchange* were questioned. Due to raising unemployment, predominantly designed as a political response for the Spanish voters (De Genova, 2013; Olmos, 2014), harsher policies implemented new rules and stricter controls, replacing the *laissez-faire* model (Arango et al., 2009). A variety of research has focused on the effects of the crisis on the flexible Spanish labour market (Manzanera-Román et al., 2017), including how changing *the rules of the game* during the Great Recession aggravated the situation for immigrants well-adapted to the Spanish *laissez-faire* (Esteban, 2015; Olmos, 2014; Rincken, 2014).

New policies imposed stricter migration controls, new admissions and limited access to public goods and health (see also Rios et al., 2018, p. 484). The spaces of action in daily life shrank due to declining income and shifting immigrant policies. The crisis accompanying those policies intersected at the dimensions of gender roles and family reproduction, and principally questioned the migration project in the life courses of immigrants. Short-term contracts, part-time work and loose enforcement that had helped augment female

participation in the Spanish labour market before the crisis had now become precarious for both genders but especially for foreign-born women (Fellini and Guetto, 2019; Muñoz-Comet and Steinmetz, 2020).

The core focus of gender research is on the changing female roles in society and labour market insertion during the Great Recession (Elson, 2010; Rubery and Rafferty, 2013; Galvéz Munoz and Rodriguez Modroño, 2016; Peterson, 2016; Fellini and Guetto, 2019). Gender inequality during that period has become a special research focus (Elson, 2010; Galvéz Munoz and Rodriguez Modroño, 2011; Galvéz Munoz and Rodriguez Modroño, 2016). Very few articles refer to the intersecting effects of gender and immigration during crisis (Muñoz-Comet, 2012; Peterson, 2016; Rios et al., 2018; del Rey et al., 2019; Muñoz-Comet and Steinmetz, 2020). Among them, Muñoz-Comet and Steinmetz conceive an intersectional perspective on migration and gender of 'utmost importance' to the understand of precariousness (2020, p. 3). This article aims to contribute to the gap of intersectional research with new insights on the work-life-courses of Colombian and Ecuadorian born migrants in Spain.

Migrants life course is closely tight to labour market participation, income security and socially upward mobility, as those motives are often the main drivers of their migration project. Mooi-Reci and Muñoz-Comet (2016), Dudel et al. (2018), M. Lozano and Rentería (2019) and Muñoz-Comet and Steinmetz (2020) have analysed the working life expectancy in Spain from different perspectives. While Dudel et al. and M. Lozano and Rentería focus on the whole of the Spanish labour force, M. Lozano and Rentería spent more attention on the gendered outcomes of working life expectancy in the Spanish labour market. Mooi-Reci and Muñoz-Comet compare natives and immigrants, while Muñoz-Comet and Steinmetz focus specifically on the female immigrant work-life course, compared to their native counterparts.

Labour market studies, including immigrants, use concepts of *precariousness* to conceptualise the gap between the male autochthonous work-life course - on the one hand, and the female immigrant work-life course on the other hand. With focus on Spain, the 2008 financial crisis has been analysed here for its impact on the immigrants work-life course in Spain. As previously described, the aim here is to integrate the dimensions of *informal* and *irregular* into the immigrants work-life course to shed light on the usually invisible aspects of the immigrants precarious working life. So far, the analytical scope of the research has used data solely for the formal *visible* work-life part (Dudel et al., 2018, p. 777), which neglects possible precarious but core survival elements of immigrants, especially in times of crisis. Precariousness detected by this research can only be described within a formal space as conclusions are based on accessible labour market data. Nevertheless, this 'formal precariousness' is of importance and may function as an indicator.

In the Latin American case, female migrants survived the crisis much better than their male counterparts (Herrera, 2012; Muñoz-Comet, 2012; Peterson, 2016; Rios et al., 2018). Surprisingly, most of the research cited so far relies on official data sets and surveys, such as the *Encuesta de la Población Activa* (EPA). Yet, informality and irregular residence had been *the rule* before the crisis. Such irregularities are of importance during and after crises as they may open new spaces of action, rescue and response to the crisis. Since, prior to the crisis women were often employed in arrangements between formal and informal space, any analysis considering the new role of women found in official statistics is likely to be somewhat skewed.

Hence, most research to date omits essential variables that would explain the abilities and behaviours in the course of the female immigrant work-life in Spain. Muñoz-Comet and Steinmetz (2020), for instance, conclude that by the use of human capital theory and segmentation theories, the gap in part-time job transition between native and immigrant females cannot be fully explained using the EPA data. Responding to the formulated gaps in research, this article centres around the question of which actions immigrant women took inside and outside the (in)formal spaces to perform in the labour market during the crisis. Answering to this question the hypothesis are the following:

- (i) The high number of part-time contracts at various (in)formal workplaces made women more flexible and resilient to the crisis.
- (ii) To confront the crisis, women augmented their participation in the formal labour market.

In answer to the research question, this article combines different sources of data. The small-N Colombian and Ecuadorian Born Sample (CEBS) data covers selected provinces with insights into all three spaces of (un)employment, (ir)regular residence and (in)formality for the period between 2003 and 2013. The sample was collected for this research and contains quantitative and qualitative insights. The official annual *Muestra Continua de las Vidas Laborales* (MCVL) from the Social Security system contains extensive information on the formal space covering all of Spain and has been appended into a panel for the same period. The careful blending of methods and the descriptive comparison of both data sets on the changes in the work-life courses reveal the augmented participation of female migrants in the labour market during and after the Great Recession starting in 2008. Women shifted from part-time to full-time work, making active use of informal arrangements at reduced numbers of workplaces. Male migrants were not able to change their jobs from the formal space to informality and a great share fell into real unemployment. Within both samples, the absolute numbers of male migrants were reduced in the unbalanced panels during the recession. The longer the crisis lasted, the more men became *invisible*, even in the analysis that was sensitive to informal and irregular spaces. To the best of my knowledge, no research has yet combined the *visible* dimension of the

formal labour market struggles with the usual *invisible* spaces of informality and insecure migration status. This article is a new contribution to the research debate having a longitudinal view using qualitative and quantitative insights with a methodological approach based on two different sources on work-life courses of migrants in Spain.

The following section discusses the concepts of precariousness and immigrant insertion into the Spanish labour market. Assembling a theoretical understanding of the work-life course matrix on different dimensions describing the three spaces of (un)employment, (in)formality and (ir)regular residence is the aim in this section. The discussion here creates the theoretical framework for how to analyse immigrant labour market integration in Spain. What follows in the third section is a presentation of the data. In combination with an extended segment in the annex, all steps are made transparent in the preparation of both the statistical data sets and the qualitative data analysis. Along with the data discussion, the methods used to combine the small- and large-N data sets are explained. The fourth section analyses the data and puzzles the quantitative and qualitative parts together to form a coherent picture on the selected case. The last section concludes and summarises the results as well as names the loose ends left open for future research.

Conceptualising Migrants' Spaces of Action in a Work-Life Matrix

The presence of Colombian and Ecuadorian migrants in Spain is the result of individual decisions on time and place. Economics is a science of human action and hence it is intrinsically related to real time and real space (Ikeda, 2007). Time seems the natural concept for any economic analysis. Human action is related to the time when it occurs, it is based on prior human action and impacts future decisions and actions. Space is also very important, but it is often less valued for its implications on human action. It is not only that human action is determined by the real place it happens, e.g. different possibilities in different cities. Spaces of action describe places and spaces of physical, social or juridical character that structure human action and interaction (Ikeda, 2007, p. 214). Walking through a Spanish city as an irregular, informal in-house worker provokes a different sense for the space and place as the same person picked up as a day labourer for harvest in a rural area and living in a migrant shelter. Hence, space in this sense is relational and individual and feels differently emotionally: it is constitutive for any economic or social behaviour in (re)shaping migrants' spaces of action in daily life. Spaces are of natural importance to understand economic action, as they describe the place in which supply and demand encounter each other. In this sense, (re)shaping spaces of action by political rules or social norms is to (re)define the space, place and size of the labour market.

The segmented Spanish labour market structure describes the spaces of action from migrants within the vector of economic sectors and occupations (Calavita, 1998; QUIT, 2011; McKay, 2013; Esteban, 2015). Fellini and Guetto (2019) for instance argue that segments tied to four economic sectors, including agriculture (the primary) and service (tertiary) receive the main share of migrants. Explaining such segmentation with migrant human capital and their (in)abilities to adapt to the qualifications required is widespread in classic economic theory. As Muñoz-Comet and others have shown, there is no empirical evidence why migrants in Spain significantly occupy specific sectors of the labour market (Reyneri and Fullin, 2011; Muñoz-Comet, 2012; Fellini, Guetto, and Reyneri, 2018; del Rey et al., 2019). The analytical scope proposed for this paper is, hence, to view sectoral or occupational segmentation as an outcome of political and social desire. An array of rules, norms and social codes try to limit the spaces of immigrants actions. The active role for migrants is to (re)shape and extend their spaces of action in line with or against rules and norms for their own better positioning into (ir)regular or (in)formal spaces (see also Assner, 2019).

Trespassing formal limitations, human economic action usually involves a riskier endeavour. Until 2007, 'irregular' residence and 'informal' employment in Spain was the rule (González-Enríquez, 2010; QUIT, 2011). Cheap migrant labour force was a vital part of Spanish households' everyday life (Maroukis et al., 2011; Iglesias-Pérez et al., 2018). Informal employment played a key role at many points in the daily lives of nearly every Spanish household (Reyneri, 2001; Andrews et al., 2011; Iglesias-Pérez et al., 2018). Residing without legal status in Spain had many fewer consequences for migrants daily life: it provided them with much greater capabilities compared to most of the other European states such as France, Germany, Belgium and even Italy (Reyneri, 2001; Turrión and Sala, 2010; González-Enríquez, 2010; Maroukis et al., 2011; McKay, 2013; Godenau, Vogel, et al., 2012). This public acceptance extended the spaces of action in everyday migrant life with critical status close to nearly legal status (see Figure 3.1). It is the effect of the 2008 Great Recession why the relational concept of space is selected for analysis here. Spaces of action may shrink significantly in some dimensions, but for others it may maintain or even augment. For instance, in times of crisis a special type of non-formal human capital comes into play: the knowledge of how to behave in the informal space of the labour market. Having already extended and practised the spaces of informality and irregular migration status during the economic upturn, it provided migrants with a special migrant capital to adapt to the crisis (Assner, 2019; del Rey et al., 2019).

Figure 3.1 illustrates the interrelated spaces of formality, informality and critical legal status in Spanish society. Critical legal status refers to real undocumented migrants, those with contract arrangements faking legal residence or other unstable liminal conditions (Menjívar, 2006). Here, economic action is limited only to informal space if no fake

Figure 3.1: Interrelated spaces of (in)formality and critical irregular status within the autochthonous and immigrant Spanish population



Source: Author's elaboration.

legal arrangement extends the space of action into the formal space. For the analytical view, a migrant faking legal contracts - as some reported in the interviews - is a legal migrant, as long as the 'fake' is undetected. Faking contracts is a valid matter of extending the spaces of action into the formal labour space, but it is liminal depending on the social norm of acceptance and control over such behaviour. The size of the informal and critical legal status space therefore adjusts to legal and social acceptance, and rules and norms over time. For Spain, the informal space before the 2008 crisis was large. Both spaces of informality and critical legal status underwent readjustments in extension and permeability. Research on informal economic action so far show that only the percentage of direct labour engagement differs between the autochthonous population and the immigrants. Less knowledge exists on the critical legal status space, specifically its size and the transitions between legal, informal and irregular residence.

Within informal and critical legal space norms, rules and basic principles lose ground in economic interaction. Social or economic interrelations within the extended informal market more often show characteristics of precariousness. Though precariousness is not a concept that describes only social or economic phenomena tied to the extended informal space, the probability of finding precarious arrangements here is higher due to reduced legal norms and less control. The conceptual understanding of precariousness for this article relates to a cumulative view of a person in the dimensions of Social Security, labour conditions and income in relation to the standard comparison group. If a person finds himself in a lower position due to not holding legal migration status, that does not automatically transmit directly into a precarious situation. The social acceptance from regular

contracts, and sufficient working hours at one workplace to ensure his income, reduces his undocumented status to 'low risk'. The analytical scope used for this article transposes the cumulative view of precariousness into a multidimensional and intersectional sum of social and economic positioning. The individual position of a migrant within each dimension depends on her or his abilities to use and augment the spaces of action.

Abilities are not equally spread among migrants. Formal and non-formal human capital, experiences and networks all play vital roles helping migrants to make use of their abilities to (re)shape their spaces of action. All of these abilities are time-variate and can be actively changed by migrants. Gender is different. Intersecting with the aforementioned abilities, sex is mostly invariate and plays an important role due to the ascribed roles in society and household. The women's role socially attributed to them is to care first and labour second (Herrera, 2005a; Quiceno, 2007; Elson, 2010; Herrera, 2012; Gutiérrez-Rodríguez, 2013; Triandafyllidou and Marchetti, 2013; Galvéz Munoz and Rodríguez Modroño, 2016). For immigrant women, the two roles merge. Their roles as carers are transmitted into their opportunities to enter the labour market. Hence, using Elson's analytical framework, the female immigrant's insertion into care and service occupations transfers part of the unpaid reproductive work from households to the immigrant's productive sphere. The informal insertion into the labour market rises at the same time (Galvéz Munoz and Rodríguez Modroño, 2011, p. 117). The women's role is as a flexible labour buffer in business cycle up- or downturns, giving employers the opportunity to protect their core labour forces (Rubery and Rafferty, 2013, p. 416). These two defined roles are augmented by the fact that women function as low-wage substitutes for jobs in the core labour force that have previously been more highly paid (Rubery, 1988; Rubery and Rafferty, 2013).

Galvéz Munoz and Rodríguez Modroño; Galvéz Munoz and Rodríguez Modroño defined three patterns of gender inequalities during times of crisis and economic recovery: (i) women are confronted with an intensification of work load, carrying the major burden of recovery; (ii) male employment recovers first after crises and, hence, the women's working situation becomes relatively more precarious; and (iii) many of the achievements pertaining to gender equality and insertion in the labour market diminish during recovery (Galvéz Munoz and Rodríguez Modroño, 2016, p. 134). As a result, immigrant women can be expected to face fewer opportunities to enter secure full-time occupations.

Transferring the theoretical considerations into an analytical approach, the matrix of precarious work and citizenship by Landolt and Goldring and Goldring and Landolt is further developed to a life course perspective (Elder, 1985; Wingens et al., 2011) and adapted to the Spanish case. With their matrix, Goldring and Landolt (2012) analyse how Latin American immigrants conceive 'precariousness' in the interrelated spaces of the formal and informal labour market determined by the space of their (ir)regular residence.

The matrix translates the conceptual idea of spaces of action into a possible system of multidimensional inclusions and exclusions. For the aim of this article the work and citizenship matrix has been transformed to one of analytical needs and dynamised with a longitudinal view on an important piece of the migrants' lifespan - their work-life course in Spain. Starting in 2003, when the main share of Colombian and Ecuadorean migrants arrived in Spain, the unbalanced work-life course matrix centres around the turning point of economic turmoil in 2007, then singling out 10 years of accessible information of migrants' total lifespans.

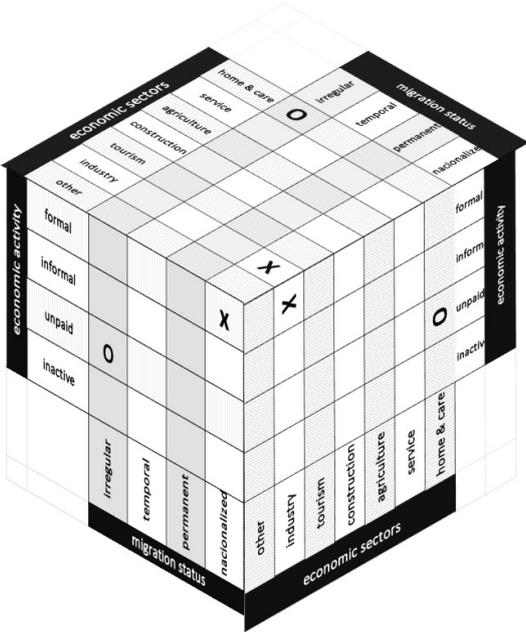
The life course perspective is a retrospective view of life history. More often applied in sociology, psychology and especially interdisciplinary migration research, it has been only slightly applied in economics. The life course perspective allows an analysis on the trajectories of migrants sensitive to social and economic factors, limiting structures and their individual embedded positions in the system of norms, rules and networks. The work-life course is an important share of the life course of migrants. The latter includes social and other spaces of action relevant to better understand the economic outcomes in the work-life course of interest for this analysis. The work-life course matrix relates the three spaces of interest: (un)employment, (in)formality and (ir)regularity. This analytical view allows migrants changes in one of the dimensions without imposing structural conditions on the others. For the analysis, the concept of dimension is used for the variables clustered for each of the three spaces of (in)formality, (il)legal residence and (un)employment.

Figure 3.2 visualises the static work-life course matrix at a selected point time i . Depicted by the examples at time i , migrant (x) is contracted in formal industrial work and nationalised. Migrant (o) works unpaid in care and has no legal migration status. Now adding to both migrants a dynamic view of time $i + t$ in their life course, it is imaginable to see how each migrant spans its own life course through the three spaces. Movements might depend on external factors but responses in the matrix will depend on the personal agency to realise changes in each of the spaces, individual attributes, structural barriers and the human capital to move inside those spaces.

Data sources and methodological considerations

The analysis of this article carefully mixes different methods and sources of data. The main aim of this methodological approach is to underscore the life course perspective on the individual trajectories of migrants in Spain from their arrivals in 2003 until 2013 (Wingens et al., 2011). The paper compares a self-collected small-N data set (CEBS) with the official MCVL large-N data set for quantitative and descriptive analysis. This descriptive data analysis is the selected strategy due to the gender-sensitive interest on variables of (i) (ir)regular residence and (ii) (in)formality crossed with (iii) (un)employment in the

Figure 3.2: Work-Life Course Matrix



Note: x/o = exemplified positions of a person in the matrix.
 Source: Author’s elaboration. Based on Goldring and Landolt (2012).

migrants work-life course.

In most of the research conducted to date, the EPA is used to analyse labour market behaviours and outcomes in Spain. The decision was to use the data of the MCVL instead of the EPA. The special advantages of the MCVL versus the more often used EPA is that data is created by automatic registration within the Spanish Social Security system. Hence, double workplaces, overlapping structures of multiple contracts with different workplaces, and diverse and changing hours, are registered according to the process using a server-based mask. There are some more relevant aspects why the MCVL seems more appropriate for this type of analysis, which are made transparent here.

With the anonymised *Identificador de Personas Fisicas* (IPF) it is possible to construct an unbalanced panel with more than one million affiliates (EPA: 170.000 based on 65.000 households). Second, individuals’ IPFs remain the same, even if the migrant has years of unregistered informal work or unemployment within their work-life course. The individual timeline is unlimited and depends solely on the affiliation in the Social Security system (with EPA, the maximum is six quarters). Third, the data set offers detailed insights to the days of registration with Social Security and, hence, the exact justification of *formality* by date, form, occupation, position, duration, place of work and legal billing, among other classifications. Additionally, it includes exact registration of the employers. One can conclude the precise numbers of long or short contracts within one year, as well

as how many different workplaces a person had at the same time. In this way, the MCVL sample gives a very good and detailed overview on all the formal activities in a selected work-life course.

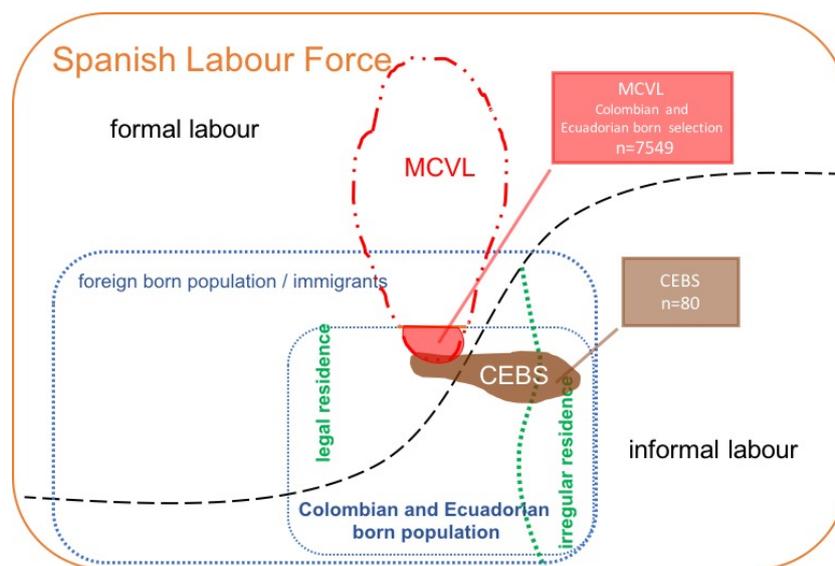
Women are integrated in official labour data, but they tend to be represented differently. As Elson has pointed out (2010, p. 206), women often disappear in official statistics, as those statistics represent formal sector jobs. If unemployed due to less formal working possibilities, women often do not even appear in unemployment statistics, although they might have been previously engaged in some formal arrangements. In the same manner Rios et al. (2018, p. 467) mention slight under-representation of women as they often tend to work informally. Addressing those imperfections was crucial in the selection of data and methods to better understand economic outcomes at the individual and the aggregated national levels. Within the CEBS the intersecting characteristics - being *women*, *informal* and *irregular* migrants - are actively included and comprise the core motivations for sampling the CEBS data.¹ The idea is to shed light on these three intersecting characteristics by interrelating the information of the CEBS with the MCVL data at levels of analysis and interpretation.

Figure 3.3 shows how the Spanish labour force is divided into the formal labour force and the usual *invisible* informal labour force. For example, the CEBS sample is limited exclusively to the subgroup of immigrants born in Colombia and Ecuador. The size of the rectangle and the line separating formal and informal are only approximations of the proportions. Visible in Figure 3.3, both data sets overlap in the formal sphere. A comparison of both data sets is shown in Table 3.9. Extended information on the variables, the descriptions, the sources and some statistics are given in the annex (see p. 109). Both data sets include only the Colombian- and Ecuadorian-born populations in Spain. While the CEBS does include some common *invisible* characteristics and may give detailed information through qualitative in-depth analysis, the MCVL covers the full territory of Spain. MCVL data includes only *visible* formal labour information but is statistically more reliable with respect to the large number of observations and the full geographical selection process of individuals. If the large-N MCVL, with 7549 individuals, is reduced to the same geographical coverage as the CEBS, the number of individuals (n) shrinks to 3503 -46% of the total MCVL, also confirming with that high percentage the selection of the provinces for the CEBS research.

This paper follows an integrated, four-step methodology. The **first step** was to use qualitative information to guide the collection of qualitative and quantitative interview insights for the CEBS data. The **second step** was to extract computable data from the semi-structured interviews to obtain the CEBS panel data set. The **third step** was to search and transform a data set to interrelate with existing CEBS data. To be able to

¹See the detailed description of CEBS data sampling in the annex, p.109

Figure 3.3: Visual comparison and interrelation of MCVL and CEBS data sets



Source: Author's elaboration.

Note: Sizes are graphically optimised visualisations and do not represent actual proportions. The dashed separation between formal and informal space is not linear due to its flexible character and the (re)shaping effects of legal and societal action over time.

compare the MCVL with the existing CEBS panel data, the third step includes the transformation of the yearly cross-sectional data sets into a computable panel.² Comparing the CEBS with the MCVL data making use of descriptive analysis and the integration of qualitative insights for better interpretation is the **fourth step**. This approach entails the actual search for ways to address data or methodological shortcomings, find solutions that make new insights possible that would not otherwise be achieved, or that make first results more reliable.

The strategy follows a mix of methods at different stages of work. Using the categories of Creswell, Clark, et al. (2003), the *implementation* of analytical methods is sequential, starting with qualitative orientation. In terms of *priority*, the power is equal between qualitative and quantitative methods. Between both data sets, the *priority* depends on the precise interest in coverage or in specific spaces of action. For orientation and interpretation of results, final power is given to the qualitative insights to better frame and interpret the quantitative outcomes. Hence, the *integration* of qualitative and quantitative results remains at levels of preparation, analysis and interpretation.

As an analytical strategy this paper will first follow the dimensions within the work-life courses obtained from the MCVL. The CEBS data is related to those insights afterwards.

²The steps taken to transform the MCVL and form the unbalanced panel are described in the annex, p.109

Both data sets are contrasted with qualitative interview insights. One should consider the process of descriptive comparison between MCVL and CEBS data as an additional level of *integration* in analysis. Every step taken within the mixing of data and methods has the clear aim to ensure a higher level of quality and to enable new, formerly unattainable analytical insights.

Gendered *visible* and *invisible* resilience in the Labour Market

As most researchers have detected, migrants are concentrated in specific economic branches, occupational categories and sectors. This form of segmentation in the labour market is relatively stable through all the years in consideration (Calavita, 1998; Hierro, 2013; Muñoz-Comet, 2012; Esteban, 2015; Dudel et al., 2018). Despite the common use of four economic sectors, this research is based on more detailed sectoral and specific occupational category differentiation. Occupational sector is the concept used to redefine more precise occupational groups within one of the common primary, secondary, tertiary or quaternary economic sectors. For the tertiary sector, for instance, it is easily shown why four sectors hinder detection of the concentration of migrants: while they work in all fields of food preparation, tourist services and care, migrants are concentrated. The opposite happens for banks, insurance and IT staff. The mean of migrant workers' share in classic sectors would eliminate occupational specifics. Hence, the analytical power with respect to migrant labour market segmentation is lost if sectors are not grouped in more detail and with respect to existing knowledge on occupational concentrations.

The *visible*, gendered coping with the Great Recession

Backing the occupational sector concept with MCVL data from 2007 - the last year before the Great Recession - the distribution serves here as a descriptive approximation using redefined categories for times of prosperity. Concentrations of the male Colombian- and Ecuadorian-born labour force with more than 5% density can be found (starting with the highest, percentages in brackets) in: construction (17.2), trading of vehicles (13.8), agriculture (13.1), (public) transport (7.2), restaurants & hotels (7.0), and publishing, copying and printing (5.1) (year 2007, MCVL, 2020, see Table 3.1, p. 87). Some 5.6% of male workers depend on employment agencies. Those seven occupational sectors count already for 69% of the male migrants labour force. What is already new here, most researchers working on Latin American immigration to Spain have drawn attention in sectors like agriculture and construction for men during crises. To the best of my knowledge, none has mentioned why trading vehicles is of special importance for migrant male employ-

ment. This might be due to the fact that the focus here lies only on Colombian- and Ecuadorian-born migrants. Ecuadorian-born males account for 66% of this occupational segment.

The sectoral picture changes with women. Female Colombian and Ecuadorian migrants can be found in concentrations of more than 5% in domestic service (18.9%), restaurants & hotels (14.5%), facility cleaning (12.3%), agriculture (8.6%), care work (7.2%) and (public) transport (5.2%). Employment agencies add 5.5% as a special occupational sector. For men and women alike, employment agencies play an important role with similar percentages. A bit more concentrated than men, those seven selected sectors amounted to 72.4% of the total female labour force in 2007.

Within sectors, migrants face different obstacles, even within formalised labour arrangements. The sum of migrants' workplaces - on average - is higher than the Spanish average for the same years (MCVL, 2020). This might have two reasons: First, migrants need to change jobs more often. Some sectors like construction, care work and agriculture are known for higher fluctuations and several job contracts at the same time, even with native-born workers. Still, even within the 'stable' sectors with fewer fluctuations for the autochthonous population, migrants face a higher probability of job loss. Hence, they change employers more often over the years (see Table 3.1, p. 87). Secondly, higher proportions of job changes may also be a result of precarious job arrangements. Contracts and hours are flexible and non-permanent with reduced hours. Many of those with several workplaces also tend to have short contracts of less than a year. Additionally, Spanish labour law explicitly allows a type of permanent contract with interrupted and flexible character (*indefinido, interrumpido*). This special contract only counts for formalised work, based on the employee 'called' to work. This regime seems in numbers of less importance. Under this regime, women, primarily, are engaged for exclusive long-term contracts, although they may have one or two short-term contracts (Table 3.3, p. 92; first column (0), 1 & 2 short contracts, female). As a matter of survival and resilience to those intersecting obstacles, migrants arrange several contracts with different employers. This phenomenon of *agglomerated contracts* is more common in those sectors where migrants are concentrated (see Table 3.1, p. 87).

Table 3.2 shows the numbers of female migrant contracts by year and length of term. Starting with summary statistics, the number of migrant contracts per year runs counter to the business cycle. The longer the crisis, the more contracts per migrant/year were registered (orientation for Table 3.2 in brackets: column, subcolumn, row. Here: Total, per n). From 2010 onward, contracts per migrant reverted to pre-2007 levels. For the whole period, the share of formal registered female labour rose to a peak of 62% in 2011 (Total, n). The share of contracts with terms of more than one year was stable until 2007 with approximately 27% of all contracts issued. This share rose to a peak

Table 3.1: Distribution of migrants in detailed economic sectors and number of workplaces

MCVL 2007 detailed economic sector	workplaces and sex															Total			
	1			2			3			4			5+			Sum		in %	
	f	m	total in %	f	m	total in %	f	m	total in %	f	m	total in %	f	m	total in %	f	m	f	m
agriculture & food supply	144	102	5,8%	146	185	18,8%	32	76	20,5%	3	9	11,3%	2	2	17,4%	327	374	8,6%	13,1%
textile and leather	29	26	1,3%	3	1	0,2%			0,0%			0,0%			0,0%	32	27	0,8%	0,9%
wood and paper	13	13	0,6%	2	2	0,2%			0,0%			0,0%			0,0%	15	15	0,4%	0,5%
chemical & petrol industry	11	25	0,8%	1	2	0,2%			0,0%			0,0%			0,0%	12	27	0,3%	0,9%
metal industry	9	35	1,0%		1	0,1%		1	0,2%			0,0%			0,0%	9	37	0,2%	1,3%
computer and electronic	3	11	0,3%	1	1	0,1%			0,0%			0,0%			0,0%	4	12	0,1%	0,4%
electronic industry		7	0,2%			0,0%			0,0%			0,0%			0,0%	0	7	0,0%	0,2%
vehicle industry	3	14	0,4%		2	0,1%	1		0,2%			0,0%			0,0%	4	16	0,1%	0,6%
furniture & wooden goods	4	15	0,4%	1	2	0,2%			0,0%			0,0%			0,0%	5	17	0,1%	0,6%
machine maintenance	6	12	0,4%			0,0%			0,0%			0,0%			0,0%	6	12	0,2%	0,4%
utility infrastructure	14	16	0,7%	1		0,1%			0,0%			0,0%			0,0%	15	16	0,4%	0,6%
construction	18	302	7,5%	7	132	7,9%	2	40	8,0%		13	12,3%		5	21,7%	27	492	0,7%	17,2%
trading of vehicles	19	292	7,3%	6	77	4,7%		20	3,8%		3	2,8%		2	8,7%	25	394	0,7%	13,8%
wholesale & retail	118	77	4,6%	33	19	3,0%	8	5	2,5%	1		0,9%	1		4,3%	161	101	4,2%	3,5%
(public) transport	182	160	8,0%	21	28	2,8%	3	13	3,0%		2	1,9%		2	8,7%	206	205	5,4%	7,2%
postal service		7	0,2%	2	3	0,3%		1	0,2%			0,0%		1	4,3%	2	12	0,1%	0,4%
hotel, touristic & restaurant	416	151	13,3%	119	38	8,9%	16	10	4,9%	1	1	1,9%			0,0%	552	200	14,5%	7,0%
publishing, print & design	90	98	4,4%	23	31	3,1%	6	15	4,0%		2	1,9%			0,0%	119	146	3,1%	5,1%
data, IT & communication	13	17	0,7%	1	4	0,3%	2	2	0,8%			0,0%			0,0%	16	23	0,4%	0,8%
banks, finance & insurance	29	14	1,0%	7	8	0,9%			0,0%		1	0,9%		1	4,3%	36	24	0,9%	0,8%
real estate & administration	6	3	0,2%	4		0,2%			0,0%			0,0%			0,0%	10	3	0,3%	0,1%
accounting & consultancy	25	7	0,8%	7	5	0,7%		4	0,8%			0,0%			0,0%	32	16	0,8%	0,6%
architecture & engineering	3	4	0,2%		2	0,1%			0,0%			0,0%			0,0%	3	6	0,1%	0,2%
science and research	5	5	0,2%		1	0,1%			0,0%			0,0%			0,0%	5	6	0,1%	0,2%
rental service	37	23	1,4%	14	14	1,6%	5	5	1,9%		2	1,9%			0,0%	56	44	1,5%	1,5%
employment agency	78	46	2,9%	87	58	8,2%	30	42	13,7%	11	10	19,8%	2	3	21,7%	208	159	5,5%	5,6%
administration	69	30	2,3%	48	32	4,5%	16	6	4,2%	6	4	9,4%	1	1	8,7%	140	73	3,7%	2,6%
education	36	9	1,1%	14	8	1,3%	3		0,6%	1		0,9%			0,0%	54	17	1,4%	0,6%
medical care work	82	33	2,7%	19	10	1,6%	6	1	1,3%			0,0%			0,0%	107	44	2,8%	1,5%
care work	181	15	4,6%	65	4	3,9%	18	3	4,0%	8		7,5%	3		13,0%	275	22	7,2%	0,8%
sports, arts & leisure	62	37	2,3%	45	15	3,4%	15	5	3,8%	2	3	4,7%	1		4,3%	125	60	3,3%	2,1%
domestic service	487	44	12,5%	186	17	11,5%	40	8	9,1%	5	3	7,5%	1		4,3%	719	72	18,9%	2,5%
in-house service	17	12	0,7%	2	3	0,3%			0,0%			0,0%			0,0%	19	15	0,5%	0,5%
manufacturing industry	8	34	1,0%			0,0%		1	0,2%			0,0%			0,0%	8	35	0,2%	1,2%
security & investigation	9	11	0,5%	2	4	0,3%		3	0,6%	1		0,9%			0,0%	12	18	0,3%	0,6%
facility cleaning	264	54	7,5%	147	36	10,4%	45	18	12,0%	11	3	13,2%	2	2	17,4%	469	113	12,3%	4,0%
Total	2490	1761	100,0%	1014	745	100,0%	248	279	100,0%	50	56	100,0%	8	15	100,0%	3810	2856	100,0%	100,0%

Source: Author's elaboration. Based on MCVL data.

Table 3.2: Changes of long and short contracts over years and shares of female labour

MCVL migrants		Number of Contracts per Year											Summary			Total			
		< 1 year (short)											>1 year (long)			short	Sum long	total	n
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10-289	1	2	3-6					
2003	total	1,604	692	392	246	137	60	49	33	22	98	3,043	95	3	8,838	3,242	12,080	4,704	2.6
	female	55.2%	53.3%	48.0%	50.4%	59.1%	51.7%	51.0%	69.7%	63.6%	72.4%	56.3%	48.4%	33.3%	57.5%	55.8%	6,893	56%	2.6
2004	total	1,669	773	435	278	177	92	53	42	33	126	3,506	125	3	10,302	3,765	14,067	5,159	2.7
	female	57.1%	51.7%	54.9%	52.5%	56.5%	54.3%	47.2%	71.4%	69.7%	73.8%	55.9%	51.2%	33.3%	60.1%	55.5%	8,283	57,7%	2.8
2005	total	2,141	878	519	292	191	109	68	49	39	137	4,316	137	2	12,180	4,596	16,776	6,401	2.6
	female	57.7%	52.6%	56.5%	51.4%	56.5%	61.5%	52.9%	69.4%	74.4%	78.8%	56.6%	54.7%	50.0%	62.7%	56.5%	10,235	58,7%	2.7
2006	total	2,192	941	567	350	196	117	79	65	33	162	4,813	150	3	13,424	5,122	18,546	6,604	2.8
	female	56.9%	54.8%	54.3%	56.3%	62.8%	61.5%	57.0%	75.4%	72.7%	78.4%	57.3%	56.0%	33.3%	63.8%	57.2%	11,496	59%	2.9
2007	total	2,162	1,007	627	365	240	111	90	70	44	190	5,076	180	5	14,919	5,451	20,370	6,831	3.0
	female	56.3%	56.4%	56.8%	57.3%	61.7%	57.7%	61.1%	64.3%	65.9%	80.5%	57.2%	59.4%	40.0%	63.8%	57.3%	12,644	58,8%	3.1
2008	total	2,115	992	658	372	213	136	90	60	46	231	5,321	210	7	15,881	5,762	21,643	6,916	3.1
	female	55.6%	57.1%	54.6%	54.8%	58.2%	60.3%	62.2%	73.3%	60.9%	80.5%	57.3%	61.9%	42.9%	64.2%	57.6%	13,516	58,7%	3.3
2009	total	2,046	972	547	373	222	119	79	50	39	229	5,439	242	6	15,241	5,941	21,182	6,812	3.1
	female	55.5%	57.8%	53.9%	56.0%	55.0%	52.9%	54.4%	70.0%	69.2%	76.4%	57.8%	60.7%	50.0%	62.2%	58.0%	12,932	58,6%	3.2
2010	total	1,816	839	447	266	173	96	71	47	31	172	4,996	223	7	12,298	5,463	17,761	6,245	2.8
	female	56.7%	58.4%	53.7%	59.0%	54.3%	55.2%	53.5%	68.1%	71.0%	76.2%	58.6%	59.6%	57.1%	62.0%	58.6%	10,823	59,3%	2.9
2011	total	1,135	499	287	157	98	66	38	34	20	113	2,573	123	3	7,535	2,828	10,363	3,563	2.9
	female	59.6%	56.3%	54.0%	51.6%	52.0%	50.0%	50.0%	61.8%	70.0%	69.0%	59.9%	66.7%	66.7%	57.0%	60.5%	6,008	62%	2.7
2012	total	1,100	466	241	142	73	54	36	25	18	96	2,483	161	20	6,625	2,872	9,497	3,409	2.8
	female	61.3%	56.9%	53.1%	54.2%	46.6%	57.4%	55.6%	64.0%	50.0%	60.4%	60.4%	77.0%	90.0%	55.3%	63.0%	5,470	61,5%	2.6
2013	total	962	368	206	116	55	39	37	11	21	89	2,279	156	20	5,657	2,658	8,315	3,127	2.7
	female	56.8%	58.7%	53.9%	52.6%	50.9%	59.0%	48.6%	72.7%	61.9%	58.4%	60.2%	78.8%	90.0%	56.5%	63.2%	4,877	59,4%	2.6
Total	total	18,942	8,427	4,926	2,957	1,775	999	690	486	346	1,643	43,845	1,802	79	122,906	47,706	170,612	59,771	2.9
	female	56.9%	55.7%	54.2%	54.6%	57.1%	57.0%	55.1%	69.3%	67.1%	75.0%	57.7%	61.9%	68.4%	61.4%	58.1%	103,177	58,9%	2.9

Source: Author's elaboration. Based on assembled MCVL, 2020 panel data.

Note: Short contracts have been calculated from exact Social Security registration dates with less than 360 days, even if their terms stretch over the turn of the year. The numbers here are not based on the legal understandings of *temporal* contracts. All contracts are counted once they cross the turn of the year.

Percentages in subgroups have not been weighted to the yearly total share of female contracts.

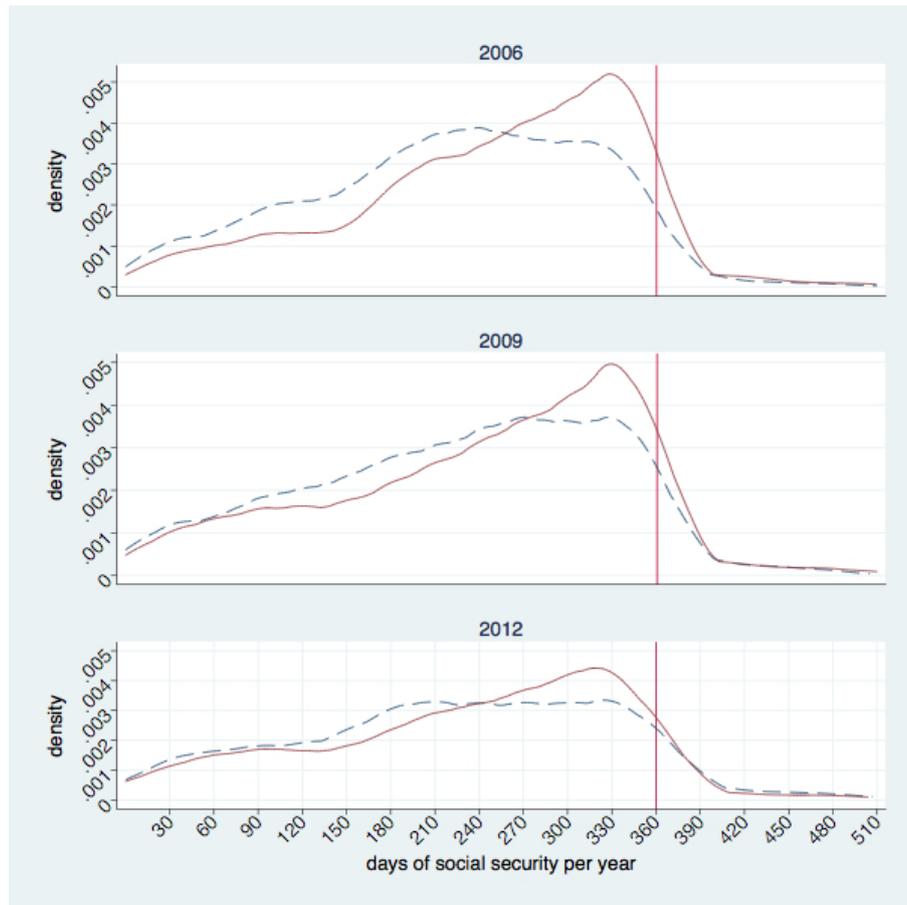
of 32% in 2013. Following this trend, the share of women holding long-term contracts correlated with this trend, as shares of 56% rose to about 63% in 2012/2013 (Sum, long, female). Visible here, the shares of women holding short- and long-term contracts have been inverted between 2005 and 2012 (Sum, short & long, 2005/2012). This is rooted in the phenomenon of female migrants holding two or more long-term contracts. Those shares of female migrants rose, especially after 2008 (>1 year, 2 & 3-6 contracts, female).

A total of 289 migrant registrations within one year were counted as short-term contracts (<1 year, 10-289). The great share of migrants held two to three short-term contracts per year (see Total, per n). The share of female labourers with short-term contracts each year followed an exponential distribution of concentration. If weighted by the female share in the migrant labour force, short-term contracts are balanced according to gender from five to eight short contract. With numbers of more than eight short-term contracts, the female share is rising exponential. Percentages of 55%-60% of females can be found with low numbers of contracts and higher shares with up to 80.5% at very high counts of short-term contracts per year. If crossed with occupational categories, very high shares of more than 50 contracts per year play a crucial role for female migrants contracted by employment agencies in facility cleaning and care work. Except for employment agencies, those occupational sectors are often addressed in research as precarious female labour (Herrera, 2005a; Rubery and Rafferty, 2013; Triandafyllidou and Marchetti, 2013; M. Lozano and Rentería, 2019). The dimensions to add to this picture are twofold: (i) the information on the number of workplaces as shown in Table 3.1 (p. 87), with distributions varying between gender and years, and (ii) the working time on each registered contract.

Using the EPA data between 2008 and 2016 Muñoz-Comet and Steinmetz (2020) have followed part-time contracts as one dimension of precariousness between immigrants and native workers. Their main interest is on the transition from part-time contracts towards full (un)employment. Their results indicate first, that female immigrants seem to have the lowest contracted hours but, second, seem to promote better from part-time to full-time employment. Comparing Muñoz-Comet and Steinmetz results with Table 3.2 and Figure 3.4, there is a similar trend visible within the rising share of female migrants in long-term contracts and the transformation of densities towards 360 days of Social Security per year (days of Social Security per year: DOSSY). Figure 3.4 shows the changing density of female migrants along three selected years of Social Security (2006, 2009 & 2012). Visible for all migrants is the change from more pronounced density-peaks for part-time jobs around 180 to 210 days and full-time jobs around 310 to 330 days. For female migrants, the part-time peak was higher than the full-time in 2006 but density changes from 2009 to 2012 were more evenly distributed. The harmonising densities for male and female migrants in 2012 could be interpreted as the effects of the crisis on males, as they struggled to achieve more hours or subsequent short-term employment. On the other

hand, the rise in the density of full-time employment and the nearly constant density between 180 and 330 DOSSY for women in 2012 underlines the already discussed findings in Table 3.2 (p. 88) and the results obtained by Muñoz-Comet and Steinmetz using EPA data. Figure 3.4 gives argument to the promotion of women towards more formal full-time employment over the years.

Figure 3.4: Distribution of Formal Work by Sex in 2006, 2009 and 2012



Source: Author's elaboration. Based on MCVL, 2020 data.

Note: female = dashed line, male = solid line

Days of Social Security are only full day counts. Part-time contracts are weighted by their arranged hours when registered in the original MCVL data matrix. Density is calculated as kernel-density. The line has been cut at 510 days to exclude outliers with more than 510 days.

Surveys usually classify workers into categories of part-time and full-time. With comparing migrant positioning in Tables 3.2 and 3.1 it becomes clear that a migrant holding two part-time contracts at two workplaces might be conceived to be working full-time by viewing the days of Social Security at the end of the year. In surveys and interviews, migrants might claim themselves as part-time, which is true, when regarded as one contract. Summing up two part-time jobs would mathematically end up as full-time but

when asking migrants they insist of being called part-time, giving credit to the situation that migrants count the time for each contract separately for each workplace. My own experience in the field with CEBS has shown that the requirement of triangle questions on different events in a migrant's life-line reveal multiple contract arrangements. Migrants often conceive one labour relation as the principle and others as secondary. It was common in many interviews that the second or third contracts were mentioned after having already talked for some time.

Summing up 170 short-term contracts with varying hours at each workplace might result in sum as working hours of full-time employment. Most would agree that the latter form of employment is precarious and a completely different work-life course than just holding one full-time employment contract at one workplace or two part-time jobs at two workplaces. Condensing as much as the aforementioned dimensions into a preliminary matrix view, Table 3.3 (p. 92) shows the intersections of formal arrangements within the labour market. Joining information on the numbers for each contract term, the number of contracts, working time, the mean number of workplaces per year to each category and the differentiation by gender might appear awkward, but it approximates the complexity of the reality of migrant work-life courses without omitting core compositions and variable dimensions in the (un)employment and formal spaces.

In Table 3.3 the rows show the numbers of short-term contracts. Each row is subdivided into lines on terms of contracts and one line on the average number of workplaces for the corresponding number of short-term contracts. The first line in each row counts migrant with *part-time contracts*, singling out those holding full-time contracts. Except for the first row with '0' short-term, part-time shows just migrants with long-term, full-time contracts. The second line shows the migrants holding *permanent contracts*. As permanent contradicts short-term, every value apart from the '0' column referred in this line shows any kind of additional long-term contract.³ The third line in each row counts migrants working under the special condition of *permanent, but interrupted* contracts. The fourth line shows the average of *workplaces* related to the quantities of short- and long-term contracts. This is an indicator of the combinations of part-time, full-time, short-term and long-term contracts with different employers as well as on changes of workplaces during the selected years. Horizontal, table 3.3 sorts the values in columns corresponding to quantities of long-term contracts.

In 2006 most female workers had a variety of part-time contracts (Table 3.3, 2006, 0/1 long-term, see part-time). Many of those holding part-time jobs had at least one additional long-term contract (2006, 1 long-term, rows part-time). A greater share of

³The numbers of contracts within categories of "permanent" have been registered within the social security system under the code of permanent contract. As short- and long-term is a calculation based on the month worked with same employer, the numbers counted here may have also be a result of employer change within the same year.

Table 3.3: Multiple labour arrangements: terms of contracts and workplaces

MCVL		long-term contracts, >1 year												Total														
		0		2006		2 (3)		0		2009		2(3)		0		2012		0		1		2		3+				
				f	m					f	m					f	m			f	m					f	m	f
0	part-time permanent p., interrupt workplaces			181 385 1 1.6	43 61 1 1.6	23 3 1 1.4	8 16 1 1.9		72 69 18 1.2	37 92 6 1.3	499 375 16 1.2	127 49 4 1.3	64 1 2 1.3	21* 14 9 1.9	59 49 9 1.1	34 36 9 1.2	244 197 7 1.2	72 155 1 1.3	50 4 1 1.6	8 3 3 1.3	284 274 40 1.2	118 294 17 1.3	1255 947 32 1.3	311 265 7 1.4	81 6 3 1.5	28 36 2 1.8	2 2 2 2.0	5 15 2 1.2
1	part-time permanent p., interrupt workplaces	153 156 13 1.3	47 166 2 1.4	512 375 9 1.4	112 61 2 1.4	4 1 1 1.5	18* 14* 1 2.0	72 69 18 1.2	37 92 6 1.3	499 375 16 1.2	127 49 4 1.3	64 1 2 1.4	21* 14 9 1.9	59 49 9 1.1	34 36 9 1.2	244 197 7 1.2	72 155 1 1.3	50 4 1 1.6	8 3 3 1.3	284 274 40 1.2	118 294 17 1.3	1255 947 32 1.3	311 265 7 1.4	81 6 3 1.5	28 36 2 1.8	2 2 2 2.0	5 15 2 1.2	
2	part-time permanent p., interrupt workplaces	138 9 14 1.7	41 121 3 1.8	33 161 4 1.6	88 227 2 1.6	24 4* 2 1.4	14 7* 2.2 2.0	19 25 7 1.5	42 12 3 1.4	22 184 9 1.5	499 375 16 1.2	127 49 4 1.3	64 1 2 1.4	21* 11 11 2.0	69 24 2 1.4	33 37 9 1.5	138 59 76 1.4	59 76 5 1.5	49 1 3 1.7	1 1 1 1.7	226 99 79 1.6	99 229 23 1.7	213 404 17 1.5	159 331 6 1.6	131 10 17 1.7	36 21 6 2.1	8 2.0	
3	part-time permanent p., interrupt workplaces	138 42 2 2.0	4 81 6 3.0	322 6 2 1.7	55 128 4 1.8	4 2 2 2.0	7 7* 2.0 2.0	73 22 28 1.8	22 48 48 1.9	36 48 93 1.4	48 93 4 1.4	127 49 142 1.7	64 1 4 1.8	21* 4 1 2.1	43 3 4 1.5	9 26 2 1.5	24 37 9 1.6	59 76 5 1.4	21 33 2 1.6	2 3 1 2.2	216 50 81 1.8	50 155 15 1.7	475 130 4 1.5	136 307 7 1.9	56 6 1 1.9	16 6 1 2.2	12 1 1 2.5	2 1 1 1.5
4	part-time permanent p., interrupt workplaces	18 27 1 1.9	39 57 2 2.4	237 5 1 1.9	33 65 2 2.6	9 3.0		58 17 6 1.7	14 43 1 2.4	34 61 78 1.7	48 2 2 1.6	4 2 2 1.7	6 4 1 1.8	4 2 2 2.3	4 15 5 1.5	5 22 2 1.6	24 37 9 1.4	59 76 5 1.4	21 33 2 1.6	6 1 1 1.4	190 45 35 1.9	45 68 72 2.4	450 90 55 1.7	66 108 82 1.9	49 3 4 1.9	8 6 5 2.3	9	
5	part-time permanent p., interrupt workplaces	113 19 1 1.9	18 35 2 2.4	172 24 1 1.9	23 25 1 2.3	4 3.0	1.5	53 13 3 1.9	22 26 2 2.7	221 32 24 1.6	32 38 4 1.9	48 4 4 1.5	4 4 2 2.0	2 2 2 2.0	24 5 7 1.5	5 11 7 1.9	57 19 1 2.0	11 11 1 1.5	6 1 3 2.0	1 1 1 1.0	2.7 2.4 2.3 2.6	2.4 1.8 1.6 2.1	450 66 55 2.0	66 82 4 1.6	49 4 5 1.6	8 5 2 2.1	9 2.0	
6	part-time permanent p., interrupt workplaces	75 12 1 2.3	7 23 1 2.9	94 1 1 1.6	13 16 1 2.2	19 3.0		3 16 4 1.6	16 19 2 1.7	15 7 21 1.7	7 15 7 2.0	7 19 1 1.5	7 2 1 2.3	15 7 2 6.0	13 4 6 2.2	4 35 8 2.4	2 2 8 1.3	35 2 8 2.3	2 3 8 2.3	20 3 2 2.0	91 27 22 2.3	27 42 42 2.6	146 30 30 1.6	30 3 51 2.1	38 3 2 1.8	3 8 1 3.7	8 1.0	
7	part-time permanent p., interrupt workplaces	46 5 1 2.3	13 16 3 2.4	117 3 1 1.9	13 11 1 2.0			23 4 9 1.8	14 9 9 2.0	73 28 16 1.7	28 2 1 1.6	2 1 1 1.7	2 1 2 2.0	2 1 2 2.0	27 2 2 1.4	2 6 3 2.8	26 1 6 1.4	1 6 3 1.8	3 6 6 2.0		96 10 1 1.9	29 27 15 1.8	216 42 15 1.9	42 33 2 2.3	2 4 1 2.0			
8	part-time permanent p., interrupt workplaces	83 8 1 1.8	7 7 3 3.0	86 1 4 1.8	2 4 1 2.0	18 1 1 2.0	1	33 4 5 1.7	7 5 6 2.1	19 5 5 2.1	5 6 5 1.0	6 1 1 2.0	6 1 2 2.0	12 6 4 1.4	6 36 1 4.5	12 4 1 2.0	36 1 4 2.0	6 4 4 2.0	6 6 2 2.0		128 14 1 1.8	20 16 8 2.8	141 7 13 1.7	7 13 1 2.7	30 1 2 1.6	1		
9	part-time permanent p., interrupt workplaces	46 2 1 2.8	2 2 1 2.0	47 5 3 1.8	8 3 1 2.2			33 2 2 1.6	3 2 2 2.0	75 7 5 1.3	7 5 2 1.8	7 1 1 2.5	7 1 1 1.0	7 5 1 2.5	7 4 2 1.0	7 2 3 2.8	28 1 3 1.5	1 4 2 1.8	1 3 3 1.8		79 5 8 2.2	10 8 1 2.6	150 14 11 1.5	16 11 2 2.2	7 1 1 2.5			
10-50	part-time permanent p., interrupt workplaces	293 23 3 2.2	53 9 2 2.7	488 22 1 1.8	44 1 1 2.7	17 1 1 2.5	34	358 21 13 6 1.7	73 13 34 2 2.3	125 16 1 1.8	81 1 1 2.0	3 34 16 1.3	81 1 1 1.3	3 16 2 1.3	123 8 9 1.8	87 8 9 1.8	159 8 14 1.6	43 1 1 1.8	27 1 1 2.5	29 1 1 2.5	774 52 31 1.9	213 31 64 2.3	1373 64 31 1.6	212 31 2 1.8	125 1 2 2.1	66 2 2 2.5		
51+	part-time permanent p., interrupt workplaces	48 2		145				153 25 1	25	57	63		186	58 1				201 211 2	211			260 1		63				
Total	part-time permanent p., interrupt workplaces	1151 305 34 1.7	231 517 6 1.9	2434 988 19 1.4	434 602 7 1.4	122 11 1 1.7	86 39 3 2.0	878 208 41 1.5	258 321 11 1.7	2087 1301 45 1.2	460 997 17 1.3	452 20 4 1.6	82 52 4 1.9	336 110 24 1.4	401 158 12 1.6	1177 676 25 1.2	292 605 5 1.3	222 13 1 1.7	54 18 5 1.8	2365 623 99 1.6	890 996 29 1.8	5698 2965 89 1.3	1186 2204 29 1.4	755 44 6 1.6	200 106 12 2.0	41 3 2 1.9	22 3 1 1.6	

Source: Author's elaboration. Based on MCVL, 2020 data.

Note: Values in first line '0' part-time are migrants holding only full-time contracts. Workplaces are different employer on average for migrants within each cell. '1' contract with more than 1 workplace reflects change of employer during year.

* In 2003, 2006 & 2012 the very few numbers of migrants with more than 3 long-term contracts have been added to those with two contracts. The information on three contracts is shown separately in the total sum column

female migrants held up to 10 or more short-term contracts per year. Women change the picture between 2006 and 2009. Best visible in the total sum are female labourers who shifted their part-time and short-term contracts to more permanent jobs with at least one long-term contract (2006 to 2012, 0-3 long-term contract, rows Total, permanent). The numbers of female and male workers with several part-time contracts increased in 2009, with 726 female labourers (10% of the sample's total workforce) holding 10 and more part-time, short-term contracts with one additional long-term contract. The mean of the workers here was at least two workplaces. In 2012, the majority of female labourers held a comparable level of long-term contracts compared to their male counterparts, but the majority shifted to part-time work (2009, 1 long-term, f&m, rows Total sum, part-time & permanent; compared to: 2012, 1 long-term, f&m, rows Total sum, part-time & permanent). This observation is in line with the distribution in the density graphs on DOSSY shown in Figure 3.4 (p. 90).

Within this analysis of the formal employment space, the precariousness with high numbers of part-time, short-term contracts and arrangements of multiple workplaces rises. Some indications of gendered precariousness can be drawn from this table. First, within the selected dimension of part-time work, mostly female migrants appear. Combined with the numbers of short-term contracts, it is evident that more often women have short-term, part-time contracts. Within the years of economic turmoil (here selected with 2009) they augmented their workloads, as seen by the rising sum of long-term, permanent contracts combined with high numbers of short-term contracts (2009, 1 long-term, rows part-time & permanent; compared to 2006). These results support the formulated second hypothesis on the augmented participation of female migrants in the formal space during the crisis.

To better understand the complex interplay of the dimension between the different work-life courses of the migrants and the changes and adaptations made within the 10 year life course, a panel has been estimated. Table 3.4 lists the variables with their estimated coefficients and the statistics for the three different random-effect estimates and two fixed-effect estimates specified with the model. The time span between the whole period and two random effect estimates have been split at the structural break of the Great Recession in 2008 (model 1a,1b). The fixed effect model has been estimated on the completed sample to better find the effects within the migrant life course, with special interest in the female work-life courses. The specified models cover a good fraction of the variance between the migrants' life-courses as the R^2 ranges between 24 and 34%. The focus is on searching for explanations in comparing the estimates.

The working hours agreed to with their different terms, can explain more than 50% of the DOSSY (0/1 variable with coefficient around 180). Muñoz-Comet and Steinmetz have argued with their discussion of results, that the integration of different workplaces is essential to conclude on the (un)employment outcomes of work-life-courses (2020, p. 15).

Table 3.4: Explaining days of Social Security in the work-life course matrix

	M1	M1a	M1b	M2	M2a	
days of Social Security	2003-2013 between	2003-2007 between	2008-2013 between	2003-2013 within	2003-2013 within (female)	
sex	12.68*** (1.634)	18.17*** (1.864)	8.07*** (2.007)			
age of migrant	1.14*** (0.070)	0.91*** (0.094)	0.89*** (0.094)	1.72*** (0.128)	2.14*** (0.172)	
short term	2.17*** (0.092)	2.22*** (0.142)	2.13*** (0.126)	2.13*** (0.102)	1.92*** (0.137)	
long term	48.99*** (0.84)	41.93*** (1.112)	57.04*** (1.278)	46.72*** (0.9)	51.50*** (1.177)	
full time (percent of)	184.99*** (2.902)	183.76*** (4.427)	178.23*** (3.789)	172.68*** (3.137)	175.83*** (3.527)	
term of contract	4.80*** (0.334)	4.72*** (0.448)	4.888*** (0.506)	3.76*** (0.363)	3.522*** (0.448)	
workplaces	19.87*** (0.545)	17.66*** (0.676)	21.71*** (0.865)	17.26*** (0.572)	15.72*** (0.831)	
economic sector	-1.57*** (0.327)	-2.47*** (0.424)	-2.07*** (0.502)	-0.84** (0.355)	-0.71 ()	
	N	55293	28390	26903	55293	31704
	n	7526	6887	7333	7526	4353
Observation	per n	1-11	1-5	1-6	1-11	1-11
	average	7.3	4.1	3.7	7.3	7.3
correlation	u_i/X_b				0.05	-0.01
R^2	within	0.145	0.132	0.156	0.146	0.177
	between	0.337	0.241	0.297	0.307	0.282
	overall	0.194	0.176	0.221	0.175	0.178

Source: Author's estimates. Based on MCVL panel data.

Note: *** = $p < 1\%$, ** = $p < 5\%$, * = $p \leq 10\%$.

The integration of numbers of workplaces here and the significant coefficient underpins this conclusion. The detected tendencies from this coefficient between migrant work-life courses are that, in times of crisis (2008-2013), more workplaces tend to assure a higher count of DOSSY (M1a/b). For women, the explanatory power from workplaces on their DOSSY is less within their work-life course (M2a) than it is for the total number of migrants (M2). The effect is higher between migrants in times of crisis (M1b). The findings here contradict the formulated first hypothesis, as women seem not to profit from their workplace diversification in times of crisis. Returning to the findings of Muñoz-Comet and Steinmetz, they conclude that segmentation theory is not sufficient to explain female immigrant precariousness in part-time jobs. For the sample here, the ranked variable on economic sectors is insignificant to explain changes on DOSSY within female migrants' work-life course. In contrast to this observation, the economic sector can, to a small degree, - explain variances in DOSSY between the total of migrants work-life courses. This makes sense, as construction and agriculture were among the booming sectors before the crisis. With the recession, though, the remaining male migrants had to change sectors or became 'invisible' to this sample due to their unemployment. Here the argument may support the formulated first hypothesis, as women did not have to change

sectors. Hence, the explanatory effect of workplaces on their DOSSY is not significant, due to lower variance.

As already discussed with the findings in the formal work-life course matrix (Table 3.3), long-term contracts should explain variances in the DOSSY due to the different outcomes, especially between male and female migrants. The explanatory power rises significantly during the crisis (M1b) and also explains changes on the DOSSY within female work-life courses (M2a). The migrant genders play a key role in understanding the changes in DOSSY, as the estimates also demonstrate. Being female changes a lot in times of crisis, or as Estefania has put it, “[...]. *prácticamente no hay nada. Si hay, para mas que todo para las mujeres, pero de internas, cuidando a personas mayores.*”⁴ (M3:92) Whereas, before the crisis, being male had an high explanatory impact on the variances of the DOSSY, the impact was less than half after the crisis (Table 3.4, 0/1 variable, female=0, M1a/b). In line with the visualisation in Figure 3.4 on the DOSSY distribution over the years, and the results from research (Muñoz-Comet, 2012; Mooi-Reci and Muñoz-Comet, 2016; M. Lozano and Rentería, 2019; Muñoz-Comet and Steinmetz, 2020), being women or men determines a lot of how migrants can confront the crisis in the formal and *visible* space.

Unseen resilience? Searching *invisible* coping strategies in the labour market

The CEBS data has more dimensions and especially the space of (ir)regular residence to add to the complex formal work-life course matrix analysed to date. Although limited in geographical range and numbers of observations, the CEBS data allows me to visualise what is not visible in the MCVL data. Table 3.5 shows the detailed sectoral engagement of the migrants in the CEBS data by their (in)formality and migration status in 2007. (compare with Table 3.1, see p. 87) Hence, this table turns the matrix of formal work-life course into a holistic work-life course, as the missing dimensions of informality, irregular residence and declared unemployment are added. From the sample approximately 18% of the migrants in 2007 were unemployed.⁵ The sectoral distribution of the migrants coincides with the distribution from the MCVL, as female migrants have been sampled in wholesale & retail, hotel & restaurants, care and domestic services as well as facility cleaning (compare Tables 3.1, p. 87 & Table 3.5, p. 97). Differences between in-house and domestic services might be explained, as the term '*de interna*' - as Estefania also

⁴Practically there is nothing. And if there is, it is mostly for women, in-house, looking after the elderly (M3:92).

⁵This percentage might show an over-representation of unemployed migrants, as sampling was done during the daytime when employed migrants were usually at work. Measures of specific afternoons, evenings and intense weekend sampling and at pick-up places for day labourers were taken to minimise this effect.

used it - could stand for domestic and in-house either. Some 20% of the migrants worked informally in 2007 and, with 55% (39 migrants), the majority hold a form of temporal residence status.

Vulnerable due to the temporality of their residence status and the probability especially for male migrants of falling into unemployment during crisis, precarious work and citizenship stretched from several part-time, short-term contracts at several workplaces to the field of informal work with often similar characteristics. For some of the migrants it added just more workplaces and contracts within the *informal space*. For other migrants the *informal* space of action is where they mainly built their work-life courses. Following the work-life courses, Table 3.6 (p. 98) illustrates how female labour responded differently in times of crisis. First, informal labour rose directly after the crisis hit in 2008. Second, combining the picture with MCVL data (Table 3.3, p. 92) female workers augmented their contracted work time in almost every field. Most remarkable, female labourers arranged more permanent, full-time contracts in times of crisis than previously (2009+2012/2007, 0 and 1 long-term contract, row Total). Hence, female workers arranged shifts from their part-time contracts into full-time, long-term contracts in times of economic recession. Male migrants were unable to reduce their predominantly full-time jobs to part-time. Consequently, they fell into real unemployment, as charted in Table 3.6.

The difficulty lies in how to analyse the multidimensional life-courses with constant movements in-between (il)legal, (un)employed and (in)formal spaces for the migrants within the theoretically-developed *cube*-type work-life course matrix (see Figure 3.2, p. 82). So far, three important dimensions have been described and analysed. First, the space of formal work, with all the dimensions of different possible arrangements as shown with the MCVL data. Second, the informal action intersects with work, but in a new space, as it offers not only backstop options for those falling out of the formal space, it is also the only dimension that irregular migrants can connect to with any dimension in the space of labour. In addition, different from the formal dimensions of rules and regulations on the labour market, with informality there are no official rules and regulations, just socially defined norms and practices. Third, there is the space of citizenship and migration status. Formal and informal labour spaces intersect on this space, as also migration status determines to a certain degree how migrants are able to move within this space.

Hence, there are three detectable core spaces, of which the first has been analysed using the MCVL data. The CEBS data delivers the information on the two missing spaces of migrants' daily life-course. The data is connected to the insights from the large-N by using movements in and out of the formal space as the link between both data sets. There is a probability that migrants included in the CEBS data are also included in the MCVL data (see Figure 3.3, p. 84), as any movement inside the formal space would be

Table 3.5: Distribution of migrants in detailed sectors, (in)formality and migration status

CEBS 2007 detailed economic sector	migration status, (in)formality and sex									Total										
	without		temporal		informal		permanent		informal		national		informal		total		informal		in %	
	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m
real unemployment	1		2				1	2						4	2			12.9%	5.0%	
agriculture & food supply		1						1							2		2		0.0%	5.0%
metal industry								1							1				0.0%	2.5%
construction		2		12		1		3			1			18		3		0.0%	45.0%	
wholesale & retail			3		2		1			3		1		6	1	2		19.4%	2.5%	
(public) transport		2		1			1	2						2	4		2		6.5%	10.0%
hotel, touristic & restaurant		1		5		1		1						5	3		1		16.1%	7.5%
accounting & consultancy											1				1				0.0%	2.5%
medical care work										1			1				1		3.2%	0.0%
care work			4											4					12.9%	0.0%
in-house service			4		2									4		2			12.9%	0.0%
manufacturing industry							1		1		1				3		1		0.0%	7.5%
security & investigation	1													1	2	1			3.2%	5.0%
facility cleaning			2		2					2		1		4	3				12.9%	7.5%
Total	2	6	21	18	4	1	2	12		1	6	4		31	40	5	10	100.0%	100.0%	

Source: Author's elaboration. Based on CEBS data.

Table 3.6: Matrix of employment, migration status, (in)formality and working hours

CEBS		migration status and years															Total																	
		without			temporal			permanent			nationalized			2006			2009			2012														
		2006	2009	2012	2006	2009	2012	2006	2009	2012	2006	2009	2012	f	m	sum	f	m	sum	f	m	sum												
f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	sum	f	m	sum													
informal	unemployed		2	1		3		2	3		1	1	1	6	0	1	8	9	1	1	2													
	education				1										0	1		1																
	part-time		1	1	1			1		4		1	1		0	3		3	2	6	8													
	full-time	2	4	4	2	2	1	1	1	1	2		1	1	1	1	1	1	4	6	10	6	5	11	4	5	9							
	total	2	4	5	4	3	3	1	1	1	3	9	2	2	3	8	4	6	10	11	13	24	7	12	19									
	in % (Total)				6	11	20	25	17	20	33	20	27	60	18	20	15	89	15	18	16	31	32	31	19	38	28							
formal	unemployed				1	2		1	3		4	1			2	2	4		7	1	8													
	education				2			1	2		2				1	1	1		3	1	4	3	1	4										
	part-time				1		2		2	2					1	1	2		1	2	3	2	5	7										
	full-time				15	16	8	1	3	4	2	8	2	6	2	4	4	3	9	7	12	5	21	27	48	19	23	42	17	13	30			
	total				17	17	12	12	5	4	2	8	4	8	7	6	4	3	9	8	17	1	23	28	51	25	28	53	29	20	49			
	in % (Total)				94	90	80	75	83	80	67	80	73	40	85	82	84	85	11	85	82	84	69	68	69	81	63	72						
	Total	2	4	5	4	3	3	18	19	15	16	6	5	3	8	5	11	7	15	4	3	11	10	20	9	27	34	61	36	41	77	36	32	68

Source: Author's elaboration. Based on CEBS data.

registered in the data used to extract the MCVL sample.⁶ The transformation used to bring the information from those three spaces to a workable two-dimensional expression transposes the three-dimensional matrix to:

$$\sum_{k=0}^{12} Matrix_{i,t} = un/employed_{i,t} + in/formal_{i,t} + ir/regularstatus_{i,t} + sector_{i,t} \quad (3.1)$$

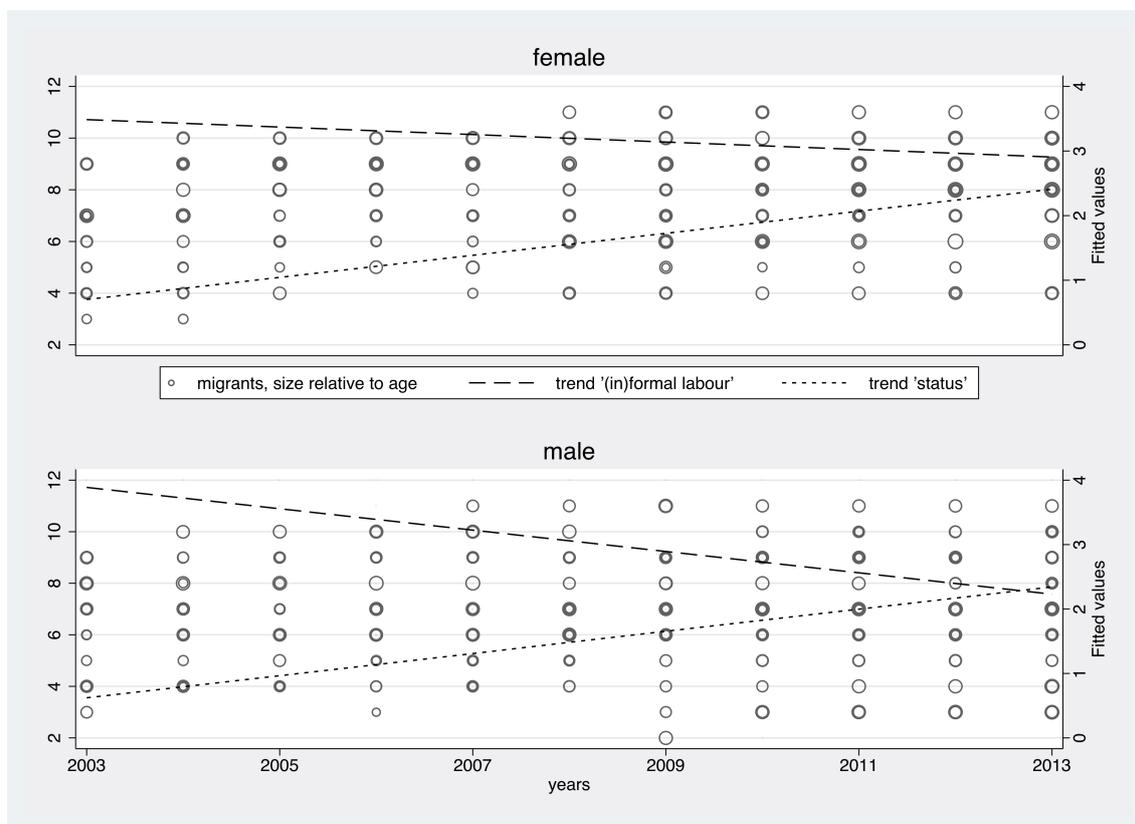
where i represents the single migrant in the work-life course t from 2003 to 2013. The variable values are ordered, as the minimum of 0 is the *irregular, informal or unemployed*, hence the least desirable and presumable 'most precarious' from each space. The variables to form the matrix-sum are shown in Table 3.7 (p. 110). In line with the definition of precariousness for this article, the possible precarious situation of each migrant results from a multidimensional product of inclusion and exclusion within the spaces of action. The calculated matrix-sum is an approximation of the assumed level of precariousness and should not be understood as a fixed measure. The aim here is to add missing dimensions to the understanding of precariousness in analysing the work-life course of migrants.

The resulting two-dimensional matrix has been plotted by year in Figure 3.5. The information has been split by gender for better comparison. Each migrant's position in the matrix is represented by a dot with its size relative to age. The darker the agglomerated dots, the more migrants are concentrated in these positions of the transposed matrix. In addition to the scattered dots of the calculated matrix, two trend lines have been fitted on the additional y-axis (right side). The upper line shows both dimensions of *un/employed* and *in/formal* condensed as a trend over the years (\sum 0 to 4, see detailed description in Table 3.7). The lower line is the trend just on status over the years (\sum 0 to 3). The latter results are identical for both genders, but the trend on the labour and informality visualises what can also be observed by the single dots in the graph, as well as in Table 3.6 (p. 98) from different perspectives. Shown with the MCVL data and correspondingly visible here, male Colombian and Ecuadorian migrants have a much higher propensity to drop in the (in)formal and (un)employment space (male graph, dots at levels <4 from 2008 onward). Figure 3.5 keeps them visible: migrants ranging in levels of two to four (left y-axis) fail to move in dimensions of employment and/or formality. This can be concluded because of the opposing general migration status' upward trend and the fact that any form of employment would add to the matrix- \sum , shifting them to higher ranks.

Before turning to the further analysis of the female work-life course some observation with regard to their male counterparts seems appropriate here. Visible in Figure 3.5 the male range at the *lower levels* in the matrix. They lost ground within their work-

⁶There are at least four migrants of the CEBS data that coincide with the basic information found on migrants in the MCVL. With the anonymised IPF no definite match could be verified.

Figure 3.5: Migrants' Positions in the Work-Life Course Matrix: (Un)employment, (Ir)regular Status and (In)formality



Source: Author's elaboration. Based on matrix calculations with CEBS data.

life course matrix after the crisis in 2008. Essential is the dimension of unemployment crossed with the space of (in)formality; formally unemployed are those men having no other (in)formal work but are officially unemployed. Those registered under informal unemployment do receive unemployment payments but still work in some informal labour arrangements. Leonardo describes his situation of unemployment: "*Si, tirando por ahí escombros, construcción, pintura, lo que salía. A veces amigos que me llaman por ahí, un día, dos días, tres días... A veces [...].*"⁷ Table 3.6 shows men appearing in the dimensions of unemployment from 2008 onward.

Some researchers have already claimed the time after 2008 as the 'mancession' (Bargain and Martinoty, 2018). Very little proof has been offered so far for the informal space. Moreover, to date, very little research has added provable empirical scaffolding on the idea how migrants coped with the crisis, as most of the research is based solely on the formal space. Based on Table 3.2 and Figure 3.5 it is clear that men hit by the crisis within the

⁷"Well, carrying demolition material, construction, painting, what turned up. Sometimes friends called me there, one day, two days, three days... sometimes [...]."

formal space did not shift directly into the informal space. As the director of *Rumiñahui*, the Ecuadorian migrant organisation in Spain put it: “[...] *y la construcción que todo es parada entonces todos los Ecuatorianos, miles de Ecuatorianos se van al paro. Y todo el mundo cree que el paro y la crisis, ah, son dos años. El paro para cuanto tiempo tenes? ¡dos años! [...]*”⁸ Most male migrants waited for the crisis to pass as is visible in the disappearance in MCVL data (see Table 3.3), p. 92) and the shift towards informal unemployment in the CEBS data (Table 3.6, p. 98). Men started working informally in 2009. As legal status renewal was strongly related to sufficient DOSSY per year, as denoted in the CEBS data three male migrants lost their legal residence and went into the irregular status space due to missing formal income opportunities (Table 3.6, without, 2009/2012, row informal unemployment).

Women seem to have better confronted the crisis, as seen in the visualisation of the work-life course matrix in Figure 3.5. After the crisis, migrants could maintain a higher level in the matrix-sum. Women also became unemployed in the aftermath, but to a far less degree. It is not completely clear from this analysis, if women better resisted the crisis because of their different settings with several (in)formal workplaces or because they were able to augment their part-time contracts, as visible in Table 3.3 (p. 92). The second hypothesis must be rejected in part, as the role of formality and informality is difficult to evaluate. Within interviews, where the theoretical defined spaces of (in)formality overlap in daily practice, many migrants reported formal contracts with informal shares, and vice-versa. Most common appears to be the practice of men at agriculture sites, where the harvest is one day formal and one or two following might be informal. Employer promised to fulfil the DOSSY needed to renew the legal residence but decided if the migrant was formally registered or not. This practice of in-between status was mentioned in similar fashion by other migrants working in cleaning, construction or security.

The number of workplaces where women were engaged seems, on average, to have been fewer - at least for the formal space displayed in Table 3.3. The interviews revealed how women tended to span their space of action within the labour market in-between various employers, and formal and informal engagement at the same time. As the example of Milady exemplifies: “... *estuve trabajando en varias empresas de limpieza y todo eso. [...] ... en los de limpieza y eso me cotizaban algunas veces. [...] Otras veces me decían, hay una obra para limpiar. [...] formal e informal.*”⁹ With all the insights from both data sets and the qualitative analysis done with respect to the multi-sited workplace strategy, it seems that women might have an advantage through their augmented network

⁸ “[...] *and construction and everything has come to stop. That’s why all the Ecuadorians, thousands of Ecuadorians went into unemployment. And the whole world thought the unemployment payments and the crisis, oh, both two years. The unemployment insurance for how long you receive? two years!*”

⁹ “... *I worked in several commercial cleaning companies and such [...] ... for the cleaning and such they enrolled me sometimes formally [...] Others told me, there is a construction site to clean. [...] formal and informal.*

of (in)formal workplaces. The high number of part-time contracts seems to foster arguments on more precarious labour market arrangements (as visible in Table 3.3). Womens' performance in the work-life course matrix gives argument to the first hypothesis.

Response to both hypotheses is formulated carefully, as the declining numbers of Colombian- and Ecuadorian-born migrants in the MCVL sample over the years might cover the important phenomenon of re-migration or other forms of migration. The European Union opens up new opportunities to migrants in times of crisis when they hold forms of nationalisation or permanent residence. The main group of migrants included in the CEBS data held permanent residence (29=37%) or were nationalised (31=39%) from 2011 onward. Research like this focuses on nation states like Spain as data availability is organized inside nation-state containers, but labour mobility and migration, especially in times of crisis, surpasses those borders of statistical visibility. Answers given to the hypotheses might therefore ignore core strategies within migrants work-life courses that are beyond the scope of this article. Circular migration, transnational risk-management and other settings have been mentioned by several migrants during interviews. The question of how migrants integrate their transnational ties into their work-life course is an open one for future research on labour market crises.

Conclusion

This article followed the life course of Colombian- and Ecuadorian-born migrants in Spain. The interest was on the different gender abilities to confront the labour market crisis from 2008 onward. Claimed as 'mancession' and with research predominantly based on official data and within *visible* arrangements of formal labour, women performed differently and with less unemployment in the crisis than did men. The aim of this article is to give new insights on this topic by using data on the heretofore neglected informal space. The developed matrix of work-life course helped in the theoretical understanding and also guided the analysis. Consisting of three independent spaces of (in)formality, (ir)regular residence and (un)employment, the matrix allows for movements of migrants within one space without conditioning the others. This specific analytical tool allows for new insights and comparison of in-between situations common to migrants residing in Spain. The motivation of the article is to explore how women performed differently in the labour market and which dimensions they used to perform better in times of crisis. The first hypothetical argument is that, because more part-time jobs existed in different workplaces, women were better able to diversify and resist the crisis. Second, men did not actually disappear from the labour market but rather from the official statistics. Men resisted the crisis in informal arrangements.

The data used for this research stems from two main sources. Official registration

data from the Spanish Social Security system has been combined with a small-N data set, including information on informality and irregular residence. A four-step mixed method approach has been carefully implemented in the case of Colombian- and Ecuadorian-born migrants. The official data set has been extracted from the total sample of more than one million affiliates. The data from the small-N has been carefully transformed from interview timelines into categorical variables. Both data sets have their shortcomings, which explains why the mixing of both was combined with qualitative research that contrasted with the first results. Dimensions of part- and full-time have been contrasted with short- and long-term contracts. Visible in this structure, female migrants shifted their contracts from short part-time to permanent long-term, full-time contracts. The exact calculated number of days in Social Security has been used to estimate the explanatory power of contract regimes, showing that the strategy of having more workplaces at the same time secured more days of formal work per year. Before the crisis men were able to secure formal labour market integration within specific occupational sectors, while during the crisis, being men meant a higher risk of dropping out of formal space.

Hence, the formulated hypothesis that more diversification helps in times of crisis needs to be rejected in part. From the data, the opposite actually occurred. It is a loose end to take up with future research. Did women profit from their contacts made with different employers during times of prosperity that helped them to better transform to full-time employment during the crisis? A greater share of men disappeared not only from visibility in formal labour data, but also from the Spanish work-life course matrix sensitive to unemployment and informal labour. The second hypothetical answer to the research question must be rejected in part, as some migrants entered informal labour, while a share just disappeared completely. As the geographical focus is on Spain, with the data at hand it could not be completely answered if re-migration, new forms of circular migration or other forms of life course adjustments explain the disappearance of Colombian- and Ecuadorian-born men. Future research interest should widen the scope and follow the life course, even if migrants span their transnational matrix.

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Annex

Data Sources and Transformation

The Colombian and Ecuadorian Born Sample (CEBS) data consists of 80 migrant and 11 expert interviews. It contains the personal, family and labour information of Colombian and Ecuadorian born migrants in their most popular provinces of Madrid, Valencia, Alicante and Santa Cruz de Tenerife in Spain. Based on own simple estimates on the number of irregular migrants using *padrón* data, the sampling avoided oversampling or under-representation of both characteristics within the small-N (see Assner, 2019; González-Enríquez, 2009, for the estimation method). For a proper sampling the questionnaire and access strategies have been tested in late 2013. The main number of interviews has been carried out in spring 2014 with an improved questionnaire and an adjusted access strategy. This unbalanced set covers a period of ten years from 2003 to 2013 derived *ex-post* from the interviews. The sampling and data extraction and transformation method is fully described in the annex (p.109). The CEBS includes information on specific situations during the migrants' life course. Obtaining information on informality, residence (ir)regularities and different combinations of non-formal behaviours during the life-course creating *spaces of in-between* is the main advantage of this data set combination with in-depth interviews (Assner, 2019).

The large-N source is the Continuous Work History Sample (*Muestra Continua de las Vidas Laborales*, MCVL) provided by the Spanish ministry of inclusion, social security and migrations (MCVL, 2020). The data origin is the social security system with its affiliates. The MCVL sample is a yearly extract of about a million affiliates rendered anonymous. Same as in the small-N data set, the MCVL includes personal, family and labour information - but all within the formal sphere. Additionally it contains information on the employers, the company structure, size and legal form. For the sake of this research the cross-sectional data of 2003 has been carefully appended by the cross-sectional data of the subsequent years. Detailed information on the data preparation, the creation and transformation of variables is given in the annex (p. 109). The resulting individual time-lines of anonymous affiliates were transformed to a panel covering the period from 2003 to 2013. The number of affiliates included in the panel has been reduced to 7549 individuals born in Colombia and Ecuador. Of those 1512 cover the total period of 11 years, all other display different patterns of unbalanced integration into the panel. For better comparability with the existing CEBS similar variables have been generated from the MCVL data. The coverage of both samples within the Spanish Labour Force is exemplified in Figure 3.3.

Small-N data from CEBS sample

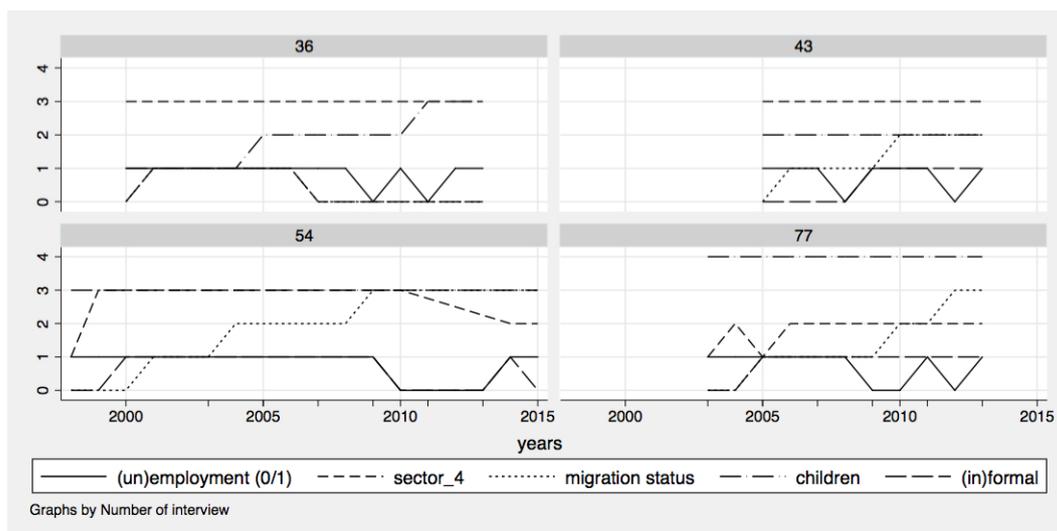
The data for the small-N panel was gathered in the Spanish provinces of Madrid, Valencia, Alicante and Santa Cruz de Tenerife in 2013 and mainly 2014. The access to the 80 migrant interviewees followed a sampling strategy of *en-passant* in (sub)urban migrant quarters and active address at community serving infrastructure. For the places of encounter *ex-ante* research has been carried out where different groups of the Colombian or Ecuadorian born population can be accessed. The sampling of the life-course interviews is based on methodologies developed in anthropology, sociology and psychology (Wingens:2011aa; Clausen, 1998). Football pitches, markets, bakeries, cafes and other leisure places as well as pick up places for harvest, construction sites and entrance of consulates have been approached to include a good and representative sample on the composition of the migrants' populations. Each migrant interview consisted in a personal and family information part on individual characteristics such as age, date of arrival, marital status, number of children, current (un)employment and legal status. All interviews have been taped and notes have additionally been taken by hand. The interviews included a specially designed part on which the life-course was reassembled *ex-post* since migrants' arrival in Spain. Special questions assured the control on the extracted information. As well an graphical overview on the life-course with hand-drawn annotations of events to a time-line visualizing in this way their own life-course during interview. The small-N quantitative data set was derived from the markers/events in the interviews as event history analysis (EHA) proposes the construction of time-lines from life-courses (Mayer and Tuma, 1987; Allison, 2004).

The data preparation for analysis was twofold. For quantitative analysis the different information from the time-line have been translated into categorical variables. The observations in the variables result from the extraction and transformation of basic informations (time-invariant) and every event/change in the migrants' life-course within the defined categories (time-variant). Figure 3.6 visualizes the transition within variables according to the events registered on the time-line. From the total of 80 migrant interviews a carefully selected sample of 16 interviews have been fully transcribed. The transcription of the 16 interviews has been coded in an open coding system. The qualitative data analysis is used to guide this research, and within methodology to back up, contrast and actively search for contradictions to possible findings within quantitative analysis.

Large-N data from MCVL-Sample

The large-N panel used for this analysis is an carefully appended data set from 10 different cross-sectional MCVL data sets for the years 2004 to 2013 distributed by the Spanish ministry of inclusion, social security and migrations (MCVL, 2020). The data sets

Figure 3.6: Example of selected interviews with variables as time-lines



Source: Author's elaboration. From CEBS panel data.

Table 3.7: CEBS variables description

Variables		mean	std. dev.	Min	Max	
matrix-sum	overall	7.00	2.03	2.00	12.00	N = 823
	between		1.50	3.56	11.00	n = 75
	within		1.44	1.69	10.83	\bar{T} = 10.97
employ	overall	2.37	1.05	0.00	3.00	N = 1011
	between		0.54	1.00	3.00	n = 78
	within		0.91	-0.42	4.24	\bar{T} = 12.96
in/formal	overall	0.63	0.48	0.00	1.00	N = 1036
	between		0.26	0.00	1.00	n = 80
	within		0.41	-0.31	1.52	\bar{T} = 12.95
migration status	overall	1.45	1.08	0.00	3.00	N = 1015
	between		0.65	0.00	3.00	n = 78
	within		0.88	-0.74	3.70	\bar{T} = 13.01
economic sector	overall	2.21	1.21	1.00	5.00	N = 846
	between		1.02	1.00	5.00	n = 77
	within		0.68	-0.59	4.75	\bar{T} = 10.99

Source: Author's elaboration. Based on CEBS data.

used are those without fiscal information and include time-invariant information on each anonymized person n as well as the time-variant information on labour market integration, (un)employment, contracts, sector and duration of formal work. Each person has been added the information on its household members by age and sex.

Each year of the MCVL may include information not only on the year of reference, but also on years before and at least even one following year for each person. Throughout the MCVL each person is identified with its proper IPF (*Identificador Persona Física*), which

makes it possible to identify each person clearly in the various MCVL data tables and assemble the information within and between different years by this number for a panel. The IPF is an anonymous number solely identifying the same person within all MCVL documentations. After the panel was finally joined by the information of each person, appended for all the subsequent years each IPF of person was replaced by a simple running number for computable calculations.

The quantity of information distributed for each person within one year depends on the number and duration of contracts and when a person has been employed. More common within the cases of the migrants' life course, many had several short term contracts within one year producing for each year a long list of social security related information for each person. To make this data computable within the panel several measures have been taken to reduce information density to one observation in each variable per year per person. Therefore several transformations have been used. To find a good statistical and computable answer the variables were reduced to the mode of the information for each person in one year. Information on the occupation has been reduced in this way. Same with the place of work, the time worked, sector as also the employers information. Many of the migrants worked in different short time contracts subsequently or even simultaneously. Yet, the number of short contracts has been added for each year and this information is condensed into a new variable to compliment and save the information for the statistical picture.

For some years in the life-course no direct data was available. 2003 is a extrapolation from the information distributed on 2004 based on all contract information starting originally in 2003. The persons included in the 2004 data set are selected on the IPF included in 2005, as the 2004 MCVL did not include the code for the country of birth. Hence, the sample size in 2004 is reduced and even more in 2003 due to this backward moving person identification process. For the sake of transparency table 3.8 lists all variables, their key coding information and source if not originally included in the MCVL (see MCVL, 2020).

Table 3.8: MCVL variables description

Variables		mean	std. dev.	Min	Max	
sex	overall	0.420	0.49	0	1	N = 60744
	between		0.49	0	1	n = 7552
	within		0.01	-0.15	0.97	\bar{T} = 8.04
birth	overall	1969	9.47	1930	2000	N = 60744
	between		10.36	1930	2000	n = 7552
	within		0.01	1969.33	1970.33	\bar{T} = 8.04
age	overall	37.73	9.55	9	75	N = 59771
	between		9.91	9	74	n = 7552
	within		2.56	30.93	44.53	\bar{T} = 7.91
country of birth	overall	0.37	0.49	0	1	N = 60742
	between		0.49	0	1	n = 7551
	within		0	0.39	0.40	\bar{T} = 8.04
schooling	overall	1.64	1.25	0	4	N = 60744
	between		1.25	0	4	n = 7552
	within		0.12	-1.95	4.34	\bar{T} = 8.04
number of children	overall	0.99	0.97	0	6	N = 59771
	between		0.88	0	5.83	n = 7552
	within		0.43	-2.23	4.45	\bar{T} = 7.91
working time (as % of full-time)	overall	0.96	0.13	.005	1	N = 59767
	between		0.11	.023	1	n = 7548
	within		0.09	0.08	1.61	\bar{T} = 7.92
number of contracts	overall	25.14	52.84	1	2750	N = 59771
	between		47.45	1	2750	n = 7552
	within		3.06	-438.86	83.14	\bar{T} = 7.91
short-term	overall	2.06	4.83	0	289	N = 59771
	between		3.88	0	127	n = 7552
	within		3.00	-119.58	165.42	\bar{T} = 7.91
long-term	overall	0.80	0.48	0	6	N = 59767
	between		0.35	0	3	n = 7548
	within		0.36	-1.29	4.55	\bar{T} = 7.92
part-time	overall	0.76	2.71	0	177	N = 59771
	between		2.43	0	126	n = 7552
	within		1.66	-64.43	88.57	\bar{T} = 7.91
full-time	overall	262.95	185.84	0	550	N = 59767
	between		129.46	0	540	n = 7548
	within		138.50	-200.68	718.41	\bar{T} = 7.92
DOSSY	overall	233.27	107.06	0	1294	N = 59771
	between		83.95	0	644	n = 7552
	within		74.60	-355.83	1081.14	\bar{T} = 7.91
self/employed	overall	0.30	0.46	0	1	N = 59771
	between		0.45	0	1	n = 7552
	within		0.07	-0.61	1.10	\bar{T} = 7.91
number of workplaces	overall	1.39	0.69	0	9	N = 59771
	between		0.42	0	4.75	n = 7552
	within		0.56	-1.33	7.14	\bar{T} = 7.91

Source: Author's elaboration. Based on Muestra Continua de las Vidas Laborales (MCVL) data without fiscal data.

Table 3.9: Comparability and Interrelation of CEBS and MCVL data sets

	Small-N (CEBS)	Large-N (MCVL)
Data set descriptions		
Source	own field work	Ministerio de inclusion, seguridad social y migraciones
Coverage	Madrid, Valencia, Alicante, Canary Islands	Total Spain
year range	10 years, 2003-2013	10 years, 2003-2013
Character	panel, unbalanced	panel, unbalanced
Observations, max N	1.036	60.252
Persons, max n	80	7549
Variables Information		
Personal		
age	X	X
sex	X	X
schooling	X	X
additional education	X	X
country of birth	X	X
province, padrón	X	X
member migrant association	X	
legal status	X	(X)*
nationality	X	X
Family		
relation/marriage	X	
children	X	(X)**
childrens' age	X	X
residence of children	X	(X)**
household size	(X)	X
remittances/transnational ties	X	
Labour		
(in)formal	X	(X)*
economic sector	X	X
employed/self-employed	X	X
(un)employment	X	X
on-job formation	X	X
contract information		X
work changes	X	X
parallel occupations	X	(X)*
place/city of work	X	X
employer, legal form		X
n of worker		X

Source: Author's elaboration. Based on the MCVL and CEBS data samples

Note:

* includes only legal and formal activities. Parallel occupations only if all registered formal,

** Number of children is calculated by members in the household under 18. The numbers may vary over time due to re-migration and do not count full number of children per migrant, as only registered children residing in Spain within the same household are counted.

Part III

Summary of all References

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Part IV

Appendix

English abstracts

Economic Crisis and Migrants' In-Between: Trajectories of legal status, work and (in)formality from Colombian and Ecuadorian born migrants in Spain

This article combines insights from the Spanish labour market, the impact of the economic crisis and the lifelines of Colombian and Ecuadorian-born migrants, between 2003 and 2015. The concept of in-between serves to better understand the migrants as vital actors, finding, creating and (re)shaping social spaces of (in)formal reaction, resistance and survival to changing conditions over time. The connections between the dimensions of labour market access, (in)formality and legal status are analysed by exploring how these structures influence the work and status trajectories of migrants. The article addresses how migrants (re)act to sustain their lives. The findings question the conventional wisdom that secure legal status is the key factor for migrants to achieve a living. The results showed how migrants' agency can surpass obstacles. Migrants act in-between spaces of in/formality and il/legality to secure their legal status through job contracts. Circular labour engagement and multiple job or site engagement are effective ways for migrants to confront the economic crisis and use their agency to shape in-between spaces and sustain their livelihood in Spain.

Remittances in a Migrants' Life Course: Migration Status and Changing Motives for Remittance Sending. The case of Colombian- and Ecuadorian-born migrants in Spain

This paper follows the life course of Ecuadorian and Colombian-born migrants in Spain between 2003 and 2013. Their transnational lives are analysed using a mixed-method approach for a sample of 80 migrants and 9 expert interviews. The central interest is the relationship between changes in migration status and remittances sent. Based on the two-side assumption of possible increase or decrease of remittances due to migration status changes, qualitative interview and small-N panel analysis help gain new insights on the topic. This combined view on the data opens new interpretations on migration status careers, social and economic behaviours and remittance sending in a life course. The findings contribute to the migration-development nexus discussion, highlighting status careers and changing motives for remittance sending as important factors influencing the transnational economic link. Each upward movement to more secure residence permits increased the propensity of sending remittances. The dominant motive of sending money for the care of their children was replaced by a mixture of motives from investment to altruistic sending over time. The positive effect of better job opportunities through status upward mobility and a change towards investment motives is stronger than the negative impact of family reunification on remittances.

Resilience in crisis?:

Gender differences in coping with the labour market crisis. The case of Colombian- and Ecuadorian-born migrants during the Spanish Great Recession.

This article focuses on the gender differences in resilience and coping strategies in the Spanish Labour Market between 2003 and 2013. The effects of the economic recession from 2008 onward has been claimed as the 'mancession'. Male migrants unemployment rose and women seemed to surpass crisis better. Using the MCVL-data from the Spanish Social Security system in combination with the self-collected CEBS small-N data, this article aims to extend the view. The intersectional perspective combines gender sensitive analysis with the spaces of informality and irregular status in a longitudinal view. It is assumed that women have been more flexible and resilient due to their higher numbers of part-time contracts before crisis. Answering to the hypotheses the focus is on the changing roles of women in the (in)formal labour market during their work-life course in Spain. With the results obtained by this analysis, it could be shown that women shifted from part-time, short-term to more full-time, long-term formal employment. Male migrants resisted the crisis with informal employment. Still, even with the CEBS data sensitive to informality and irregular residence, the longer the crisis lasted, men disappeared from the visibility in the sample.

Zusammenfassungen

Economic Crisis and Migrants' In-Between: Trajectories of legal status, work and (in)formality from Colombian and Ecuadorian born migrants in Spain

*Dieser Artikel folgt den Lebensverläufen von Migrant*innen aus Kolumbien und Ecuador im spanischen Arbeitsmarkt von 2003 bis 2015. Von besonderem Interesse ist dabei die Wirtschaftskrise im Nachgang der globalen Finanzkrise von 2008. Das Konzept der "Zwischenräume" dient der spezifischen, offenen Analyse der Handlungsräume von Migrant*innen über die legalen und formellen Bereiche hinaus. Die kreative (Neu)Gestaltung dieser Handlungsräume zwischen formellen und informellen Bereichen wird als Antwort auf die vielfältigen Schwierigkeiten, die Ihnen in ihrem Alltag in Spanien begegnen, hin analysiert. Der Fokus liegt daher auf den alltäglichen Aushandlungsprozessen zwischen dem Arbeitsmarktzugang, (In)Formalität und Aufenthaltsstatus-Wechseln, und wie sich diese strukturellen, erweiterten Handlungsspielräume auf die Lebensverläufe der Migrant*innen in Spanien ausgewirkt haben. Die Analyse zielt auf die Reaktionen und Handlungen der Migrant*innen ab, die sie unternommen haben, um ihren Alltag zu meistern. Die Ergebnisse stellen bisherige Erkenntnisse aus der Migrationsforschung in Frage, wonach ein sicherer Aufenthaltstitel massgeblich für die erfolgreiche Bewältigung des Alltags ist. Die Analyse konnte zeigen, dass Migrant*innen vielfältige Wege finden strukturelle, gesetzliche oder soziale Hürden zu umgehen. Angepasst auf die jeweilige Lage finden die Migrant*innen Lösungen jenseits der Kategorien von In/Formalität und Il/Legalität um ihren Aufenthalt in Spanien zu sichern. Neue Formen von zirkulärer Arbeitsmigration, Diversifizierung bei Arbeitsorten und Arbeitgebern sind dabei effiziente Wege um den eigenen Handlungsspielraum auch über die Grenzen Spaniens hinaus zu erweitern und besser mit der Krise umgehen zu können.*

Remittances in a Migrants' Life Course: Migration Status and Changing Motives for Remittance Sending. The case of Colombian- and Ecuadorian-born migrants in Spain

*Dieser Artikel fokussiert auf den Erklärungszusammenhang zwischen Wechseln in Aufenthaltstiteln und den Rücküberweisungen von Migrant*innen aus Kolumbien und Ecuador über einen Zeitraum von 10 Jahren. In einer mixed-method Analyse werden die Lebensverläufe der Migrant*innen in Spanien zwischen 2003 und 2013 betrachtet. Ein selbst erstellter Datensatz - basierend auf 80 leitfadengestützten, semi-strukturierten Interviews und 9 Expert*inneninterviews - wird sowohl quantitativ als auch qualitativ für die Analyse herangezogen. Diese basiert auf der, aus einer umfangreichen Literaturanalyse gewonnenen, offenen Hypothese, wonach Aufenthaltswechsel eine Reduktion oder auch eine Steigerung von Rücküberweisungen zur Folge haben können. Die Ergebnisse aus einer small-N Analyse werden mit qualitativen Erkenntnissen aus den Interviews systematisch kontrastiert. Dieser offene und kombinierte Zugang zur Fragestellung zeigt neue Interpretationsweisen, wie sich Aufenthaltswechsel auf die Rücküberweisungen von Migrant*innen auswirken können. Die Erkenntnisse lassen sich in den weiteren Zusammenhang von 'Migration und/für Entwicklung' stellen, da sie gezeigt haben, dass sich die Motive für die Rücksendungen über die Lebensläufe der Migrant*innen hinweg geändert haben. Die Analyse zeigt einen signifikant positiven Zusammenhang zwischen dem Aufstieg in den Aufenthaltstiteln und der Höhe der Rücküberweisungen. Die Ergebnisse zeigen aber auch, dass sich die Motive für die Rücküberweisungen bei den Migrant*innen geändert haben. Dominierte zu Beginn noch das Motiv der Zahlung für die Pflege der eigenen Kinder, so wechselt dies zu einer Reihe von Motiven wie Altruismus, Erberregung und Investition. Damit konnte für den Fall Spanien gezeigt werden, dass der Effekt von besseren Einkommensmöglichkeiten und der Wille zum transnationalen Investment stärker zu sein scheint, als der negative Effekt der Familienzusammenführungen auf die Rücküberweisungen.*

Resilience in crisis?:

Gender differences in coping with the labour market crisis. The case of Colombian- and Ecuadorian-born migrants during the Spanish Great Recession.

*Im Mittelpunkt dieses Artikels steht die geschlechterspezifischen Umgangsstrategien von ekuadorianischen und kolumbianischen Migrant*innen in Spanien zwischen 2003 und 2013. Die große Wirtschaftskrise in 2008 war vor allem eine Arbeitsmarktkrise. Die Auswirkungen dieser Verwerfungen auf dem Arbeitsmarkt bekamen vor allem männliche Zuwanderer zu spüren. Mit offiziellen Daten aus der spanischen Sozialversicherung und in der Kombination mit dem eigenen CEBS-Datensatz wird der Blick auf die 'männliche Krise' um die Dimensionen von Informalität und irregulärem Aufenthalt erweitert. In der geschlechter-sensitiven Analyse werden die Lebensverläufe der Migrant*innen dafür genutzt, die Strategien der Migrant*innen zu finden, die sich außerhalb des bisher sichtbaren Bereichs formeller Statistiken finden lassen. Die Analyse basiert auf der Annahme, dass Migrantinnen vor allem deswegen besser durch die Krise kommen konnten, da sie durch die vielen unterschiedlichen Zeitverträge mit jeweils geringen Arbeitsstunden besser diversifiziert waren und Männer in überwiegend informelle Arbeitsverhältnisse gewechselt haben. Die Ergebnisse haben gezeigt, dass Migrantinnen von überwiegend Teilzeit und befristeten Beschäftigungen in formelle Vollzeit und langfristige Arbeitsverträge wechseln konnten. Männliche Migranten haben zu Beginn der Krise im informellen Bereich Arbeit gefunden, aber je länger die Krise andauerte, desto mehr Männer sind auch aus diesem Datensatz "gefallen". Männer haben es auch in der Phase nach der Krise nicht geschafft ihre informellen Arbeitsverhältnisse wieder in formelle Beschäftigung zurück zu wandeln.*

Declaration of Authorship

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