



Centre d'Estudis Demogràfics

**CURRENT STATUS AND TRENDS
OF AFRICAN MIGRATION TO SPAIN**

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Resum.- *Situació actual i tendències de la migració africana a Espanya*

Des de començaments del segle XXI, Espanya ha experimentat un increment migratori notable, fins a situar-se com un dels principals països de destinació de la Unió Europea, no només pel que fa a les entrades (més de tres milions de persones, de 2000 a 2006) sinó també pel nombre de població de nacionalitat estrangera (al 2007, 4.519.554 persones, un 10% de la població de dret). L'actual onada immigratòria, encapçalada pels llatinoamericans, ha fet canviar la composició tradicional de la població estrangera que, fins feia poc, estava dominada pels marroquins. Els immigrants d'origen africà, que representen el 19% (860.217 persones) de la població immigrant al 2007, han experimentat un doble efecte: en primer lloc, la discriminació positiva cap a la població llatinoamericana no ha afavorit el seu procés d'integració; en segon lloc, les polítiques d'immigració restrictives també han afectat a la composició dels fluxos d'africans. La composició de la població africana estava formada per marroquins (13,75% de la població estrangera al 2007), gambians (0,31%) i senegalesos (0,79 %). En els darrers anys, nous països han entrat en escena, com Algèria (1,11%), Nigèria (0,66%) i Guinea Equatorial (0,44%). Davant aquest escenari, l'article analitza i contextualitza l'actual i heterogènia diàspora africana a Espanya, des del punt de vista sociodemogràfic. Els resultats permeten entendre els actuals comportaments demogràfics diferencials d'aquest grup, en particular pel que fa a la fecunditat i al comportament reproductiu.

Paraules clau.- Immigració africana, Espanya, fecunditat, comportament reproductiu.

Resumen.- *Situación actual y tendencias de la migración africana en España*

Desde inicios del siglo XXI, España ha experimentado un incremento migratorio notable, situándose como uno de los principales países de destino de la Unión Europea, no sólo en cuanto a las entradas (más de tres millones de personas, de 2000 a 2006) sino también por el número de población de nacionalidad extranjera (en 2007, 4.519.554 personas, un 10% de la población de derecho). La actual ola migratoria, encabezada por los latinoamericanos, ha hecho cambiar la composición tradicional de la población extranjera, hasta hace poco dominada por los marroquíes. Los inmigrantes de origen africano, que representan el 19% (860.217 personas) de la población inmigrante en 2007, han experimentado un doble efecto: en primer lugar, la discriminación positiva hacia la población latinoamericana no ha favorecido su proceso de integración; en segundo lugar, las políticas de inmigración restrictivas también han afectado a la composición de los flujos de africanos. La composición de la población africana estaba formada por marroquíes (13,75% de la población extranjera en 2007), gambianos (0,31%) i senegaleses (0,79%). En los últimos años, nuevos países han entrado en escena, como Argelia (1,11%), Nigeria (0,66%) y Guinea Ecuatorial (0,44%). Ante este escenario, el artículo analiza y contextualiza la actual y heterogénea diáspora africana en España desde el punto de vista sociodemográfico. Los resultados permitirán entender los actuales comportamientos demográficos diferenciales de este grupo, en particular en cuanto a la fecundidad y al comportamiento reproductivo.

Palabras clave.- Inmigración africana, España, fecundidad, comportamiento reproductivo.

Abstract.- *Current Status and Trends of African Migration to Spain*

From the beginning of the 21st Century, Spain has experienced a migratory boom reaching the top of the European Union's destination countries, not only with respect to inflows - with more than three million people from 2000 to 2006- but to population stocks with 4,519,554 non-native residents in 2007 (10 percent of the registered population). The recent migratory wave -led by Latin-Americans- has changed the foreign population's composition traditionally dominated by Moroccans. African origin migrants, who represent 19 percent (860,217 people) of the immigrant population in 2007, have experienced a double effect during the same period. First, positive discrimination favoring Latin-Americans has apparently compromised the settlement process of African nationals. Second, restrictive immigration policies have also affected the composition of African inflows. Traditionally composed by Moroccans (13.75 percent of the 2007 foreign population), Gambians (0.31 percent) or Senegalese (0.79 percent) nationals, new sending countries have emerged during the last years. That is the case of Algeria (1.11 percent), Nigeria (0.66 percent) and Equatorial Guinea (0.44 percent). The aim of this paper is to analyze and contextualize the recent heterogeneous African diaspora in Spain under the socio-demographic point of view. Our findings will shed some light to the differential demographic behaviors of this group, particularly with respect to fertility and reproductive behavior.

Keywords.- African Migration, Spain, fertility, reproductive behavior.

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CURRENT STATUS AND TRENDS OF AFRICAN MIGRATION TO SPAIN¹

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1.- Introduction: Paradoxes of the African Migration in Spain

From the beginning of the 21st century, Spain has been converted in the European Union country where international migration flows are more intense and voluminous. Between 2000 and 2006, the annual foreign population inflows in Spain changed from 330.000 to 803.000 –1.42 % per year-, followed by the United Kingdom (0.7%), France (0.5%) and Austria (0.3). During the same period, Germany was the EU country that experienced a decrease, with a -0.14% annual rate. As a result of this unexpected increase, Spain is now the second higher foreign population EU country—close to 4.5 million-, just preceded by Germany with more than 7.2 million foreigners. According to Eurostat, and without taking into account micro-States like Luxemburg or Liechtenstein, in relative terms Spain is the EU country with the higher foreign population percentage: close to 10% in 2007, followed by Austria (9.9%) and Germany (8.8%). This process has been staggering: just ten years ago Spain was the EU country with the lowest international migration rate, and even more, thirty years ago it can also be considered as a secular emigration country (Muñoz Pérez and Izquierdo Escribano, 1989).

From the African flows perspective, this evolution is even paradoxical for several reasons. On the first place, even if the first nationality on the Continuous Register until January 1st 2007 has been the Moroccan (surpassed by the Romanians in 2008, according to the

¹ This research has been elaborated in the framework of the R+D Project “Demographic behaviours and social integration of immigrants and their children in Spain” (CSO2008-04778/SOCI), directed by Dr. Andreu Domingo and funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation, through the National R+D+I Plan 2008-2011.

preliminary results) and the generalized idea in the rest of European countries of the overwhelming growth of the African flows due to the continent's proximity, the empirical evidence of the migratory boom shows that the Latin-Americans and Eastern Europeans nationalities are the ones that have been increased their participation in the Spanish population against the Africans. Several authors have pointed out the possibility of a positive discrimination to Latin-American and Eastern-European flows, in order to develop an ethnic substitution in the Spanish migrations that gradually gained ground over the Moroccan flows (Izquierdo Escribano, 2004; Domingo and Martínez, 2006; Vono, Bedoya, and Domingo, 2008). This more or less undercover policy has received the support of the Spanish public opinion, that keeps a conflictive relationship with their Moroccan neighbors, not based on the suppose of the cultural distance, but in a traumatic shared history that has determined the construction of both identities (Stallaert, 1998).

The second paradox could rely on the fact that this conflictive relation with the Moroccan immigration could have partially benefited the Sub-Saharan's image, even though applying racist stereotypes based in certain paternalism. In any case, and against the dramatic image of the arrival of ships from the African coast, irregular migration was concentrated in the Latin-American population, and not in the African one. On the third place, and even when the weight and growth of the Sub-Saharan population has been relatively scarce compared to other groups, we must point out the number and maturity of some of the still relevant flows, as well as the incorporation of new origins during the first years of the 21st century. This process has coincided with the aggravation of the Golf of Guinea countries' regional crisis basically, as well as the application of restrictive measures to the immigration flows from the Spanish government. On this sense, between the 192.663 registered resident persons with a Sub-Saharan nationality, we can find the resulting population of historic flows like the Equatoguinean (14.497 persons in 2008), or the Gambian (19.233) and the Senegalese (46.077 persons) in extremely different conditions and migratory trajectories – Equatorial Guinea was a former colony and is legislatively positively discriminated, while The Gambia and Senegal are not historically related-. Between the new emergent nationalities that have arrived to Spain in the last years, whom can be truncated or definitely transformed by the even more restrictive immigration policies, we can point out the Nigerian (36.943 persons), the Malian (19.439 persons) or the Ghanaian (13.025 persons).

If the Eastern-European migration flows in Spain –specifically those from Romania- have been related to circularity; those from the principal Sub-Saharan nationalities have been related to the transnationalism concept taking into account the previous paces of the migratory flows in other EU countries. In this case, we must emphasize Senegal, The Gambia or Nigeria as sending countries, and France or the UK as receiving countries. The different economic, social and cultural structure of the Spanish context increases the specific interest referred to the socio-demographic characteristics of the Sub-Saharan migration not only for the sending countries but for the flows and the already settled immigrants.

The demographic literature about Sub-Saharan population in Spain is scarce, if not non-existent. However, the different descriptive approximations that have been developed in fields as anthropology, sociology or geography, have characterized the general socio-demographic profile of the most representative nationalities, frequently grouped or related to the African population as a whole. The pioneering works pretend to describe trajectories and profiles without taking into account the demography. This is the case of the essays of Inongo-vi-Makomé (1990), Sepa Bonaba (1993) for Catalonia, or the pioneering study of African women's living conditions of Sipi (1997). We must point out that most of these studies were developed by immigrants from the studied region, but outside the academic field.

Inside the scientific research framework, during the first years the studies referred to Sub-Saharan population as a set of the African population as a whole, only taking into account the principal nationalities while including demography as a subsidiary instrument. We can find comparative or monographic studies related to the principal nationalities in González (1995) for Senegalese, Morales (1993) for Guineans or Cebrián and Bihina (1998) for the Sub-Saharan population as a whole. On this same field, we can find the 1995 qualitative study for the Barcelona's Metropolitan Area directed by Andreu Domingo (Domingo i Valls, Clapés Estrada, and Prats Ferret, 1995).

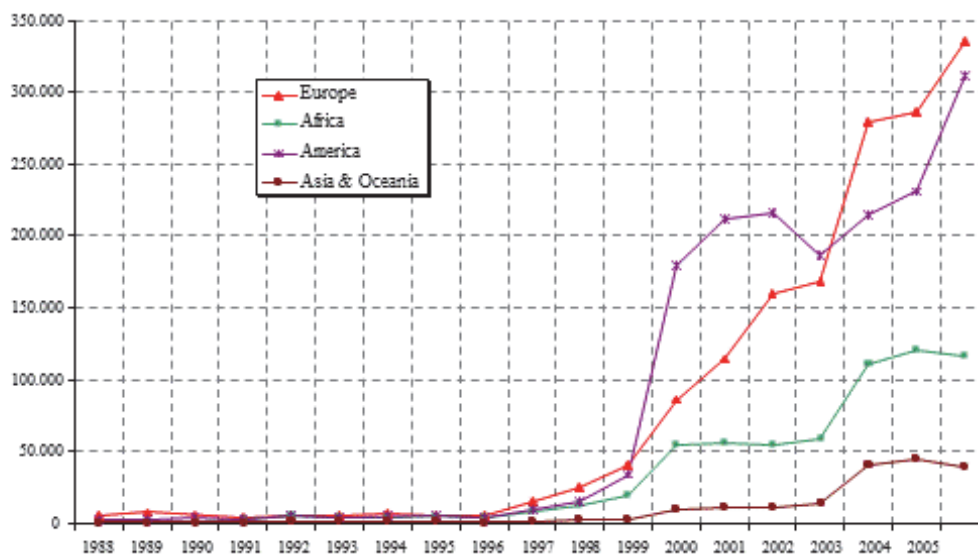
Nevertheless, as we have mentioned before, the reproductive health and the family formation process –even in nuptiality as in fertility- are the demographic behaviors of the Sub-Saharan population that have recalled the attention of the scientific community. On this sense, we can find an anthropologic approximation of the Senegambian population in Kaplan Marcusán (1998) or –specifically referred to nuptiality- in Rodríguez García (2004). The distinctive status of the Sub-Saharan women has also been treated in Ribas

Mateos (1999) and Sow (2004b). From the demographic field, the scarce works have studied on one hand, the reproductive behavior (Solsona, Fonseca and Merino, 2003) and, on the other, the family formation process (Bledsoe, 2006; Bledsoe, Houle y Sow, 2007; y Bledsoe y Sow, 2008). Even when doctoral thesis about specific nationalities or the Sub-Saharan population as a whole set are not new (see Maguemati Wabgou (2000) directed by Lorenzo Chacón), there is no one from the demographic perspective. Therefore, the aim of this paper is, on the first place, to give a panoramic evolution of the migratory flows of the citizens with an African nationality, and at the second, to spread out a map of the methodological and conceptual challenges of the demography while facing the Sub-Saharan migration in Spain.

2.- African Migratory Flows in Spain

As we have mentioned before, the vertiginous growth of the migratory flows in Spain has been produced in the 21st century (Graphic 1), being the Americans and the Europeans the leading sending regions. Americans, with 1.550.320 persons (98% are Latin-Americans), represent the 41.6% of the foreigners that have arrived to Spain since 2000. Also, during the last three years the European flow has experienced an increase, arriving to 1.429.999 persons since 2000. In this case, Eastern-Europeans are the predominant group led by Romanians with 487.450 persons (34% of the European residents).

However, we must point out how the African flows stagnate during the period between 2000 and 2003, coinciding with the migratory boom. Previously, these flows were the most numerous and were almost monopolized by Moroccan population that has represented from 1998 to 2003 the 9.5% of the total continental groups. The experienced growth during the last three years has been due to the recovery of the Moroccan flows, as well as the increase in the Sub-Saharan countries flow. On that sense, since 2000 the African migration has represented 15.4% (574.647 persons) of the total flow, being the Moroccans the 68.5% (393.615 persons) of the total, while the Sub-Saharan population represents the 24.57% (141.174 persons).

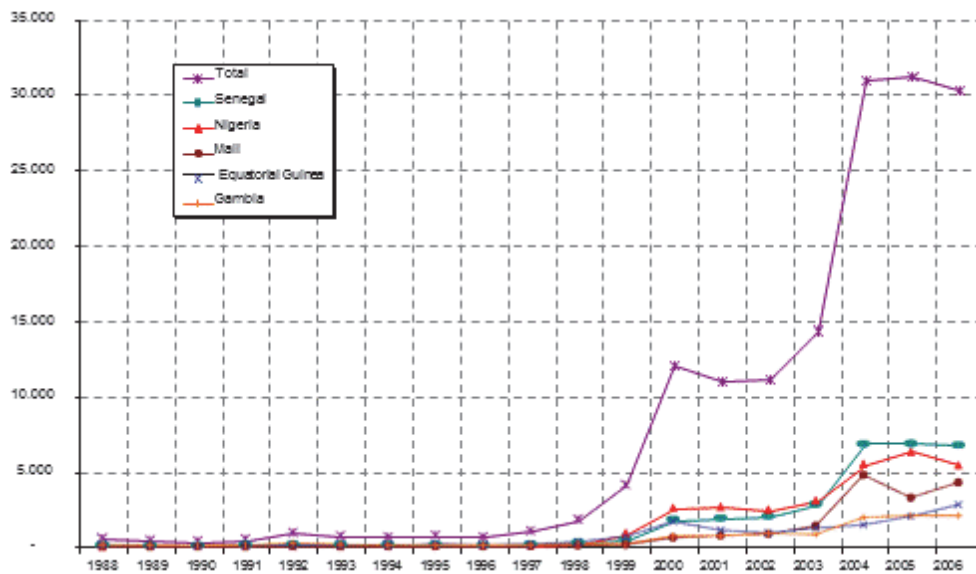
Graph 1.- Foreign population flows in Spain 1988-2006

Source: INE, Residence Variation Statistic 1988-2006.

As we have mentioned before, in the last years the Sub-Saharan population in Spain has experienced a change on its composition, specifically referred to the distribution of the most represented nationalities. On Graph 2, we can see the increase of the Malian and the Nigerian population since 1999, being in some cases more numerous than the more settled nationalities. We must take into account that the peak between 2003 and 2004 is due to the flow increase but also to the inclusion of the “omitted registers” in the Continuous Pattern.

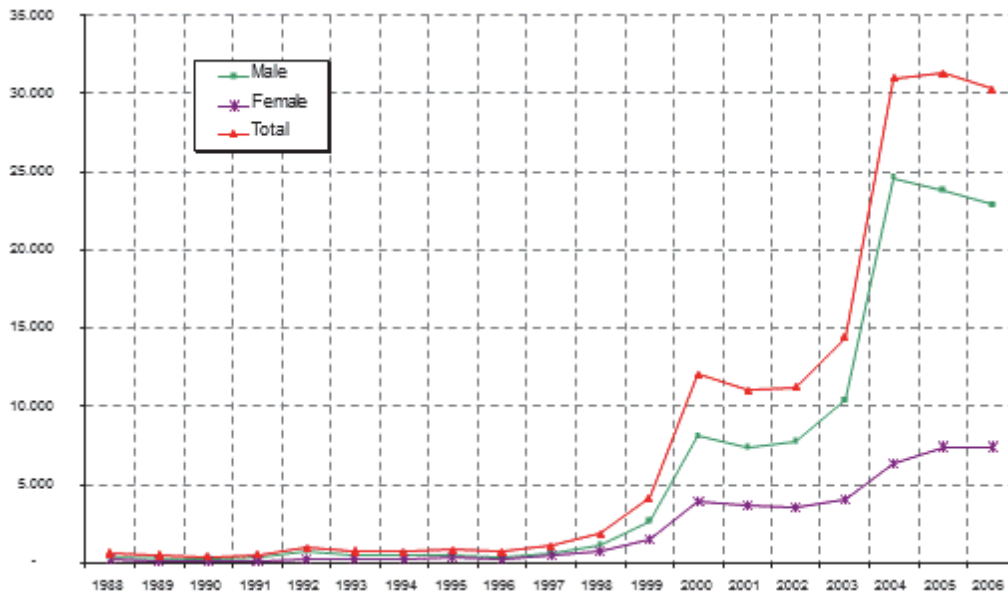
Sub-Saharan population in Spain has a high masculine component (Graph 3), and as the rest of origins has experienced a notorious growth since the end of the nineties. This increase could be directly related to the positive effect on migration incentives generated by the economic growth and the increase in labor demand. Related to the distribution by age during the period 1988-2006 (Graph 4), the sub-Saharan male population is concentrated at working ages, specifically between 15 and 45 years old. This can support the theory about economic migration for this specific group, as Cebrián and Bihina (1998) suggested on their paper. In the female case, the concentration is even higher in the ages between 17 and 37. Even if those are also working ages that could suggest an economic motivation, it could also prove the existence of a differential migration project taking into account not only the age but the gender perspective.

Graph 2.- Sub-Saharan population flows in Spain 1988-2006



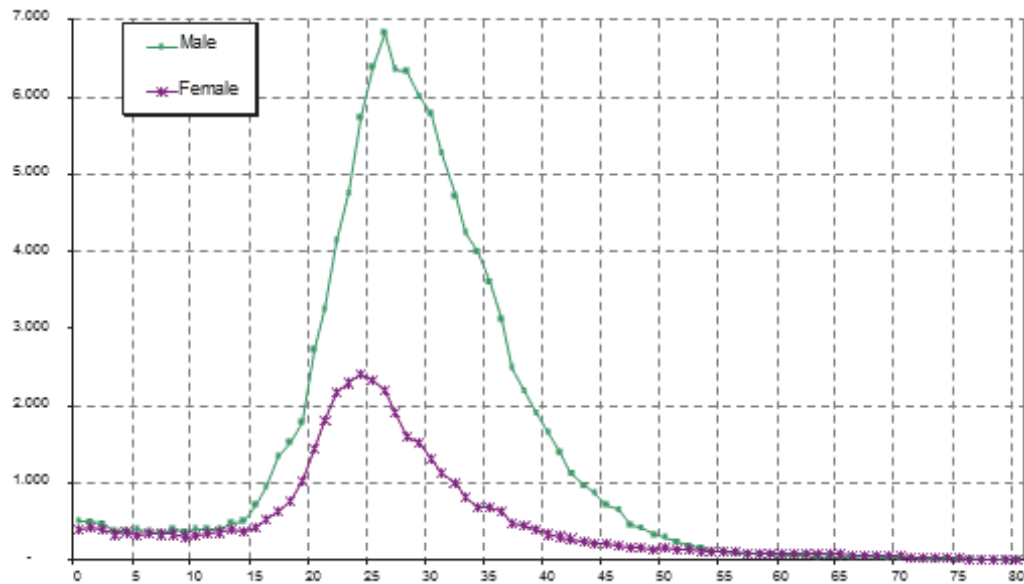
Source: INE, Estadística de Variaciones Residenciales 1988-2006.

Graph 3.- Sub-Saharan population flows in Spain by sex, 1988-2006



Source: INE, Residence Variation Statistic 1988-2006.

Graph 4.- Sub-Saharan population flows in Spain by sex and age, 1988-2006



Source: INE, Residence Variation Statistic 1988-2006.

3.- Demographic Characteristics of Sub-Saharan Population in Spain

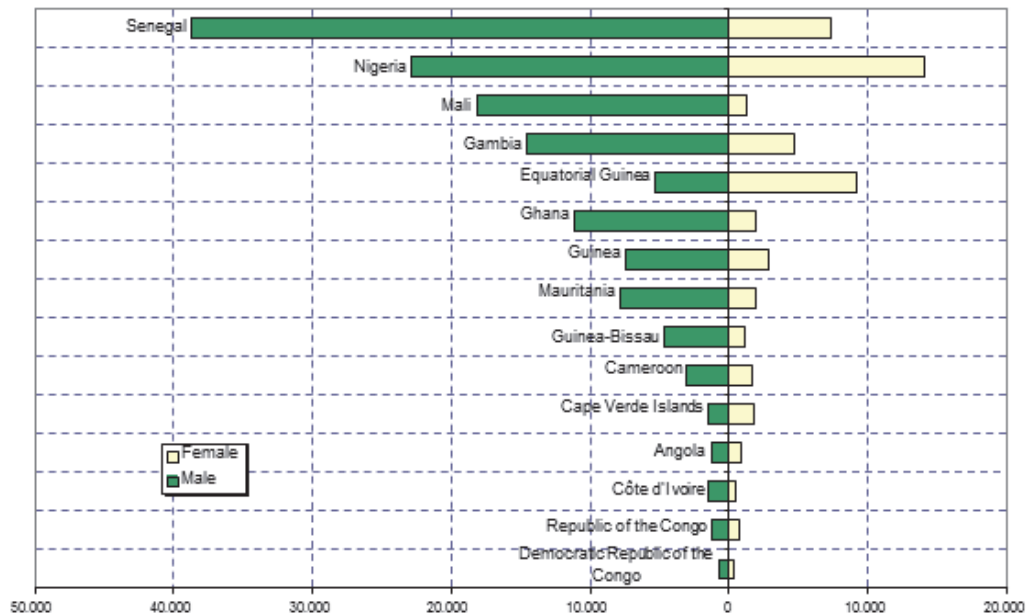
The 192.663 Sub-Saharan residents in Spain at 1 January 2008 just represented the 3.7% of the total foreign population –5.220.577 persons, 11.3% of Spain’s total population-. The distribution by nationalities and their characteristics by sex and age are substantially different; just the fifteen nationalities with more than 1.000 citizens represent the 98.8% of the total Sub-Saharan residents. Just the top four, composed by Senegal, Nigeria, Mali and The Gambia, concentrate more than a half of them with 62% (see Table 1). Senegal, with close to 46 thousand citizens is the third African nationality in Spain, close to the Algerians but far from the Moroccan (644.688 persons), whom is the first African and the second numerousness nationality of the total foreign population just behind Romanians. This concentration is correspondent with an unequal sex and age distribution, as we can see on Graph 5 and the population pyramids.

Table 1.- Sub-Saharan Nationalities with more than 1.000 citizens in the Spanish Territory, 2008

	Male	Female	Total
Senegal	38.682	7.395	46.077
Nigeria	22.885	14.058	36.943
Mali	18.120	1.319	19.439
Gambia	14.588	4.645	19.233
Equatorial Guinea	5.288	9.209	14.497
Ghana	11.129	1.896	13.025
Guinea	7.409	2.844	10.253
Mauritania	7.885	1.920	9.805
Guinea-Bissau	4.649	1.185	5.834
Cameroon	3.076	1.640	4.716
Cape Verde Islands	1.515	1.775	3.290
Angola	1.284	936	2.220
Côte d'Ivoire	1.536	465	2.001
Republic of the Congo	1.234	715	1.949
Democratic Republic of the Congo	716	376	1.092

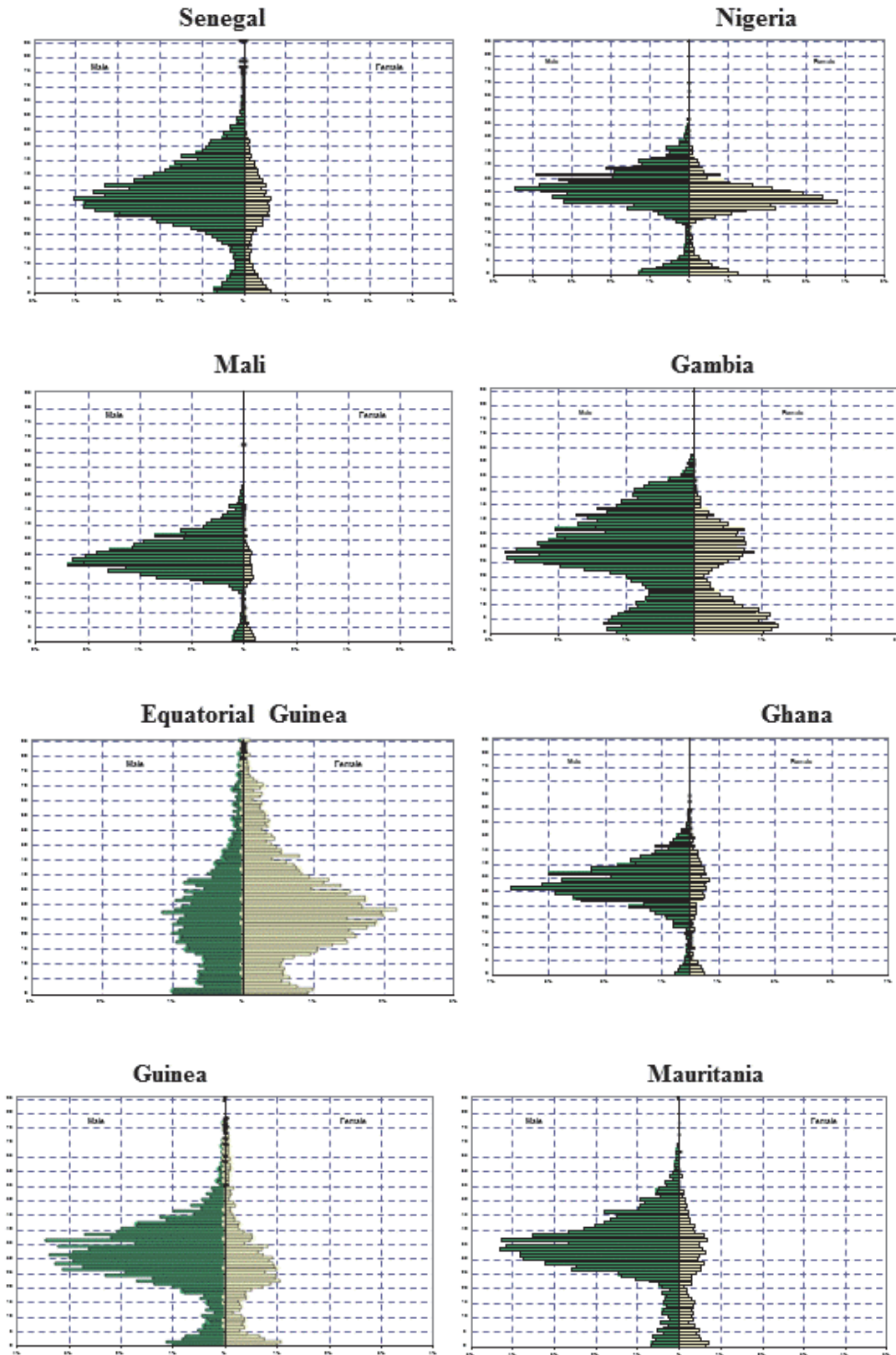
Source: INE, Continuous Register 2008 (Provisional Results).

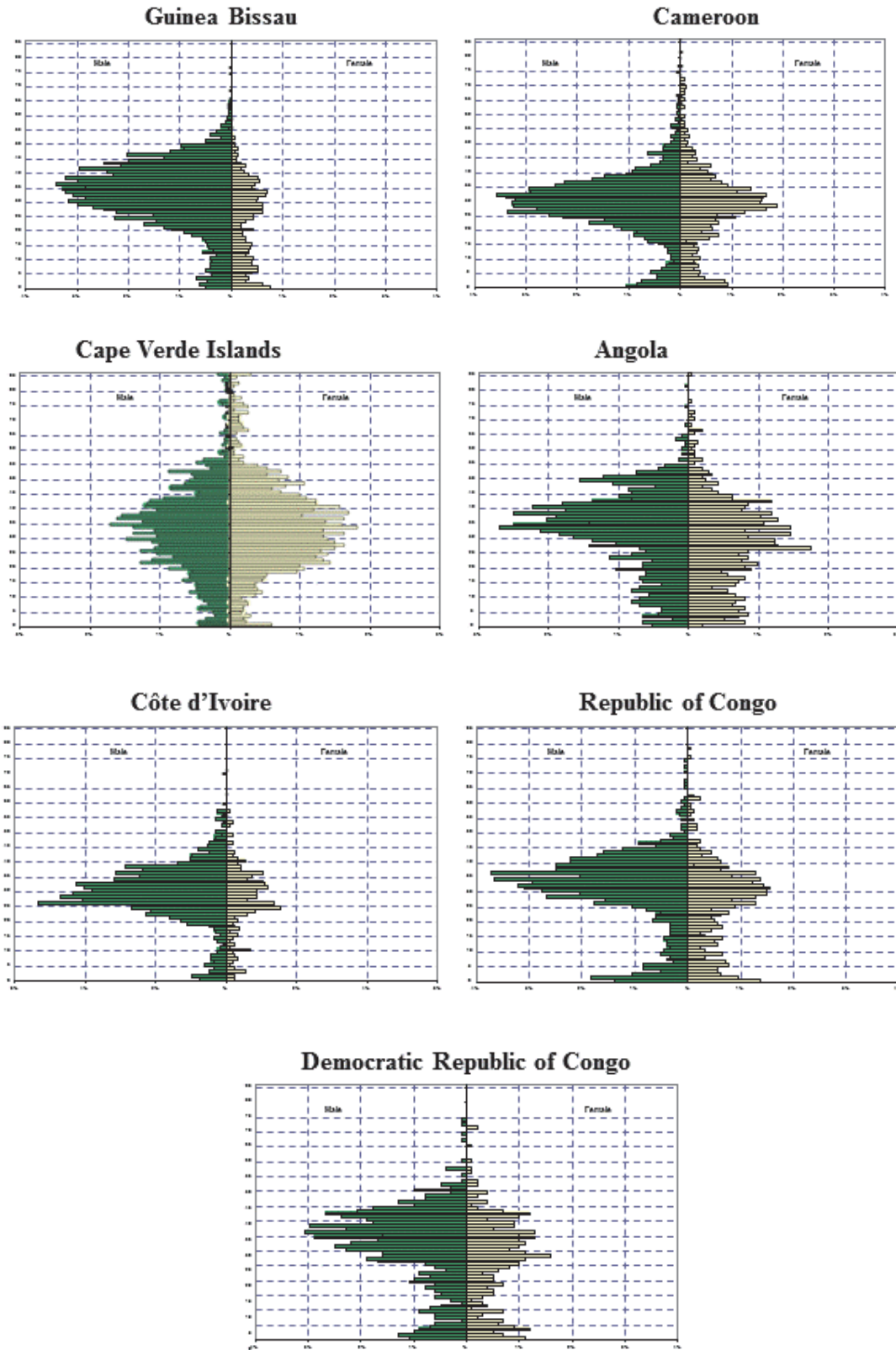
Graph 5.- Sub-Saharan Nationalities with more than 1.000 citizens in the Spanish Territory



Source: INE, Continuous Register 2008 (Provisional Results).

Figure 1.- Population pyramids of the Sub-Saharan Nationalities with more than 1.000





Source: INE, Continuous Register 2007.

If we analyze the age and sex structure of the 15 Sub-Saharan nationalities with more than 1.000 residents in Spain, we will soon find out the heterogeneous distribution behind them. Even if the majority is characterized by a strong sex ratio disequilibrium and their youth, just as expected in economic migrant flows, the contrasts between them are quite remarkable. Hypermasculinization is present not only in those populations formed by the older flows like the Senegalese (84% masculine effectives) but also in the new ones, like the Malians (93% masculine effectives). However, we can also find the opposite case in the Equatoguinean and Capeverdean pyramids, which are characterized by a female majority with 36.4 and 46% male population respectively. Sex disequilibria prove the existence of clearly differentiated migratory strategies. The exceptionality of Equatorial Guinea is influenced by its former colony condition and the previous existence of highly differentiated migratory chains according to the ethnic group, Fang or Bubi, but with a strong female component that arrived with a student's condition (Sepa Bonava, 1993). Capeverdean migration from its origins –mainly from Portugal- has counted with a strong feminine presence and independent migratory circuits with respect to the masculine.

This segregation has also arrived to the spatial distribution of Capeverdeans: women are house workers in Madrid, while men were originally concentrated in Leon mining region but were later attracted to the Galician fishing industry². Something similar could have happened to Angolans –former Portuguese colony- whom migratory flows are almost evenly distributed, with 58% masculine members. Even though within those nationalities dominated by their masculine components, the proportion could vary among them. Just by mentioning the first two nationalities, the masculine proportion varies between the 84% of the Senegalese and the 62% of the Nigerians. We must point out how structure reflects different migratory processes in these two cases, specifically referred to the women's role: basically subordinated to family reunion in the Senegalese case, but independent from family ties for Nigerians.

Divergences in sex structure indicate the diversity in Sub-Saharan migratory flows for each considered nationality. As we have mentioned before, all of them are characterized by their youth with an average age between the 25 years of Gambians and the 33 years of Capeverdeans. In this case, the Gambian population pyramid is more than eloquent: the weight of the population under 18 (maximum age for family reunion in the case of

² Prieto Sarro and López Trigal (1993) and López Trigal (1996).

children) reaches 31.4% of the total, showing both the antiquity of the flows and the familiar settlement of their population. If we compare it against the Senegalese, minors only reach the 12.5% of their population but we must take into account that 53% of them were born in Spain. The contrast between the Senegalese and the Gambian pyramids is quite significant in order to establish the necessary hypotheses related to the future behavior of the newest flows like Malians, Ghanaians, Guineans, Mauritians or Cameroonians. In that sense, it is not easy to predict the population structure in the short term, but the increased presence of women and minors in Guineans and Cameroonians could deliver into a family strategy similar to the one of Gambians, clearly opposed to the rest of nationalities whose profile is similar to the Senegalese.

4.- Territorial Distribution of Sub-Saharan Population in Spain

Concentration and unequal territorial distribution of the different Sub-Saharan nationalities are two of the socio-demographic characteristics that draw more attention. That could be partially explained because of the scarce population that implies a higher probability of spatial concentration, but we must also highlight the high territorial segregation at the Autonomous Community (CCAA) level as well as their presence in those provinces where foreign population is relatively low. If we analyze the distribution of the foreign, Sub-Saharan and the top six nationalities population in the different CCAA as in Table 2, we can find that just three Autonomous Communities -Catalonia, Madrid and Andalusia-gather 58% of the resident Sub-Saharan population. This pattern could be considered as normal if we take into account that those three regions joint with the Valencian Community are the principal attractors in the Spanish territory. However, the individual distribution does not necessarily follow the aggregated territorial pattern.

The territorial implantation is different for each nationality corresponding to migratory chains that were dispersedly distributed from the beginning. For example, as long as 18.7% of the Gambian population is located in Catalonia, almost a half of the Equatoguineans and a fourth of the Nigerians are settled in Madrid. Those more settled have a clear attraction point where most of their citizens live. The relatively new nationalities in the Spanish territory like the Malians or the Mauritians have a more disperse pattern suggesting that for the less settled nationalities the labor market is the most important settlement determinant instead that social networks.

Table 2.- Sub-Saharan population and top 6 nationalities by Autonomous Communities in Spain, 2008

	Foreign Population	% total population	Sub-Saharan population	% total foreign population	Senegal	Nigeria	Mali	Gambia	Equatorial Guinea	Ghana
Andalusia	615.787	7,5%	21.225	3,4%	6.422	4.245	2.656	752	360	2.056
Aragon	153.990	11,6%	11.384	7,4%	2.654	743	1.251	2.091	736	1.536
Asturias	40.171	3,7%	1.673	4,2%	967	206	4	9	213	14
Balearic Islands	222.331	20,8%	8.211	3,7%	2.587	2.767	997	142	369	334
Basque Country	116.650	5,4%	6.474	5,5%	1.670	935	410	72	760	435
Canary Islands	282.004	13,6%	10.865	3,9%	2.595	1.520	145	107	521	582
Cantabria	33.098	5,7%	932	2,8%	347	125	10	9	50	43
Castile-La Mancha	203.847	10,0%	3.822	1,9%	692	751	1.107	41	354	41
Castile-Leon	153.435	6,0%	2.618	1,7%	596	395	244	109	253	82
Catalonia	1.097.966	14,9%	58.437	5,3%	15.982	5.945	6.078	15.141	1.678	4.028
Extremadura	35.049	3,2%	404	1,2%	121	49	18	14	27	3
Galicia	95.122	3,4%	3.241	3,4%	1.480	392	31	27	79	454
La Rioja	43.524	13,7%	1.367	3,1%	113	220	216	12	35	414
Madrid	991.259	15,9%	32.874	3,3%	3.126	9.490	2.889	277	6.614	891
Murcia	224.098	15,7%	6.842	3,1%	1.684	1.873	1.241	154	191	985
Navarra	64.518	10,4%	2.831	4,4%	630	893	303	17	88	239
Valencian Community	838.224	16,7%	19.448	2,3%	4.410	6.394	1.838	258	2.164	886
Total	5.220.577	11,3%	192.663	3,7%	46.077	36.943	19.439	19.233	14.497	13.025

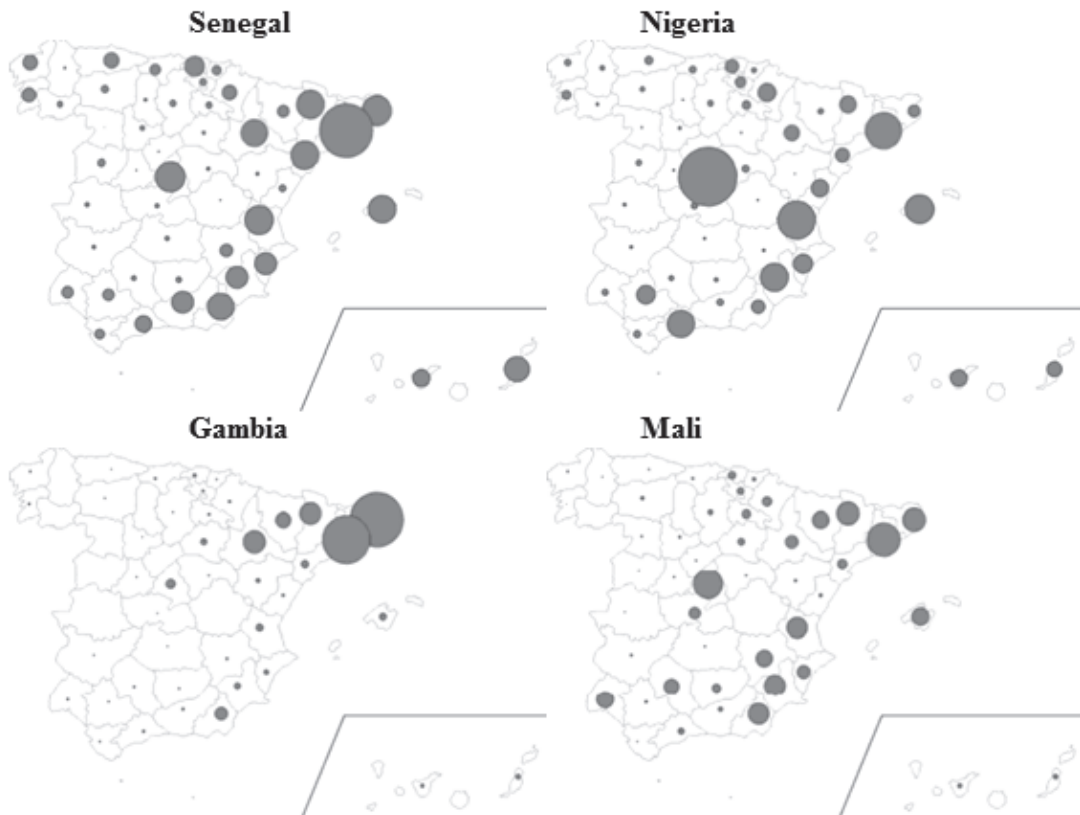
Source: INE, Continuous Register 2008 (Provisional Results).

Social networks together with the specific labor market niches represent a clear determinant while studying the specific settlement processes. For the Senegalese, even when they arrive to the Almeria Province or to the Canary Islands, there is a clear attraction node in the Catalan Provinces. Catalonia is one attraction area because of the economic activities' diversification, as well as the familiar settlement of the older flows. In that sense, Gambians in Catalonia refer to "Andalusia" as "the school" emphasizing the initiatory role of that area for the subsequent population distribution in Spain.

On the other hand, Malians also experiment the Almerian point of entrance, but are mainly distributed on the Mediterranean coast, and the Huelva and Madrid Provinces. Gambians are mainly located in Catalonia and most of their movements are between the Catalan and the surrounding Provinces, like Huesca, Zaragoza and Teruel, following the diffusion through the Ebro Valley and the job opportunities that this area offers. In the case of the

Nigerians we can see a diffuse rather than the concentration pattern of the rest of the nationalities. Apparently, the primary node is Madrid, and after their arrival, they move basically to the Mediterranean Coast. There is a great inflow-outflow movement between Madrid and Malaga, but we can assume that those are directly related with temporary employment.

Map 1.- Territorial distribution of the 10 first Sub-Saharan nationalities resident in Spain, January 1, 2007

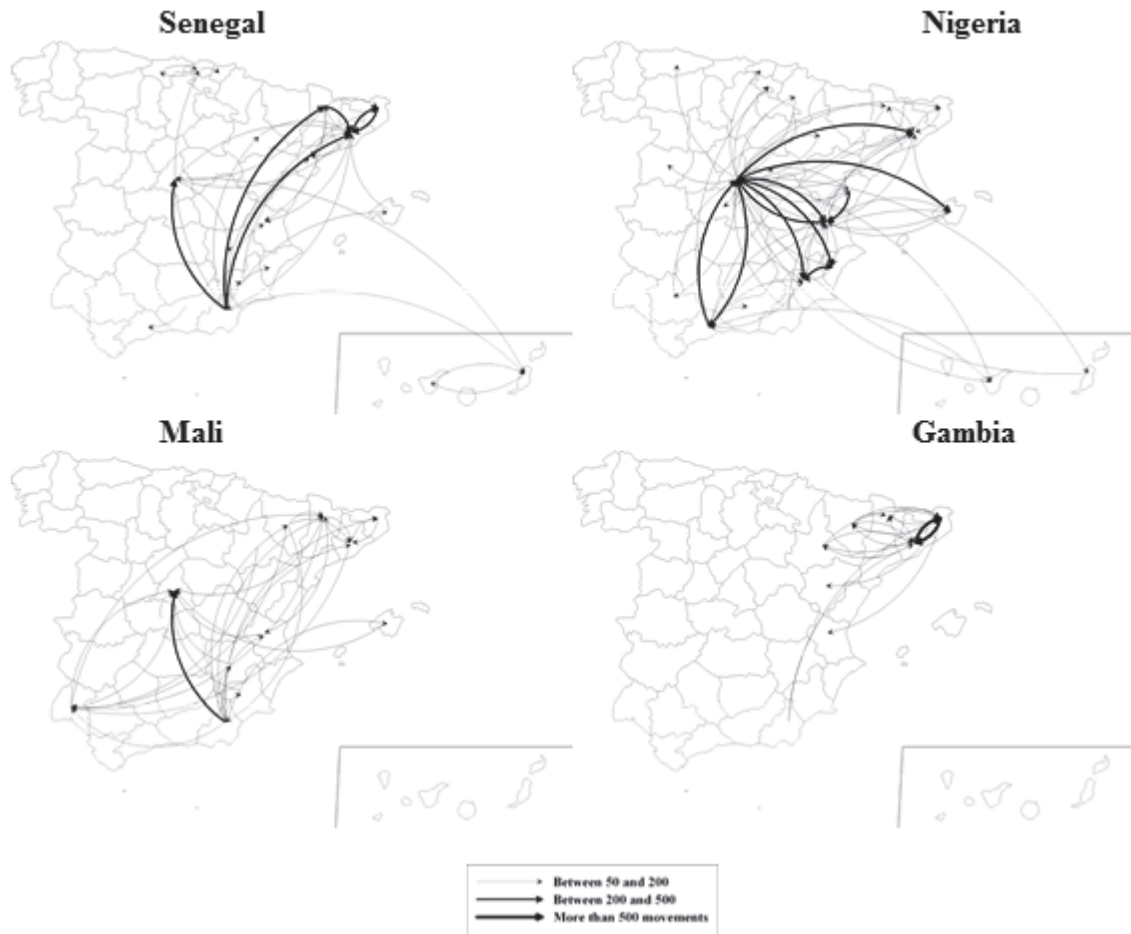


Continues



Source: INE, Conitnuous Register 2007.

Map 2.- Population flows between provinces



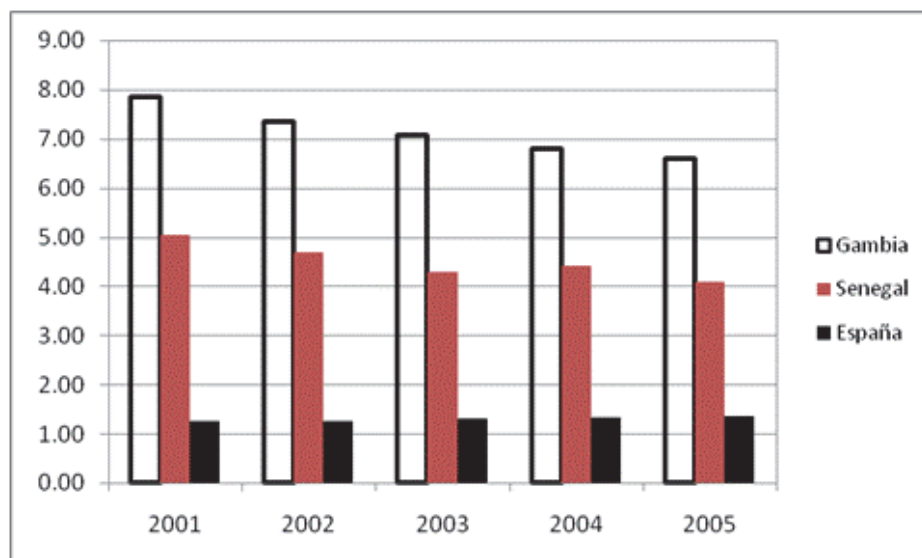
Source: INE, Residence Variation Statistic 1996-2006.

5.- Fertility of Sub-Saharan Population in Spain: Gambians and Senegalese

As an approximation of the differential demographic behaviors of the Sub-Saharan population in Spain, we have chosen fertility because of its significance—along with nuptiality- in one of the world's lowest fertility countries as Spain. Gambians and Senegalese are chosen as a sample because those are the populations with the highest number of births due to their settlement and numerousness. Since the 1990's migratory boom, the fertility of the foreign population in Spain has been traditionally higher than the

natives, even when we can observe a convergence pattern. In this sense, in 2005 the foreigner's fertility was 1.48 for 1.31 children per woman of the natives. However, the fertility of the Gambian and Senegalese women is still higher than the natives (1.3 in 2005) and the foreign population set by itself (1.5 in 2005), as shown in Graph 6. Hence, the Gambians that presented in 2001 a Total Fertility Rate (TFR) of approximately 8 children per woman reached a level close to 6 in 2005. The case of the Senegalese is almost similar, even when their TFR of 4 children per woman is still lower than the Gambians. In both cases and instead of the registered decline, they present a different pattern in comparison to that of the Spanish and the total foreign population.

Graph 6.- TFR in Spain 2001-2005: natives, Gambians and Senegalese women



Source: INE, MNP.

The particularity of Gambian women is that they also register a TFR slightly higher than the one registered in their home country (5.5 in 2005 according to the World Population

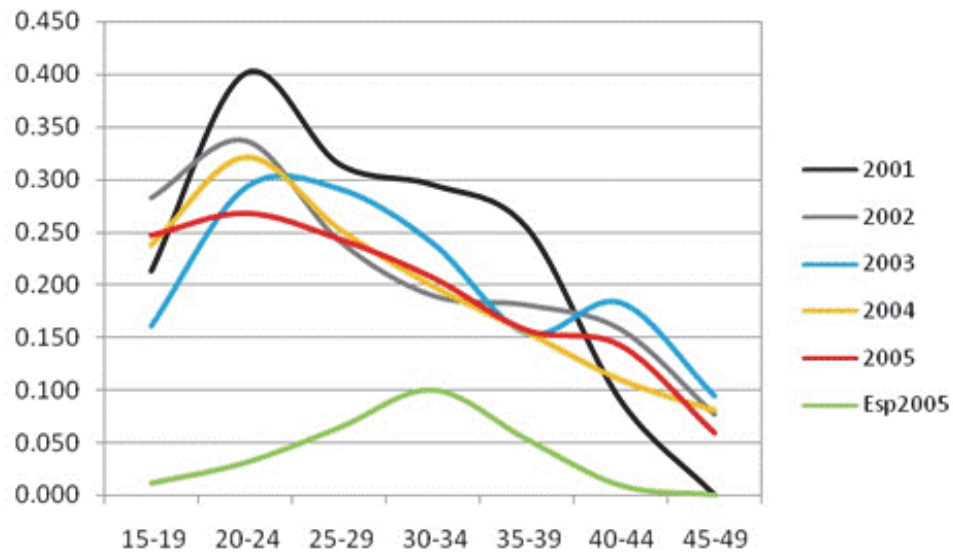
Data Sheet)³. This is certainly a remarkable case because most of the studies highlight the fact that foreign women's fertility practically converge to that of the natives (Abbassi-Shavazi and McDonald, 2000; Anderson, 2004; Kulu, 2005; Roig and Castro, 2007). This situation is explained, on one hand, by the existence of a structural effect. That means that more of these migrant women are concentrated on those groups with higher fertility levels: 20-30 years. Just this group concentrates 50% of the women at reproductive age. Another possible cause is the existence of a selection level, in the sense of the migrant women's group composition. According to Bledsoe, *et al*, (2007), they came from rural areas but also with educational levels under Senegal's average, which is usually related to a higher fertility level. Finally, we must also consider the effect related to the migratory process: having children can entrench the migrant's settlement process in the host country that can be seen as an insurance against deportation (Bledsoe, *et al*, 2007), but can also give access to better socioeconomic and sanitary conditions in order to procreate.

The Senegalese's fertility in Spain is slightly lower than in Senegal (5.1 in 2005 according to the World Population Data Sheet), but that is the dominant peace within the foreign population in Spain and, in general, in every developed society. Possibly, part of the explanation is the lower concentration of the women at reproductive ages in those groups of higher fertility (20-30 years old, representing 36%), but the existence of selective effects or the impact generated by migration itself are unknown to us.

We must also take into account that the reproductive behaviour by age represents a different distribution with respect to the Spanish population. The highest fertility level of the total population in Spain is concentrated in the age group between 30-34 years, gradually decreasing insofar as age increases. That is the expected distribution for countries that have already concluded their demographic transition. While referring to the Senegalese and Gambians in Spain, the higher fertility is in the younger groups and it diminishes as age increase (Graphs 7 and 8), showing an early fertility pattern. For both cases, we cannot appreciate any significative changes in the period between 2001 and 2005.

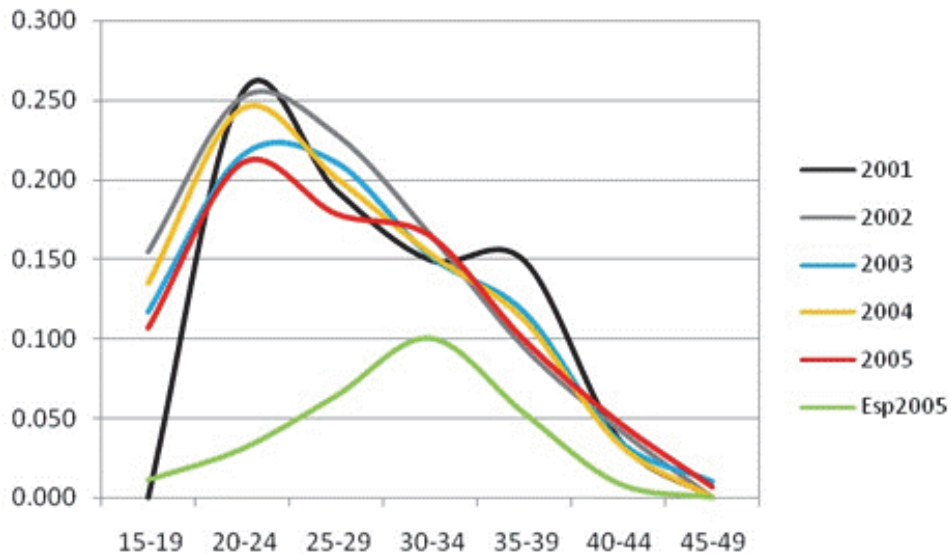
³ Even though this data differs from Bledsoe, *et al*. (2007: 376)

Graph 7.- Fertility rates by age of Gambian (2001-2005) and Spanish women (2005), Spain



Source: INE, MNP.

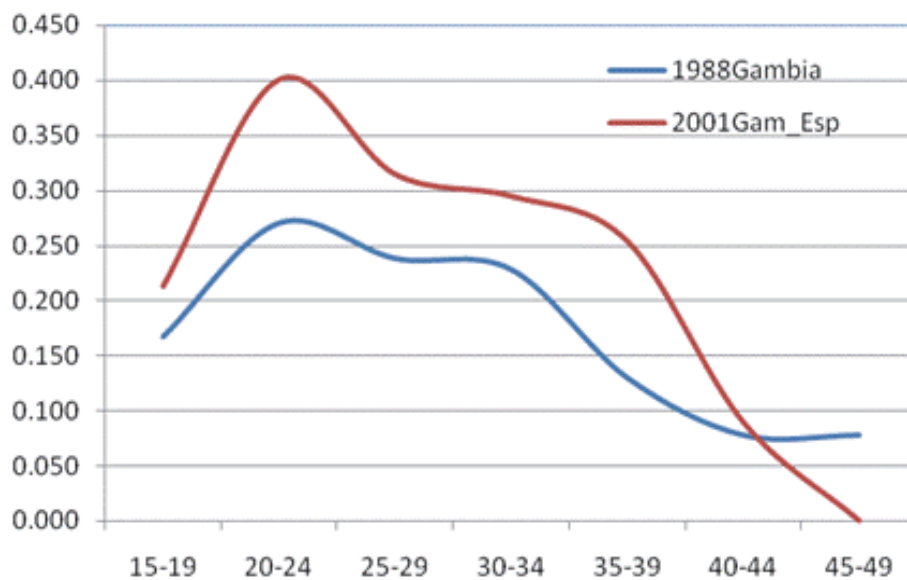
Graph 8.- Fertility rates by age of Senegalese (2001-2005) and Spanish women (2005), Spain



Source: INE, MNP.

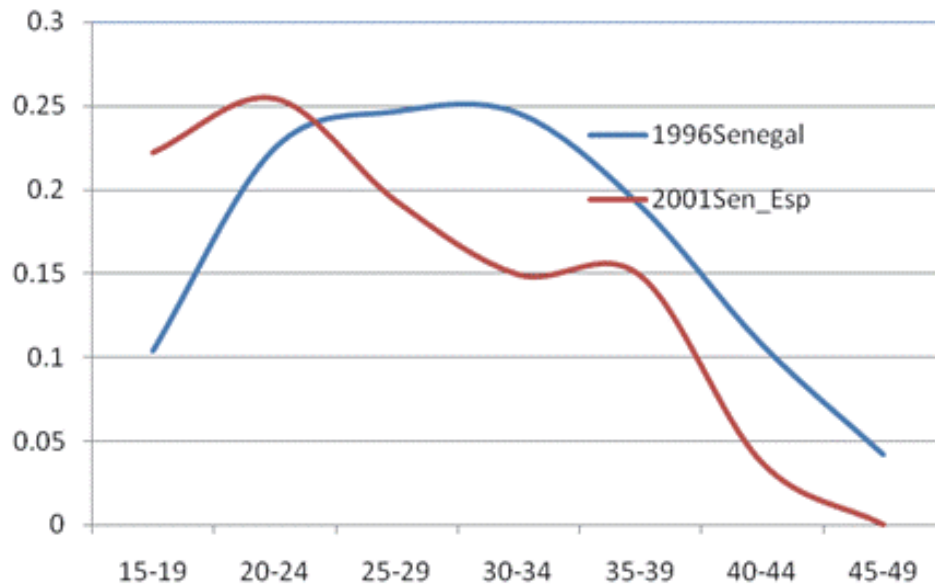
Finally, while comparing the distribution of the fertility by age of both groups with respect to their country of origin, we can also observe a particular behaviour (Graphs 9 and 10). Gambians in their home country present a minor precocity and are less concentrated in the younger group. In this case, the higher fertility period is extended between 20 and 34 years of age. For Senegalese, the fertility pattern in their home country with respect to the one that they experience in Spain is absolutely different. In Senegal the higher fertility level is concentrated in the groups between 20 and 35 years, considerably decreasing in the previous and subsequent groups. This could be qualified as a normal behaviour, while the emigrants –as we have mentioned before- reach their higher level at younger ages, fact that could be directly related to the feminine immigrant population distribution in Spain.

Graph 9.- Gambians fertility rates by age in Gambia and Spain



Source: WFR 2003 for Senegal and INE for Spain

Graph 10.- Senegalese fertility rates by age in Senegal and Spain



Source: WFR 2003 for Senegal and INE for Spain

6.- Conclusions: Demographic Enigmas of the Sub-Saharan Migration in Spain

From the description of the African flows to Spain since 1988, the reasons behind their stagnation during the migratory boom remain unexplained. On that sense, the first question that raises the Sub-Saharan migration is referred to the direction and the effectiveness of the flow's control and selection under the Spanish -but also the EU- and the African migration relationship. As we have mentioned before, our first hypothesis is that African flows have experienced a higher control than the rest, especially those from Eastern Europe and Latin America. But if that is true, we should also explain the reactivation and the increase of the African flows since 2003.

On the second place, we must highlight the differential demographic behavior of those more settled nationalities considering the year of arrival to Spain. Excluding the former colony of Equatorial Guinea, we should refer to the Gambian and Senegalese population. On the first case, the highest fertility level in comparison to Spaniards -one of the world's lowest- and to the foreign population in Spain, definitely stands out. That difference,

suggests some hypotheses that implies the differential behaviour related to fertility and nuptiality; the legislation inference in differential behaviour changes; and, the sign of the migratory strategies of the Gambian and Senegalese populations in Spain.

According to our hypothesis, the higher fertility experienced by Sub-Saharan women during the first stages would be related to two non-exclusive factors. First, female data underreporting, could generate an effect of a diminished mother account or an increase in the number of children per mother different that the one that really corresponds. These underreport of feminine effectives or that bad distribution between mothers and children could have an explanation in the Spanish legislation forbiddance with respect to polygamy. In that sense, we could think in a “female rotation system” in order to maximize the reproductive potential and/or kinship’s bad declaration with respect to feminine household members. However, even if this hypothesis is true, we also believe that it could not explain by itself the high registered fertility levels. In that sense, our second hypothesis is that high fertility explains the particular integration pattern of the Gambian and Senegalese populations in Spain, converting their new country in their privileged reproductive space at least at early stages. That could be because of the socio-sanitary conditions that guarantees a lower mortality incidence, as well as the impact of a better prestige due to the migrant condition inside the families. The reproductive success -related to the better life expectancy of new-born and the intensification of nuptial paces- would be one of the reasons why migrants could consider settling in Spain. This first process implies high fertility, but would not differ with a time change in nuptial and reproductive immigrant paces, nor in their descendents. Theoretical implications in the relationship between integration and differential demographic behavior would be then fundamental while inverting the traditional interpretation: integration would not be the result of the disappearance of the differences -related to fertility in this case-, but would explain the maintenance- or even their intensification

According to this, Spanish legislation is even more important, not only for prohibiting polygamy, but in defining the activity of the reunified person related to family reunification and the preferential access to the Spanish citizenship –as in the Equatoguinean case- that have modified the individual status and the demographic behavior of those nationalities. The Spanish legislation would have then altered the familiar strategies and the individual status equilibrium by sex and age within the Sub-Saharan immigrant families. Specifically referred to polygamy recognition, and sharing the

hypotheses sustained by different authors as Caroline Bledsoe, Spanish legislation may have caused two specific effects: 1) the differential circulation by sex of the immigrants for familiar reasons in favor of women; and 2) if children remain in the parental home in Spain, the female circulation mentioned above combined with data underreport, could have contributed to a fertility underestimation.

The demographic approximation of the migratory process and the settlement of Sub-Saharan population in Spain have two clear limitations. On the first place, the statistical filter that provides the raw material for the demographic analysis is not sensible to the reality beyond the national definitions. We specifically refer to the ethnic diversity that is not referred on official statistics and –as in the case of Gambians or Senegalese- are grouped under the same label. Their migration process, territorial distribution, economic activity or demographic behavior could significantly vary between them but we can just analyze the aggregated perspective. On the second place, the accumulation of bias generated due to populations' statistical coverage, demographic events or the report by itself, makes the results interpretation extraordinarily difficult. In that sense, a multidisciplinary approach that combines the different methods and techniques with other qualitative disciplines like anthropology could be the best tool to understand the Sub-Saharan reality in Spain.

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