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Integrated local development in Mediterranean marginal territories: The case studies of Casentino (Italy), Algarve (Portugal) and Corse (France)

Andrea Ricci[1], Mario Biggeri[1,2], Andrea Ferrannini[1,3]

[1] ARCO (Action Research for CO-development), PIN Scrl, Prato, Italy
[2] University of Florence, Florence, Italy
[3] University of Ferrara, Ferrara, Italy

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Abstract. Today, Mediterranean marginal territories are facing tremendous challenges. In the last decades, they have been characterised by a progressive abandonment in favour of urban areas, with consequent high social and environmental costs, such as the hydrogeological instability, degradation and soil erosion. However, at the same time they have relevant endogenous resources, which are often underutilized and unexploited and could be pivotal both for their strategic recovery, as well as for the economic and social development of the whole European Union.

This research investigates the potential active role of Mediterranean "marginal territories" to the achievement of the visions underlying the Europe 2020 strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth. This paper aims to verify the idea that Mediterranean marginal and weak areas could lead their own development trajectories and, at the same time, actively contribute to harmonious development processes in Europe. The structure of this paper starts from general theoretical arguments and a short description of European policies for development. It follows with the diagnostic analysis of three territorial contexts selected as case-studies, i.e. Casentino (Italy), Algarve (Portugal) and Corse (France). Finally, it comes back to the general issues proposing implications and lessons learnt for the promotion of sustainable human development in Europe.

Key words: European and Mediterranean marginal territories, sustainable human development, territorial cohesion, Casentino, Algarve, Corse

1 Introduction

The importance of the relationship between territory and human development is undeniable in every historical phase, and in every place where human beings live. This relationship sees the territory as the dynamic and stratified result of a complex system of relations between living communities and the environment (Becattini 2014).

However, every development process creates territorial disequilibria and imbalances, with marginal territories often excluded from innovation processes and global knowledge networks due to their low competitiveness, capacities and accessibility. This marginality – especially in the case of inland and mountainous areas – often creates structural and long-term weaknesses, leading vicious cycles of abandonment and exclusion.

Marginal and weak territories in Europe, especially in mountainous and inland areas, have been historically characterised by a long and progressive abandonment in favour of urban areas, with consequent high social and environmental costs such as hydrogeological instability, degradation and soil erosion. The demographic decline coincides with the weakening of the supply of basic social services. In other words, "Europe is facing increasing and territorially differentiated challenges, and the risk of social exclusion is higher in areas with low accessibility, weak economic performance and lack of opportunities" (EU 2011, p. 5). Moreover, as clearly explained by Rodríguez-Pose (2018), persistent poverty, economic decay and lack of opportunities are at the root of considerable discontent in declining and lagging-behind areas, leading to the belief that these places have "no future" and "don't matter".

These marginal and weak territories are thus facing tremendous challenges, but at the same time they offer important potential for human development (UNDP 1990, Sen 1999) that must be exploited in order to find new trajectories for the human flourishing in Europe. Indeed, these areas are endowed with relevant endogenous resources – i.e. social, human and natural capital – that are often underutilized and unexploited, but could be pivotal both for their strategic recovery, as well as for the economic and social development of the whole European Union. Therefore, finding appropriate development trajectories for such areas could generate important benefits for a more harmonious development in Europe, strengthening cohesion and sustainability in economic, social and environmental terms. However, this could happen only if territories are able to propose ideas, models or development processes that are in relation to those of core areas and thus with other local development systems, in a necessary and mutual exchange of ideas, competences and services. In other words, if better policies are implemented focusing on tapping into untapped potential and on providing opportunities to those people living in the places that "don't matter" (Rodríguez-Pose 2018, p. 189).

The research hypothesis underlying this paper is that, in a reality dominated by global markets and territorial disequilibria, local systems in marginal territories still have, at least in the European context, the potentialities to take actively part at development processes, and not simply to survive in the global competitive environment. This perspective could be useful also to assess the effectiveness of multi-level relations between supranational policies (i.e. Agenda 2030, Europe 2020 with its Territorial Agenda and Cohesion Policy, etc.), national strategies and local development processes. In this regard, the Territorial Agenda of the European Union 2020 opened an important debate on the territorial dimension of policies and strategies. This Agenda provides a strategic orientation for territorial development and considers the Europe 2020 goals achievable only if the territorial dimension of the strategy is taken into account, arguing that "the diversity of territories is a potential for development and that the distinctive identities of local and regional communities are of key relevance in this regard" (EU 2011, p. 4).

Nowadays, it is therefore critically important to sustain renewed momentum around the long-term structural shifts required to meet the goal of the Europe 2020 strategy and the Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development, especially in territories with marginal and peripheral characteristics, such as inland and mountainous areas.

The general objective of this paper is to investigate the potential active role of "marginal territories" to the achievement of the visions underlying the Europe 2020 strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth. After this introduction, the paper is structured as follows. The second part is dedicated to a literature review on the relation between territories and human development and on the theoretical, interpretative framework on sustainable human development at local level. The third part contextualises the European policy framework for development in marginal and disadvantaged areas, while the fourth part describes the research design and the methodology used for data collection and analysis. The fifth part presents the results of the diagnostic analysis of three local development systems selected as case-studies due to their features of marginality and structural weaknesses: Casentino (Italy), Algarve (Portugal) and Corse (France). Based on this analysis, the sixth part highlights specific strategic actions to overcome the condition of marginality and to pursue sustainable human development trajectories. The last part summarises the final remarks and future perspectives.

2 The relationship between territory and human development

The relationship between territory and human development is at the centre of the theoretical framework underlying this paper. Among many, we consider Raffestin's definition of human territoriality as the more adequate for our purposes: "a complex system of relationships linking individuals or/and social groups with territory (exteriority) and with others (alterity) by means of mediators (instruments, techniques, representations etc.), in order to guarantee a maximum of autonomy within the limits of the system" (Raffestin 1980). Thus, Raffestin argues that the territory is generated starting from the relation between society and space, as actors "territorise" space.

In the last decades, concepts like "local development systems", "endogenous potential" and "local public goods" have acquired a central place in the academic literature due to the debate in economic geography and regional studies. According to Amin (1999), the idea at the base of local development is "to unlock the "Wealth of regions" as the prime source of development and renewal [...] in tending to favour bottom up, region specific, longer term and plural-actor based policy action" (Amin 1999, p. 368). In line with this reasoning, Pike et al. (2007, p. 1263) define development as the "establishment of conditions and institutions that foster the realization of the potential of the capacities and faculties of the human mind in people, communities and, in turn, places". This underlines also the territorial and people-centred perspective on Sustainable Human Development advanced by Biggeri, Ferrannini (2014), based on the recognition that the territory where individuals live and interact has fundamental importance for expanding or reducing economic and social capabilities, agency and empowerment. Therefore, these authors define Sustainable Human Development (SHD) at the local level as "a process of enabling the local system to function in order to facilitate the expansion of the real freedoms that people enjoy in an integrated and sustainable manner" (Biggeri, Ferrannini 2014, p. 147).

Moreover, the place-based approach to development strategies (Bolton 1992, Barca 2009) gives emphasis to the territorial context (in social, cultural and institutional terms),to multi-stakeholder and the interactive construction of knowledge in order to reinforce community capabilities and promote innovative ideas for the design of public policies and the tailored provision of public goods. In line with this argument, it is necessary to make development interventions more "place-aware" or "place-sensitive" by "taking into consideration the sheer variety of factors in diverse geographical location which may affect the potential returns of intervention" (Barca et al. 2012, p. 136). Nonetheless, the development of local systems is often based, through links between sectors and territories, on initiatives and actions taken in other places or by external institutions/agents (Becattini 2001). Therefore, it is crucial to recognise that local development does not simply depend on local efforts, but effective development trajectories can be pursued only if various levels are involved and aligned toward the achievement of common goals (Biggeri, Ferrannini 2014). In this regard, multilevel governance indicates the novel form of making public policy, due to the existence of "overarching, multilevel policy networks" (Marks 1996, p. 167), and could be understood as "a panoply of systems of coordination and negotiation, among formally independent but functionally interdependent entities" (Piattoni 2010, p. 26). The policy process must therefore be understood as an approach where local elites and endogenous actors interact with the external agents involved in the policies (Barca 2009). The importance of multi-level articulation lies in the ability to valorise endogenous resources by involving and including local stakeholders along with linking them with initiatives, resources and competences coming from other territories and higher governance levels. All in all, these arguments lead us to embrace an integrated approach for territorial diagnostics and analysis, taking into account, among others: socio-economic conditions; geography (density and accessibility); international global-local linkages; local, regional, national and communitarian policies for investment and innovation (Storper 1997, Pike et al. 2007, Crescenzi, Rodríguez-Pose 2011). The most innovative feature of this approach is thus the call for an integration of different levels of analysis, which have been historically separated and not treated with a systemic approach in a unique framework (Rodríguez-Pose, Crescenzi 2008), e.g. macro and micro economic theories with meso-level

or regional ones; quantitative and qualitative analyses; top-down and bottom-up policy approaches. In particular, reconciling top-down and bottom-up development policies is necessary and critical to effectively foster sustainable human development at local level (Biggeri, Ferrannini 2014).

This integrated approach is appropriate to analyse the object of this paper – i.e. marginal and weak territories – and their endogenous potential. In theoretical terms, the idea of marginality is directly linked to the centre/periphery relation and to the issues of accessibility due to geographical, infrastructural, social and cultural factors. Marginality is mostly measured through simple quantitative parameters, such as the distance from agglomeration centres, often used in socioeconomic research on mountainous and inland areas.

The concepts of geographical and socio-economic marginality are also often correlated with the different types of weaknesses that may characterize a territory: e.g. weak as a consequence of human abandonment dynamics; weak as a consequence of absence of primary resources, services and capacities; weak in the sense of isolated, little, unknown and forgotten. These issues often require more complex quantitative-qualitative parameters that gravitate around the central elements of endowments, governance and capacities, as it will be discussed in the analysis of our case-studies.

3 European development policies for marginal territories

A large part of the European territory is characterised by the aggregation of citizens in minor centres, with limited accessibility to essential services. Since the War World II, the inland areas have been gradually and progressively subject to a process of marginalization characterised by demographic decrease, weakening of the supply of local basic services, high social cost for the whole country such as the hydrogeological instability and the environmental and cultural degradation (Dematteis 2013). In other words, as stated by Rodríguez-Pose (2018, p. 205), "years of decline, lack of opportunities and perceived neglect have put lagging-behind and declining areas in a state of flux".

For this reason, it is important to briefly recap the main development policies and instruments for marginal areas implemented by the EU with clear territorial objectives implications (in particular, the Cohesion Policy), in order to detect the evolution of the territorial dimension along with the integration process.

To begin with, it should be noted here that the Common Agricultural Policy and the Cohesion Policy are conceived to be the main EU "development instruments", allowing to better focus on specific objectives and making more efficient the sectorial policies through integrated actions, in line with the European Treaties (Rome, 1957; Maastricht, 1992; Amsterdam, 1997; Nice, 2001; Lisbon, 2007) and with the most recent Europe 2020 Strategy (see Table 1). Indeed, cohesion and convergence of the less developed areas have been regarded as a precondition for the competitiveness of the European Union as a whole.

Central attention needs to be paid to the EU Cohesion Policy as well as to the EU Rural Development Policy, as they both aim at promoting wellbeing and socio-economic stability for all the communitarian citizens, by investing on people and territories. Moreover, both policies are built on a multi-level governance mechanism (see Table 2) and on the participation of all the involved actors in development processes.

It is also important to briefly recap the evolution of the EU Cohesion Policy over the years. Indeed, the Cohesion Policy remains the main investment policy of the European Union and it is also the main policy tool to quickly answer to important crisis situations, directing funds where are more needed, and to sectors with high employability and growth rates.

Since the Rome Treaty of 1957, one of the main tasks of the Community has been to promote a "harmonious development of economic activities", by aiming "at reducing the disparities between the levels of development of the various regions" (Treaty of Rome, 1957). The need for a coordinated Community solution to regional imbalances was also recognized in the 1965 First Communication on Regional Policy. Thus, the idea of structuring aid for deprived regions started taking shape in the late 1960s, with the

Table 1: The Europe 2020 Strategy: Axes and Targets

Priorities Axes	Main Targets
a Smart growth: developing an economy based on knowledge and innovation through more effective investment in education, research and innovation;	1. Employment: 75% of the 20-64 year-olds to be employed; 2. R&D: 3% of the EU's GDP to be invested in Research and Development activities; 3. Climate change and emission sustainability "20/20/20": a Greenhouse gas emissions 20% lower than in 1990; b 20% of energies from renewables. c 20% increase in energy efficiency. 4. Education: i Reducing the rates of early school leaving below 10%; ii At least 40% of the 30-34-year-olds completing the third level education; 5. Fighting poverty and social exclusion: at least 20 million fewer people in or at-risk poverty and social exclusion.
b Sustainable growth: promoting a more resource efficient, greener and more competitive economy decoupling economic growth from resource use thanks to a decisive move towards a low-carbon economy;	
c Inclusive growth: fostering a high-employment economy delivering social and territorial cohesion with a strong emphasis on job creation and poverty reduction.	

Source: EC (2010)

Table 2: Multi-level Governance of the Planning Cycle 2014-2020

Communitarian Level	STRATEGIC COMMON FRAMEWORK
National Level	Partnership Agreement (PA) & National Operative Programme (PON)
Regional Level	Regional Operative Programmes (POR) & Rural Development Programmes (PSR)

Source: Author's elaboration

creation of the Directorate General for Regional Policy, which considered the support to underdeveloped regions "as important as the heart in the human body" and able to reanimate human life in the areas which have been denied it (Jean Rey, speech at the Directorate General for Regional Policy, 1968).

In 1971, the Council Resolution gave a strong incentive to regional development in Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) pursuing a policy of co-ordination of financial aids. After the "Thompson Report" and the enlargement of 1973, the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) was set up for a 3-year test period, with the aim to correct regional imbalances.

At the beginning, the operations were purely national, and Member States had to apply for ERDF support at project level, while decisions were then taken in a committee of Member States based on Commission proposals. However, events such as the Single European Act, the Accession of Greece, Spain and Portugal, and the adoption of single market programmes gave a new impetus for a more genuine "European" Cohesion Policy. Indeed, these changes pushed new countries to increase regional disparities-funding as key means of bringing wealth up to EU average and set the basis for the overall framework underlying the Cohesion Policy designed to offset the burden of the single market for the less-favoured regions of the European Community.

In the 1988 for the first time the European Council allocate ECU 64 billion to Struc-

Table 3: Complementarity and integration between funds in 2014-2020 planning

European Structural and Investment Funds (ESI Funds: EFRD, ESF, CF, EAFRD, EMFF) to sustain the Cohesion Policy (reg. n. 1303/2013 note 2)		
Cohesion Policy (reg. EU n. 1303/2013)	Rural Development Policy (reg. EU n. 1306/2013)	Maritime and Fisheries Policy (reg. EU n. 508/2014)
European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), European Social Fund (ESF), Cohesion Fund (CF)	European Agriculture Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD)	European Maritime and Fisheries Funds (EMFF)

Source: Author's Elaboration on European Commission

tural Funds over 5 years, introducing the following four key principles: i) "concentration" (focusing on poorest regions), ii) "partnership" (involvement of regional and local partners), iii) "programming" (multiannual programming), and iv) "additionality" (of EU expenditure to national ones). This major shift from annual project selection by Member States to a more strategic and multi-annual programming conduced to a wider partnership between regions, Member States and the European Commission and toward a deeper integration of the structural funds around defined priority objectives.

The 1990s saw the standardization of rules, codification of principles of decentralized management and the increase of the structural fund budget from 16% to nearly 31% of EU budget. The budget reached ECU 168 billion over 5 years for Structural and Cohesion Funds according to the 1992 EU Treaty.

In the first years of the new millennium, the principle of "efficiency" was introduced to simplify design and procedures, putting the base for the enlargement of May 2004, when ten new Member States joined the Union. The 'Agenda 2000' paved the way for this historic enlargement that brought 20% increase in the EU population, but only 5% increase in GDP (EC 2010).

Within the programming cycle 2000-2006, around €195 billion for the 3 Structural Funds and €18 billion for the Cohesion Funds were budgeted together with other pre-accession instruments for capacity building, rural development, environmental protection and mobility (reg. EU n. 1303/2013). Moreover, the introduction of pre-accession instruments for candidates (ISPA) increased the structural fund budget to €38 billion per year, reaching about 33% of EU budget.

For the planning period 2007-2013, the budget increased to about 36% of the total EU budget, focusing specifically on a growth and jobs strategy but still leaving rural development and fisheries funds outside cohesion policy.

Finally, the planning cycle 2014-2020 not only has been devoting funds for regional and cohesion policy amounting to €351.8 billion, but it has also introduced an important innovation to favour the integration process, the complementarity and coherence among and within programmes: a unique regulation that sanction general dispositions on the functioning of all the funds (reg. EU n. 1303/2013), and that establish a unique body of funds shared by more policies (the ESI Funds) to implement Unitarian programmes and to align all communitarian policies with the goals of the Europe 2020 strategy (EC 2013).

Nonetheless, it is not easy – especially in places with lower institutional capacities – to be oriented in the complex functioning mechanism of European policies, which are composed by a multitude of strategies, regulations, priorities, funds, and intervention areas. The solution must be found in the complementarity among policies and funds: in the process of local integrated development the complementary has to become a concrete concept, especially when projects and programs are financed by more funds and impact on several local stakeholders.

In other words, better policies (from planning to implementation and evaluation) are needed in weak and marginal territories, described by Rodríguez-Pose (2018, p. 206) as follows: "Policies aimed at maximising the development potential of each territory, solidly grounded in theory and evidence, combining people-based with place-based approaches, and empowering local stakeholders to take greater control of their future". This vision

is clearly aligned with the perspective of Sustainable Human Development at local level underlying this paper, which has been so far made operational only to a limited extent within the EU Cohesion Policy.

4 Research design and methodology

In order to answer the research question underlying this paper, a comparative case-study approach was adopted, by analysing the local development systems of Casentino valley in Tuscany (Italy), Algarve (Portugal) and Corse (France). These case-studies were selected as illustrative examples of marginal and weak territories in Southern Europe – the area with wider regional imbalances within the EU – in geographical and socio-economic terms. Obviously, it should be clarified that findings and arguments derived from this case-study approach can be extended to other similar areas in Europe only to a limited extent, without anyway limiting the relevance of this analysis.

The methodology was based on a harmonic range of different methods, which undoubtedly allowed to diversify the sources of information, digging deeper in all relevant topics and cross-checking findings and results, in order to obtain a comprehensive and consistent picture of the main issues in all areas. The high level of flexibility of the selected method was crucial to tailor them to the relevant target (e.g. different interviewees or group participants), making the whole methodology fully adaptable to the case-studies.

The methodology was mainly characterized by participatory observation and data collection, along with continuous informal and formal interaction with the community and with the main social, economic and political actors. The collection of qualitative data and information was developed in order to let emerge the voice, experiences and "reasons of actions" of all local stakeholders involved in the research. This was also supported by the analysis of secondary data, desk research and literature review in the fields of interest for the inquiry, and in some case by quantitative analysis to support and validate the findings of the qualitative information.

In particular, around 20 face-to-face semi-structured interviews and 4 focus group discusssions were conducted in each area as main data collection methods for our diagnostic analysis of the local development systems. The major goal of the interviews and focus group discussions was to generate a qualitative description to understand the weaknesses and the potentials of the local systems and to identify possible recovery strategy, concrete actions and projects to boost growth and employment in line with the Europe 2020 strategy. While semi-structured interviews had the crucial added-value of allowing to discuss multiple topics, with a certain freedom for the interviewee and interviewer, focus group discussions represented crucial occasions for participatory collective brainstorming to discuss relevant needs and potential solutions. Indeed, focus group discussions allowed the generation of strategic proposals working in interaction and collaboration with specific groups of stakeholders for each chosen territory, by leading participants to share opinions and impressions about the phenomena of interest and by stimulating the production of new ideas and creative proposals.

To conclude, the research followed a process articulated in multiple stages. In general, the procedure included i) identification of place-specific problems / opportunities deserving attention, ii) in-depth understanding of such weaknesses / potentials, iii) discussion of feasible scenarios to overcome such problems and to valorise the endogenous potentials, and iv) extrapolation of useful policy implications for marginal territories in general. In particular, the following steps (with their timing) were followed:

1. Literature review and desk research (02/2014 - 06/2017);
2. Research in Algarve (Portugal): territorial diagnostics, report and results validation (02/2014 – 06/2014);
3. Research in Casentino (Italy): territorial diagnostics, report and results validation (12/2014 – 08/2015);
4. Research in Corse (France): territorial diagnostics, report and results validation (04/2016 – 09/2016);
5. Compartive analysis (09/2016 – 05/2017).

Table 4: Synthetic data on Algarve, Casentino and Corse

	Algarve♣	Casentino♡	Corse♢
Administrative level	NUTS II	Sub-NUTS III	NUTS II
Main City	Faro	Bibbiena	Ajaccio
Main City Inhabitants - 2012	62,281	12,291	66,245
Area (km2)	4,995	700	8,680
Population - 2012	444,398	36,009	324,212
Density - 2012 (Inh./km2)	88.9	51.4	37.4
Foreign residents - 2012	14.1%	11.7%	9.1%
Old-age dependency ratio = 2012	30,7	27,9	26,1
GDP per capita - 2012 (€)	16,774	17,372	18,730
Unemployment rate - 2012	17.9%	18.8%	10.3%
No. of active firms - 2012	58,333	3,504	46,368
No. of incoming tourists - 2012	3,043,920	35,268	7,480,800

Source: ♣: INE (2013) and CCDR Algarve (2013); ♡: ISTAT (2012); ♢: INSEE (2014, 2015)

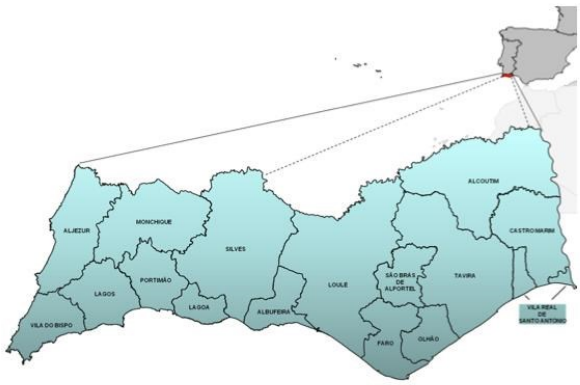
5 Diagnostic analysis of Local Development Systems

This chapter briefly presents the results of the territorial diagnostic analysis of the local development systems of Algarve, Casentino and Corse conducted through participatory methods during the field research. The diagnostics have been developed around four main dimensions:

- *Habitat* (i.e. natural environment and resources, anthropomorphic environment, infrastructural capital and intra/extra local mobility);
- *Community & Ethos* (i.e. local and extra-local socio-demographic dynamics, characteristics and trends, local identity, traditions, collective memory, material and immaterial cultural resources, civic participation and involvement in the decision-making processes);
- *Business* (i.e. economic and productive structures, sectorial analyses, occupational needs and employment opportunities);
- *Tourism* (i.e. endogenous vision, strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, threats, territorial capitals, quantitative analysis of fluxes, project proposals).

For the sake of synthesis, this chapter only presents an integrated assessment of the local development systems, by identifying strategic and critical intervention areas based on the SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats) analysis for each territory.

5.1 Case-study 1: Algarve



Source: CCDR Algarve (2007)

Figure 1: Algarve in Portugal and Europe

Table 5: Simplified SWOT analysis of Algarve

Strengths

- Quality and variety of natural resources;
- Airports with international flights and low-cost companies;
- Quality, variety, competitiveness, reputation and consolidation of the touristic sector;
- Other sectors with potential based on resources, existing know-how, in infrastructure and economic dynamics around tourism (e.g. sea, agro-industries, ICT, health or renewable energy).
- High entrepreneurial rate with good spin-off capacity;
- Favourable soil and climate conditions for agricultural activities.

Weaknesses

- Atomization and overspecialization on the touristic sector in decline, and high levels of seasonality;
- Levels of unemployment above the national average, accentuated by the negative performance of key regional economic activities;
- Bad transportation system;
- Deficits of leadership and training (individual and collective) and of coordination / cooperation of diverse nature, to enhance critical competitive, critic
- mass and to empower the approach to other dimension markets.
- Difficult to attract FDI and high-skilled workers.

Opportunities

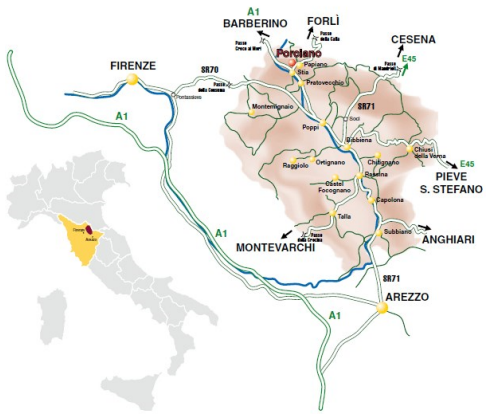
- Promote diversification and enhancement of the regional economy (including tourism), leveraging other economic activities focused on market niche with high value / potentiality, taking advantage of the dynamics of tourism, of local resources, of available knowledge and capacity;
- Promote the re-industrialization associated with the traditional sectors of the regional economy, boosting employment, generating value added and boosting cooperation networks / knowledge transfer between research centres and the business world.

Threats

- Inability to boost diversification and valorisation of local potentialities;
- Loss of competitiveness and international attractiveness of the Algarve, as a tourist destination or as destinations of investment;
- Inability to boost cooperation networks especially focused on the use of the economic potentials of the region (e.g. networks of cooperation companies, regional innovation system);
- Slow implementation of new energetic sources in the region.

Source: Author's elaboration

5.2 Case-study 2: Casentino



Source: http://www.castellodiporciano.com

Figure 2: Casentino in Tuscany and Italy

Table 6: Simplified SWOT analysis of Casentino

Strengths	**Weaknesses**
• Natural integrity and wonderful landscapes: important quantity and quality of natural resources and high quality of life; • Good social capital, high level of social trust, and positive reciprocities' system; • Ancient craftsmanship knowledge (wood, stone, iron and wool); • Strong identity and sense of belonging; • High entrepreneurial rate with good spin-off capacity and high diversification of the economic activity; • Emergence of new enterprises in ICTs and high value-added sectors and presence of leader companies.	• Insufficient mobility system with the population facing barriers to use it (critical situation for nonmotorized mobility); • Very marked ageing dynamic and negative natural growth rate of the population, youth emigration; • Very weak and fragmented governance systems; • Reduction of important historical production chains (textile, wood, agro-forestry-pastoral) • Difficulties to attract high-skilled workers and FDI; • Relative isolation of the area, scarce accessibility and lack of telematics networks, scarce services' supply.
Opportunities	**Threats**
• Develop effective "feeder system" for public transportation (demand responsive or dial-a-ride public TS), empower the non-motorized mobility system; • Exploit the opportunities for social and environmental development / protection through coordination (fund rising) and mutual knowledge (efficiency) among associations; • Activate synergies and collaborations between different sectors (agro-food-tourism); • Promote the tourism sector and the proximity with important touristic destinations (Florence, Siena, Rome etc.).	• Hydrogeological risk and instability (eco-systemic disequilibria); • Closeness to the outside world could generate exclusion phenomena, tensions and conflicts; • Progressively ageing population, higher incidence of social and productive problems; • Emigration of younger generations and difficulties in inter-generational passages; • The economic crisis and the bankrupt of important enterprises and territorial banks: risk of financial and economic contagion and troubles.

Source: Author's elaboration

5.3 Case-study 3: Corse

Source: http://www.mapsman.com

Figure 3: Corse in France

Table 7: Simplified SWOT analysis of Corse

Strengths

- Quality and variety of natural resources, wonderful landscapes, high quality of life;
- Diffused cultural, architectonical and natural heritage;
- Quality, variety, competitiveness, reputation and consolidation of the touristic sector;
- Undiscovered, unexplored and secret place different from the national context (speculated in the collective imaginary, and in touristic marketing);
- Strong identity and sense of belonging;
- Consolidated market in primary sector;
- Persistence of cultural traditions and craftsmanship knowledge;
- Airports with international flights and low-cost companies.

Weaknesses

- Bad transportation system;
- Progressively ageing population, higher incidence of social and productive problems;
- Reduction of important historical production chains (tannin, wood, agro-forestry-pastoral)
- Levels of unemployment above the national average;
- Very marked ageing dynamic of the population, negative natural growth rate of the population and youth emigration create difficulties in the intergenerational turnover, and weaken the local community;
- Small Enterprises highly dependent on the national market and with scarce entrepreneurial culture.

Opportunities

- Empower non-motorized mobility system and develop effective "feeder system" for public transportation;
- Activate synergy and collaboration between different sectors to generate important economies of scale and scope (agro-food-tourism);
- Create integrated local production chains (agro-food-tourism);
- Opportunity for the de-seasonality of the touristic demand (snow, ski, chestnuts, etc.) and to create attractive touristic packages in all seasons.

Threats

- Hydrogeological risk and instability;
- Slow implementation of new energetic sources in the region;
- Insane forest expansion as consequence of agropastoral activities reduction;
- Resistance to changes by older generation, and little openness to innovation;
- Losses of knowledge and know-how in important sectors (wood, textile) and disappearance of important artisanal activities (wood, stone, iron, wool);
- Progressively ageing population, higher incidence of social/productive problems.

Source: Author's elaboration

5.4 Comparative findings

The population dynamics of these territories had been strongly negative till the 1980s, since then they have continued with a stable trajectory till the present day. It seems that, despite the losses of human capital, these local systems have found dynamic equilibriums.

The primary resource of these three territories is in their environmental, natural and cultural richness. Despite the huge amount of natural and cultural resources, people living in such territories face important problems and barriers to access essential services (e.g. education, health) as well as in terms of internal and external mobility.

Therefore, a primary precondition to tap into untapped potential and to provide wider socio-economic opportunities to the people living in those places is to increase the spatial accessibility and the services usability. In particular, to stop the abandonment dynamics of the local population and to create conditions for the younger generations to live and build their future in these areas, it is essential to enhance the quality and accessibility of basic services for the resident people, guaranteeing essential services such as high quality educational supply for the youths, adequate health care assistance, and create employment opportunities. In fact, one of the main economic weaknesses of these areas seems to be their infrastructural endowments. On the one hand, the low level of internal infrastructural development is undoubtedly a comparative disadvantage for many local businesses, which are penalised in term of transportation costs. This has also led to a relevant fragmentation and atomization of the entrepreneurial base in these areas, with limited economies of scale and learning. On the other hand, this low level of infrastructural endowment may have created a competitive advantage in terms of territorial / landscape distinction with respect to the regional and national contexts, having also limited the diffusion of external (and often cheaper) products.

Moreover, the above-mentioned economic fragmentation is also reflected at institutional and governance levels, with a wide number of public entities having diversified (and sometimes overlapping) responsibilities in decision-making, policy design and public administration.

Finally, these areas share the potential for strategies based on their attractiveness in terms of sustainable tourism destinations and on the quality of their agro-food production, being both characterised by elements of cultural tradition, integrity and respect for the environment.

6 Policy implications for Mediterranean marginal territories

The diagnostic analysis of Casentino, Algarve and Corse local development systems, which could be taken as reference territories for other similar areas in Europe, together with the analysis of the European policy framework for marginal areas stimulates a reflection on the marginal conditions of such territories leading to a more general overview of the possible development trajectories, scenarios and conditions that could be applied in other territorial contexts.

The territory is not an enterprise, thus, it cannot close for bankruptcy. It could be depopulated of people and activities, but the territory cannot close and die. Therefore, a place-based and people-centred approach to territorial development makes sense only in a policy framework open to the evolution and integration of multiple models, strategies, and development trajectories.

In order to foster their development processes, it is primarily necessary to reduce the marginality through accessibility: basic services (education and health care), spatial and virtual accessibility. Accessibility means to allow person to live, host, travel, build social relations, develop businesses and create jobs and wealth. Therefore, in order to create the conditions for a real contribution of such areas to the overall development of the European Union, it is necessary to implement strategies to protect and enjoy their citizenship rights, and to sustain the local (and thus national and European) economic growth starting from their untapped endogenous potential.

According to the previous analysis and considerations, a crucial condition to overcome the territorial weakness of many European local development systems is to "open" the local context itself.

The openness of marginal territory could be conceived as:

- Openness to external resources: financial resources (e.g. European Funds) and innovation leverages, such as universities or R&D centres (Noronha Vaz, Cesário 2005);
- Institutional openness through the application of multilevel governance models among different administrative levels;
- Construction of inter-municipal, trans-regional and trans-national cooperation networks, which could assume different forms and allow good practice exchanges and formative experiences of territorial programming, management and development among local administrations, technicians and administrators;
- Openness to global markets through internet and technological innovations (Noronha Vaz, Cesário 2005).

Thus, the uniqueness of a territorial system has to be included in a broader set of trans-local network relations, however, this could weaken and threaten the same uniqueness that characterizes the local system. For instance, in many cases territorial development practices are focused on the valorisation of the historical-cultural-environmental heritage in touristic terms, placing much effort on tourism promotion and valorisation. However, often such interventions aim at homologating the local attractiveness around folkloristic images built on a presumed local identity, or around alternative emergent touristic segments (agro-tourism, cultural tourism, rural development, etc.).

Another condition concerns capacities and opportunities, in the sense of assimilation and application of the knowledge and skills that empower people to purse their aspirations, businesses to pursue their objectives, institutions to pursue local development and well-being. From this perspective it makes sense to think that a territory could acquire the functioning to express new, complementary and sustainable development models (Biggeri, Ferrannini 2014), offering its own contribution to the external world instead of being conceived as "places that don't matter". This broad capacity-building condition includes for instance:

- To promote knowledge and know-how production, diffusion and reproduction, starting from local embedded knowledge, and encouraging and investing in research and development activities aiming at finding new and innovative way to foster socio-economic development;
- Construction of socio-economic and productive networks, in the sense of industrial districts and clusters (Becattini et al. 2009) based on cooperation-competition mechanisms among local SMEs and other local stakeholders.

The acquisition of planning, operative, cooperative and governance capacities at the local level could contribute to change the defining parameters of territorial marginality and weakness. In addition to structural socio-economic factors, they give importance to the capacity to react to top-down stimulus and promoting their own strategic and enlarged development vision.

In addition, another condition is the enhancement of social capital and trust in the possibility to act in a situation of scarce resources. It is necessary to believe and stimulate the changing of the local entrepreneurs and administrators' behaviours in order to jointly exploit economies of learning and scope for the local system. In this regard, it appears relevant to:

- Enhance the governance system and its administrative processes, through the improvement of the social dialogue, the capacity to elaborate, collaborate, share, and co-act, posing a primary goal for collective wellbeing, but recognizing the interdependence of individual development trajectories (Sen 2009).
- Sustain the valorisation of endogenous territorial and cultural capital, as the local identity has a dynamic value with respect to history, traditions, and knowledge. Therefore, it is necessary to activate participatory processes able to trigger the sense of belonging for a development path (Biggeri, Ferrannini 2014, Biggeri et al. 2018).

Finally, as we have seen, the core of the current communitarian policies is the promotion of smart, inclusive and sustainable growth, which makes reference to a unique development framework where cohesion and sustainability are functional to these priorities.

In order to embrace the territorial dimension of policies, it is thus necessary to re-start from the territories, utilizing an operative and realistic approach, which could take into account the relevant issues, the priorities of development strategies and the various forms of internal and external collaboration and partnerships.

7 Final Remarks

The centrality and specificity of the territory and its resources has changed the view on local development paradigms: it is not yet acceptable to consider a unique direction where localities have to converge, at the same way, and it does not make sense to consider a universal model which represent a prototype of developed society; instead, there is a multiplicity of local models. The destiny of marginal areas is not to converge with developed ones, but to take their own unique irreproducible trajectory.

Nonetheless, local development and cohesion policies at national and European level have not been adequate in the last years to tackle the challenges they face. Many European territories are far from overcoming their own structural weaknesses and deficits to build the base for the flourishing of the endogenous potential. The affirmation of certain local development models and the valorisation of endogenous resources are very complex processes, which have to face the reality of challenges based on: the real potential of a territory, the real predisposition of local actors, the internal and external real demand, the extra-local programming context, and the global dynamics.

On these premises, marginal territories can (and should) play a fundamental role in ensuring equilibrium, cohesion and sustainability in the European development process. Although the territorial dimension in the process of European policies and scenarios is increasingly marked, this does not imply that marginal territories themselves are conscious to be part of such scenarios. It is clear that Europe is perceived, at the local context, mainly as a potential source of funds, but also as imposing constraints, recently leading to increased populism and anti-Europe feelings.

Therefore, analysing territorial unbalances from the perspective of marginal territories could be a way to check if there are intersections between communitarian scenarios and territorial realities. The European territorial development scenarios are defined by priorities and political choices that aim to react to the main global challenges, but it seems crucial to design development processes to be tailored on the territories and through the territories themselves. Specifically, marginal territories provide development issues, models and opportunities that deserve to be taken into account within European and national policy-making and instruments provision.

The potentials of marginal territories to contribute to harmonious development process within the EU may consist in a series of elements such as: the design and pursuit of their own local development trajectories; the construction of extra-local, trans-regional and trans-European networks; the operationalization of the development principles (sustainability, cohesion, polycentrism, competitiveness, etc.); the closeness to the needs and aspirations of citizens; the tailored adaption of extra-local strategies.

Moreover, the development processes and practices in marginal territories (which start from worse conditions) could allow territories and their actors to acquire a superior consciousness of their own active roles, to be able to directly contribute to the local, national and European development and to define new complementary forms of polycentrism with respect to the global ones. Thus, they can contribute developing their own conditions and becoming conscious to be part of an enlarged system, opening up to external resources, global markets, in institutional terms and in the construction of multilevel cooperation and socio-economic productive networks.

In other words, marginal territories could provide innovative people-centred and place-based conceptualizations and operationalizations of the core development ideas and models underlying the European Union. Although there is no guarantee that their contribution will be successful, this people-centred and place-based approach seems to

offer the best option to enhance the capabilities of people and communities to flourish within a sustainable human development perspective.

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Agglomeration economies and urban productivity

Tania Torres-Gutiérrez[1], **Jessica Ordóñez**[1]

[1] Universidad Técnica Particular de Loja, Loja, Ecuador

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Abstract. This study explores the relationship between agglomeration economies and industrial productivity between 1980 and 2010 in Ecuador. The measure of productivity used is labor productivity. We conclude that urbanization economies have a positive impact on productivity in the period analyzed. These results are consistent with other works for developed and developing countries.

JEL classification: R12

Key words: agglomeration, agglomeration economies, urban productivity, Ecuador

1 Introduction

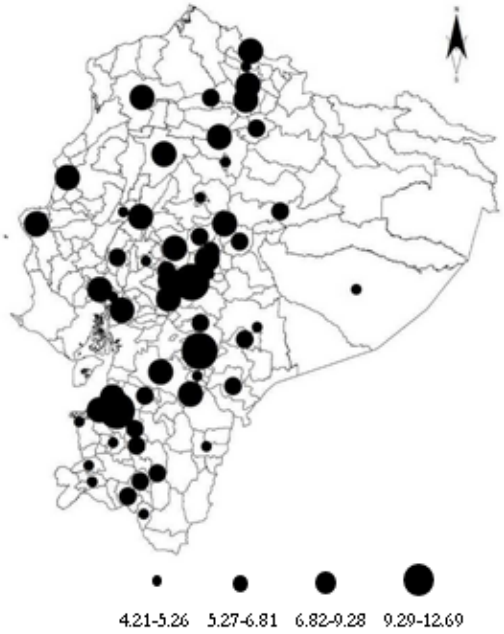
The increasing concentration of people and production produces benefits known as economies of agglomeration in the economic literature. Traditionally, agglomeration economies are classified in location economies and urbanization economies.

From the seminal works of Glaeser et al. (1992) and Henderson et al. (1995), the ongoing debate is not only about the dichotomy between specialized and diversified environments within the same urban system, but also about the coexistence of specialization and diversity.

Following Glaeser et al. (1992), location economies or MAR[1] externalities that operate within a specific industry restrict the flow of ideas to others, allowing the innovator to internalize externalities. Such interactions can positively influence the productivity of companies and the growth of cities. On the other hand, the urbanization of economies occurs through industries, which motivates the argument of Jacobs (1969) that the variety of industries within a geographical region promotes knowledge spillovers and results in innovative activities and economic growth. In this framework, the concepts of specialization and diversification are inherent to the economies of location and urbanization, respectively.

The empirical literature establishes that spatial concentration of industrial activity improves economic growth, productivity, and innovation through different approaches, among which the common denominator is the analysis of the location-urbanization dichotomy. In line with this literature, this study explores the relationship between the economies of agglomeration and industrial productivity between 1980 and 2010, years for which census data exist for the economic activity of the country. There are two motivations for this work. First, to contrast the economic literature and the empirical results broadly focused in developed countries with those of a developing country like

[1] Refers to the model presented by Marshall (1890), Arrow (1962), and Romer (1986).



Source: Own elaboration based on INEC data

Figure 1: Average annual growth of productivity in the cantons of Ecuador: 1980 – 2010

Ecuador. Second, to contribute to the orientation and reform of economic policies related to the productivity of the country, which seeks to reorient its strong agro-export sector.

2 Industrial dynamism: Diversity of the cantons of Ecuador

The industrial sector is the second most important in terms of GDP in the Ecuadorian economy, but it is the most dynamic given that, unlike the other sectors, it has experienced 9% growth between 1980 and 2010 according to World Bank data. The services sector is the most relevant due to, among other things, the momentum generated in the eighties by exports and the oil boom that stimulated this sector, as well as that of the public administration. This is compounded by the significant growth in self-employed activities in the tertiary sector, whose participation in the national economically active population (EAP) in 1974 was 8.4%, 11.1% in 1982, and 28.5% in 2010. Finally, agriculture has fallen in its share of the national GDP by 6% in this period.

As in other countries, economic activity tends to agglomerate in relatively few cities: Guayaquil and Quito mainly, those that from colonization maintain their supremacy over the others, and therefore perform important economic, regional, and international functions. Although these cities have altogether only 3.29% of the total surface area, they contain 16.25% and 15.48% of the population, they generate 23.61% and 25.19% of the gross added value, and represent 21.35% and 28.91% of manufacturing employment, respectively. Based on the information available for Ecuador at the industry and canton level, Figure 1 shows the productivity growth in the analysis period for cantons whose increase is above the average annual growth rate of 4.2%.

3 Data and variables

To determine if agglomeration economies affect productivity, we used data from the 1980 and 2010 Economic Census of the National Institute of Statistics and Censuses (INEC), at the level of each sector and canton or municipality, except for those corresponding to the Galapagos Islands. The empirical work included the homogenization of the databases prepared from the referred censuses because these were not directly comparable. In total,

Table 1: Summary statistics of the main variables

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation
productivity growth	.127	1.391
specialization	-.097	.815
diversity	-.983	.470
density	-1.711	1.958
average size firms	-.2509	.609

Notes: The productivity growth is between 1980 and 2010. All variables refer to logarithms

26 sectors and 114 cantons are integrated. The sectoral breakdown corresponds to two digits and three digits - ISIC for 1980 and 2010, respectively.

The dependent variable is measured as follows:

$$\Delta prod_{ic} = \frac{\log(Y_{ic-2010}/emp_{ic-2010})/(Y_{i-2010}/emp_{i-2010})}{\log(Y_{ic-1980}/emp_{ic-1980})/(Y_{i-1980}/emp_{i-1980})} \tag{1}$$

where, Y_{ic} and emp_{ic} are the levels of production and employment by industry and canton, respectively, between 1980 and 2010.

3.1 Measuring agglomeration economies

The measure of agglomeration economies is the index of specialization related to location economies:

$$esp_{ic} = \frac{emp_{ic}/emp_c}{emp_i/emp} \tag{2}$$

where, emp_{ic} is the employment of industry i in canton c, and emp is total employment.

While the economies of urbanization are commonly measured through the inverse of the Herfindahl index, constructed from the participation of industries in local employment, with the exception of the industry that is considered, this variable is normalized by the same variable at the country level:

$$div_{ic} = \frac{1/\sum_{i*=1,i*\neq i}^{i}[emp_{i*c}/(emp_c - emp_{ic})]^2}{1/\sum_{i*=1,i*\neq i}^{i}[emp_{i*}/(emp - emp_i)]^2} \tag{3}$$

where i is the number of industries. The numerator is maximum when all sectors, except the subject of the analysis, $i*$, are the same size in the cities. This indicator reflects the sectorial diversity of the industry and the city. Therefore, it is not necessarily related to the level of specialization of the industry being analyzed.

With the intuition that large companies are usually better able than small companies to internalize some of the local effects, Glaeser et al. (1992) suggest incorporating the average size of firms within the local industry as an additional determinant of location economies. When normalized by the average of the companies in the industry at the level of the whole country, we obtain:

$$size_{ic} = \frac{emp_{ic}/n_{ic}}{emp_i/n_i} \tag{4}$$

where n_{ic} is the number of companies in the industry and in city c. However, according to Combes, Gobillon (2015), its use leads to serious problems of endogeneity, since it depends on the location options of the companies and their scale of production, which directly influence local productivity. Thus, one should avoid introducing it into the specification unless you have a strong instrumentation strategy.

Finally, as in Combes (2000), to simultaneously control for differences between cities, it is relevant to consider the density of total employment by means of the following indicator:

$$den_c = \frac{emp_c}{area_c} \tag{5}$$

where $area_c$ is the area of the city measured in km^2.

3.2 Selection bias

A particularity of the data used in this study is that they are not fully observable, since some industrial sectors are present only in certain cities. This is a typical problem in research that uses data on a local scale. We isolate the selection bias through a model Heckman (1979) proposes, applied in two stages as in Viladecans-Marsal (2004), Combes (2000), Henderson et al. (1995), and others. In the first stage, a model is formulated to estimate the probability that a city contains an industrial sector:

$$Prob(S = 1|Z) = \Phi(Z\gamma) \tag{6}$$

where S indicates the sector ($S = 1$ if the sector is in the city and $S = 0$ otherwise), Z is a vector of explanatory variables, γ is a vector of unknown parameters, and Φ is the cumulative distribution function of the normal distribution. The estimation of the model yields results that can be used to predict the probability that an industry is contained in a specific city. In the second stage, the initial model is estimated by OLS with the dependent variable of continuous productivity growth, which corrects the selection bias by incorporating the variable called the Mills inverse ratio (λ), which is derived from the previous stage.

3.3 Endogeneity and instrumental variables

When estimating the impact of agglomeration economies on local results such as productivity growth, the literature recognizes two potential sources of endogeneity: omitted variables and inverse causality. Either may arise at the local and individual level (Combes, Gobillon 2015), and their treatment focuses on instrumental variables, including historical and geographical variables, for each endogenous regressor, specialization, diversity, and density.

According to Combes, Gobillon (2015), historical values of population or density are relevant, because by remaining in time, they create inertia in the population and in local economic activity. This idea is imputed to the construction of the instruments for the variables of specialization and diversity. For that reason, the instruments are generated from the data of the birth of firms. The birth of firms is considered correlated with the level of specialization and diversity of the industries in the cities, but not directly with the growth of employment and productivity. The dummy of geological character is related to all the endogenous variables and does not represent a direct effect on the variables of interest or the geographical variables related to the availability of roads in 1980, also generated as dummies.

Estimating the effect of location, urbanization economies, and density on productivity using instrumental variables can lead to unbiased estimates, provided that the instruments meet the conditions of relevance (7) and exogeneity (8). Formally, these conditions are:

$$\begin{aligned} Cov(Specialization_a, Z_a|.) &\neq 0 \\ Cov(Diversity_a, Z_a|.) &\neq 0 \\ Cov(Density_a, Z_a|.) &\neq 0 \end{aligned} \tag{7}$$

$$\begin{aligned} Cov(\mu_a^x, Z_a) &= 0 \\ \text{for } x &= \text{productivity} \end{aligned} \tag{8}$$

Z denotes the set of instruments.

Equation (7) denotes that the relevance of an instrument depends on the partial correlation of the instrumental variables and the endogenous regressors. These are obtained by Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) estimates for each endogenous regressor of the growth of productivity in instrumental variables, including regional, provincial, and industrial fixed effects. The results show that the relevant instruments for specialization are the specialization index, the population density of 1950, the urbanization index of 1980, the availability of roads in 1980, and a geological dummy. For the diversity and density of employment these same instruments are relevant, except the specialization index.

The analysis of the relevance of the defined instruments is validated by the test developed by Stock, Yogo (2005)[2], who define two tests for weak instruments based on a single F statistic. The values in all cases are greater than 10[3], suggesting that the instruments are strong; their strength is confirmed when they contradict the critical values reported by Stock, Yogo (2005).

The condition of exogeneity suggested in equation (8), that is, the orthogonality with respect to the error term, is evaluated with the Sargan over-identification test, which allows us to reject the hypothesis of restriction of over-identification, suggesting the joint exogeneity of the instruments.

4 Estimation and analysis

The model specified to estimate the effect of agglomeration economies on the productivity growth of a particular industry in a certain canton between 1980 and 2010 appears below. In particular, the Two-Stage Least Squares (2SLS) estimator is used due to the aforementioned aspects of endogeneity, focused on regressions with instrumental variables.

$$\Delta prod_{ic} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \log spe_{ic} + \beta_2 \log div_{ic} + \beta_3 size_{ic} + \beta_4 den_c + imr_{-e} + imr_{-p} + \varepsilon_{ic} \quad (9)$$

where $\Delta prod_{ic}$ represents the growth of productivity in industry i and city c between both years, respectively; spe_{ic}, div_{ic}, $size_{ic}$ are the indices of specialization, diversity, and average industry size i in city c; and den_c is the density of total employment. The variables imr_{-e} and imr_{-p} are the inverse ratio of Mills for employment and productivity in each case, introduced to control the selection bias, and ε_{ic} is assumed as the error term. To control for unobservable heterogeneity, we introduce fixed effects at the province, industry, and regional[4] levels. The literacy rate of each city aims to capture the qualifications of the population in each case[5].

The explanatory variables correspond to the initial year, 1980, and have been normalized by the corresponding values at the national level. All the variables are expressed in logarithms, which is why the estimated parameters are their elasticities with respect to each variable. This makes them easily comparable and interpretable.

The first estimates of equation (9) are made by OLS. However, given the presence of selection bias and the endogeneity of the model, such results are not entirely correct, as it is pertinent to apply two additional estimation strategies. To correct the selection bias, we proceeded with maximum likelihood estimations through a Tobit Type II model, while the endogeneity of the model implies estimations with instrumental variables (2SLS) with results accepted as definitive (Table 2).

As a robustness test, a strategy for estimating productivity growth is applied that is less sensitive to weak instruments: the limited information maximum likelihood (LIML)

[2] Stock, Yogo (2005) provide two tests that, based on the F statistic, have two purposes. The first is to test the hypothesis that in small samples the bias in the 2SLS regressions is small with respect to the endogeneity bias reported by MCO ("bias test"). The second is to use the Wald test to determine whether an instrument is considered strong, that is, that its size is close to its level for all possible configurations of the regression by instrumental variables ("size test"). Therefore, the instruments may be weak in one sense but not in another.

[3] Cameron, Trivedi (2010) indicate that a measure widely used by Staiger, Stock (1997), that is, $F < 10$, suggests weak instruments.

[4] In Ecuador, there are three natural regions: Coast, Highland, and Amazonian regions.

[5] No data is available on the qualification of employees by industry and city.

Table 2: Productivity growth: Estimates by OLS, Tobit and IV

Productivity	OLS	TOBIT	2SLS
specialization	-0.075*	0.091	-0.285
	(0.026)	(0.073)	(0.166)
diversity	0.064	-0.189	0.397*
	(0.046)	(0.178)	(0.183)
density	0.031	-0.019	-0.161*
	(0.019)	(0.043)	(0.081)
size firms	-0.021	0.229*	0.049
	(0.036)	(0.101)	(0.077)
inverse Mills ratio	-0.032		-0.767
	(0.119)		(0.341)
N	2963	2963	2963
F	—	—	14.75
CONTROL			
Literacy index 1980	Yes	—	Yes
FIXED EFFECTS			
Region	Yes	No	Yes
Province	Yes	No	Yes
Industry	Yes	Yes	Yes
Over identificaction (Sargan Test)	—	—	1.145
P value - SarganTest	—	—	(0.5640)

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. P-values: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. All variables are expressed in logarithms.

estimator. This strategy takes into account only the likelihood function of the endogenous variables of equation (9) and the identification of restrictions corresponding to the equation to be estimated.

The results obtained are supported with those obtained by 2SLS and are consistent with previous empirical findings given that the productivity gains of urban agglomeration economies are generally found to be positive (Melo et al. 2009), The results obtained differ in that the location economies are not significant. At this point, it should be noted that 94% of the firms of the two years analyzed correspond to the category of microenterprise, 4% correspond to small firms, and the 2% remaining percentage are medium and large firms[6]. This corresponds to the finding of Jacobs (1969) that small businesses benefit more from urban diversity in large cities due to their greater dependence on external industrial environments for multiple intermediate inputs, while large companies are self-sufficient.

5 Conclusion

In particular, two different contributions to the literature are presented. The first relates to the agglomeration literature about Latin American countries like Ecuador that have received little attention from this approach.

The growth of productivity is determined significantly and positively by urbanization economies, while the density elasticity is negative. This is interpreted as the result of the effects of congestion. These results are consistent with other works for developed countries Cingano, Schivardi (2004) and Guevara et al. (2015) for Ecuador. They approximate labor productivity in 2010, both in industry and in services, as a function of specialization, diversity, competence, and density (of firms or employment) in the cities of Ecuador. Using as main instruments the spatial delays of each of the endogenous variables, their results suggest a strong positive externality of the diversity in the productivity of the

[6]In Ecuador, companies are classified as micro, small, medium, and large depending on whether they have between 1 and 9, 10-49, 50-199, or more than 200 employees, respectively.

manufacturing industries (1,651) and of the services (2,081). In manufacturing, the density of employment is also statistically significant.

Productivity takes place in provincial capitals, characterized by the concentration of public sector intervention, both in terms of investments (public goods) and public consumption (services); ease of access to large markets; and the possibility of finding large niches of specialization, and access to a broad labor market and specialized urban functions.

Second, in terms of Ecuador's public policy, a boost to industry and services is expected within the framework of the country's industrial policy. For the period 2016-2025, this policy aims to generate 251,000 new jobs; to invest 13,600 million dollars; contribute positively to the trade balance of 1,200 million dollars; and increase GDP by 10 percentage points. Ecuador's public policy recognizes the imminent change in the spatial distribution of economic activities and that it is necessary to focus on land use and labor mobility relating to trade in intermediate goods. Consequently, the industrial policy must mesh with others that consider the spatial dimension. In the area of externalities in particular, the challenge is to balance negative externalities and exploit the positive externalities of agglomeration based on greater knowledge, an important mechanism through which the agglomeration economies act.

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Similitudes and singularities of higher education systems in the Mediterranean countries: Historical construction, policy and evolution of key indicators

Cláudia Urbano[1]

[1] Universidada Nova de Lisboa, Lisbon, Portugal

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Abstract. Higher education is one of the most important areas for societies moving towards development and modernity. Analysing higher education systems in Europe, it is clear that Southern Europe has many differences from the rest of the continent, despite the strategies to achieve a European higher education culture by implementing reforms on all European countries' higher education systems on the basis of common key values. Taking into account four Southern Europe countries – Portugal, Spain, Italy and Greece – and regarding their link to a certain Mediterranean culture, the proposal is to analyse these four countries' higher education systems and their growth, using indicators for educational and economic development. This paper provides a reflection on a hypothetically similar evolutionary pattern according to a hypothetically similar historical cultural background, as well as on a set of external stimuli provided by modernization and Europeanization processes. The relation between higher education and the labour market will be analysed, understanding it as a relevant 'third mission' policy for higher education systems. By identifying these countries' educational, cultural and socioeconomic similitudes and singularities, the reflection aims to reinforce and enrich a sociological analysis of the existence of a Southern European approach to higher education as a specific value in Mediterranean culture. To better understand large transformation processes, a comparative analysis on the institutional and policy making levels will be used. At the same time, suggesting how modernization theory informed the evolution of higher education systems in the four countries through higher education policy and contributing to regional strategies for development.

1 Introduction

From a sociological point of view, there are three possible ways to approach the theme of higher education: 1) based on sociology of education, the focus could be on the actions of higher education students and its relation to social reproduction; 2) based on pedagogy, the focus could be higher education learning processes and pedagogical models; or 3) based on public policy, the focus could be the definition of a higher education public policy and how it is perceived by social actors and how it is transposed to results. Despite considering the importance of all of the three perspectives, the exercise proposed is to provide a reflection about the third way, focusing on higher education and its relation to society and economy.

Higher education is one of the most important key values in modern societies. It generates broader economic growth as well as individual success. In 1998, The World Declaration on Higher Education (UNESCO 1998) underlined the preservation, reinforcement and further expansion of education, training, and research as core missions of higher education systems. Additional foci included contributing to the sustainable development and improvement of society as a whole. Further, "higher education has acquired an unprecedented role in present-day society, as a vital component of cultural, social, economic and political development" (UNESCO 1998, p. 1).

Higher education systems first mission is nation- and state building and of supplying educated manpower, "designed to shape the national elite, the senior officials and graduates in the public sector services" (Stamelos, Paivandi 2015, p. 2). Its second mission is academic training and scientific knowledge. A third mission was added to higher education systems: regional development and community engagement, supplying knowledge-intense outputs, and a fundamental contribution to economic growth and regional development (Paleari et al. 2014). As these authors state, in the transition from pre-modern to modern societies in Europe, changes in higher education emerged to respond to the changing demands and needs of the society and stakeholders.

Higher education systems' social function is to qualify people to work as specialists, professionals and highly qualified human resource to meet the needs of governments, industry, business and all branches of society. Besides training, higher education systems also provide a range of services and research outputs to the community and it has a role in the national and institutional policy-making and economic, technological, social and cultural reforms. Pure knowledge is no longer and not only what society expects from a higher education system. It is also supposed to fulfil social, scientific, economic and technological needs as well as respond to demands from society. Public policies towards higher education are directly and indirectly defined to achieve goals other than just purely knowledge.

There is a growing recognition of the potential role of higher education institutions as a driver of national and regional economic development (Newlands 2003). As stated by the renewed EU Agenda for Higher Education adopted by the European Commission in 2017 (European Comission 2017, 247 final), higher education is an important asset for regional development and competitiveness. It can boost innovation and upgrade the skills of the workforce through education and lifelong learning. First at a regional level, then at a national and finally at the European level. Linking higher education to the labour market is thinking of development in a broader perspective than just economic prosperity (Angelis et al. 2016). It is the incorporation of a social dimension, carried out in every country and specifically in every region. As Newlands states, "universities add to the human capital of the region and assist the innovative processes of firms but in turn their teaching and research activities are informed by businesses in the region" (Newlands 2003, p. 1).

A practical, useful, applied but at the same time highly qualified knowledge is an indispensable engine of the society. As Paleari et al write, "historically the development of higher education is closely related to the growth of economy and society and university's mission evolved during the centuries to respond to the changing societal needs" (Paleari et al. 2014, p. 369). Social and economic evidence of the outcomes of higher education is measured in terms of the growth of the economy and society. Higher education is a 'cultural reference point' for each society, besides having an essential role as a social institution and a provider and supporter of the society's innovation system (Paleari et al. 2014).

In a globalised world, countries share guidelines on higher education and import from each other's best practices (Kivinen, Nurmi 2003). Besides, some countries' education systems are already quite similar based on historical, geographical or cultural aspects.

The focus of this paper on higher education systems in some European Mediterranean countries is justified by the fact that Southern Europe has been determining many differences from the rest of the continent, despite the effort of the Bologna Process to ensure comparability in the standards and quality of higher education qualifications. Taking four Southern Europe and Mediterranean countries sharing a historical political

cultural and social identity (Sprague 2016) – Portugal, Spain, Italy and Greece – as the object of analysis, the proposal of this paper is to discuss in which way there is a shared experience of higher education in order to sustain the concept of a Mediterranean culture toward higher education. This will be based on some similitude in cultural historical social political economic and educational characteristics. The relation between higher education and the labour market are the dimensions of the analysis.

First, similitudes and singularities of the four countries regarding higher education will be discussed. Its characterization, the important social and political changes in the last decades in each of these Mediterranean countries and the countries' public policies on higher education as a consequence, will sustain this first structural comparison.

Considering the social function of a higher education system as responding to the needs of society and stakeholders, the second stage of the reflection is to evaluate the relation between higher education and the qualification of the labour market in the four countries. Using international data sources, such as OECD and Eurostats, based on reliable, official and governmental data to explore statistical trends, this empirical reflection will help to compare the four countries' higher education culture(s) between them and the European Union average. This will allow for understanding how far the social construction of the concept of a Mediterranean higher education culture is sustainable.

Finally, after the analysis of the data, some emergent questions will be pointed out in order to enrich the debate surrounding a Mediterranean higher education culture.

This analysis can provide important clues not only to the definition of national strategies and policy on higher education and a high-skill labour market, but also for regional developments, investments in higher education and local industries.

2 Background

2.1 The missions of a higher education System

Similar to other dimensions of society, education in general and higher education in particular have certain roles and missions in societies. Considering higher education, instead of being replaced by another, different missions and goals have been added to the initial one. The first mission – education – was mainly focused on nation- and state building as well as increasing society's educated manpower. 'Scientification' was a second mission of higher education systems, through defining academic training and scientific knowledge. In both missions, pure knowledge was the common ground. A third mission was added to higher education when knowledge needed to be operationalized as a fundamental role for economic growth and regional development (Paleari et al. 2014). As Antonowicz (2012), the human capital theory, as the theoretical framework most responsible for the adoption of education and development policies, rests on the assumption that formal education is highly instrumental and even necessary to improve the population's production capacity.

Since their beginning, universities are par excellence the institutions of production of knowledge. But knowledge is not locked inside the institutions and has been transferred and used in societies towards development and modernization. In present day knowledge economies and societies, higher education institutions have become politically and economically more important as institutions that produce and transfer knowledge. As Krings states, "we are living in knowledge-based societies; we are knowledge-based workers; we are working in knowledge-intensive sectors and we are producing knowledge-intensive services" (Krings 2006, p. 9). Or, as in Drucker's model (Drucker 1969, cited by Antonowicz (2012)), the production of goods is being gradually replaced by the provision of services, and knowledge and skills are playing an increasing role in the national economy.

That is why it is no longer possible to think of higher education without considering its relation to the labour market as a specific dimension of modern societies and economies. But firstly, a reflection on the historical, social, cultural and political context surrounding the development of higher education systems must be provided.

2.2 Conceptualizing a Mediterranean higher education culture

Clustering countries according to specific parameters besides geographic ones is a way to structure an analysis striking a balance between generalization and specificity. The clustering process might take into account, separately or not, different dimensions: geographical, economic, political, social, demographical, to mention few. Criteria of comparison must be defined, and by doing so, some countries might not be included, in an objective but selective way, as encapsulating an entire region is not the researcher's aim.

Southern Europe can be regarded as a distinct regional entity, by its common climatic system and a geographical expression of strategic importance different from Northern Europe. Inside the European Mediterranean zone, different societies and economies have been developed. Similarities and shared experiences allow the grouping of Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain together (Lazaridis 1996). Through sharing a certain common identity (Williams 1984), they can be grouped as a 'family of nations' with similar pattern of public policies.

The relevant literature on higher education systems leads to a first and considerable obstacle for the comparison: higher education in Europe, as well as globally, is very diverse. And labelling a country's higher education system as if it is homogeneous is to suggest a singular model of higher education discharging any possibility of inner diversity and, therefore, the model having a strong bias towards reality.

One of the first key studies of diversity in higher education systems is done by Birnbaum (1983), identifying seven categories of diversity: a) a systemic diversity, referring to differences in institutional type, size and control found; b) a structural diversity, resulting from historical and legal foundations; c) a programmatic diversity, according to the degree level or degree area, mission and main programmes and services provided by institutions; d) a procedural diversity, differing ways of teaching, researching and/or providing services of the institutions; e) a reputational diversity, as long as there might be differences in institutions by their status and prestige; f) a constituential diversity, by including a variety of institutional constituents such as faculty, staff, trustees, and political and religious interest groups; and g) a value and climate diversity, regarding the social environment and culture.

In a more recent perspective, also Teichler (2007) highlighted higher education diversity, adding a horizontal and a vertical approach, and focusing the importance of institutional missions and profiles as a criterion for a distinction. van Vught et al. (2010) suggested that a greater variety in the environmental conditions (particularly governmental policy contexts), and a variety of norms and values in which a higher education system operates is reflected in an institutional diversity of higher education institutions. Besides, "diversity would also increase if Europe's higher education institutions were operating within diverse policy contexts that were supportive of a variety of missions and profiles" (van Vught et al. 2010, p. 12).

Every higher education system is generally associated to a certain social, economic and educational profile despite having internal differences. Considering each profile's specificity, how is the comparison made between countries? By controlling exactly in which terms it may or may not be compared in different systems, certain trends can be drawn and specific similitudes and singularities can be identified. Doing so, an objective parameter of comparison is defined specifying similitudes (Foucault 1983, Hook 2007) and singularities (Deleuze 1990) of each research object.

Taking each higher education system as unique, and considering social, political, economic, geographical and educational characteristics of Portugal, Spain, Greece and Italy, their similitude is sustained in a sociological perspective searching for shared experiences and strategies towards higher education. In this line of thought, the concept of Mediterranean higher education culture must be considered. Despite each country's singularity, culture – from a sociological perspective – is the ensemble of symbolic codes, shared experiences, attitudes, beliefs, norms, practices, symbols and values.

The thought of a 'higher education culture' took its first steps in the early work of Clark (1973) by providing an important, original well-spring for work on culture in higher education (Maassen 1996). The concept of a culture in higher education included very different topics: culture regarding students' social backgrounds and multiculturalism

inside the institutions; culture as a sense of organization inside the institutions; culture as an institutional environment and its influence on students. But a higher education culture is also seen in a macro perspective as a support for public policies and the definition of strategies towards the development of the society and the economy.

As Lazaridis (1996, p. 6) stated, between these countries there is an "element of common identity in relation to key socio-economic, politic-economic and cultural aspects and changes which have transformed the whole region in the last decades". Among several characteristics, such as economic styles, political cultures and institutions, family structures, industrial organizations, welfare state, migration trends, religion, etc., it is clear that the educational and specifically the higher education system can also be an element of a shared Mediterranean culture.

Several dimensions and indicators reflect a country's or institution's higher education culture, but not all of them are taken into account in this study. This study will exclude dimensions related to quality or governance, internationalisation or research. Instead, this study will focus more on those linked to the missions of a higher education public policy and its relation to economy and labour market as a higher education output to society and economy.

Indicators such as global trends, system's expansion, and population with tertiary education, graduates employment and unemployment are some of those considered in this analysis as comparable and characteriser of a higher education culture. Also public policies and socio-economic and political context must be included in this approach. The next chapter provides a brief context to the development of each country's higher education system. Afterwards, some statistical indicators regarding higher education and the labour market will be analysed.

2.3 Higher education and the social and political context in four Mediterranean countries

Even considering possible differences between the countries, researchers are best suited to understand the development of each higher education systems in the last decades through knowing their social, political and economic situation. The modernization strategies countries have outlined to reposition themselves within the modern world system have been shaping their higher education systems under the framework of increasingly competitive knowledge societies.

For this analysis, four Southern Europe countries were selected: Portugal, Spain, Italy and Greece. Besides being geographically located in the southern part of Europe and sharing Mediterranean waters and a certain Mediterranean culture, recently these countries have undergone a similar process of becoming part of European Union and adjusted to European rules.

This group of Mediterranean countries share a historical, political, cultural, and social identity. The historical and political realities of these distinct countries necessarily influence their education systems – from their system development to reforms over time and their current priorities (Sprague 2016). Specifically considering higher education, the Bologna Declaration (a joint statement of thirty-one European Ministers of Education signed on 19th June 1999), regarding education, is an example of how these societies' policies were defined in order to respond to Europe's call to harmonise European higher education systems. The Bologna process was a voluntary, intergovernmental process based on the open method of coordination, which aims at the align of national policies in order to achieve specific goals (Asderaki 2009). Mitchell, Nielsen (2012) argue the policy ideas circulating globally are also linked to international political organizations (the EU, World Bank, IMF, UN, UNESCO and OECD), representing "a complex and ungovernable web of relationships that extends beyond the nation state" (Waters 1995, cited by Mitchell, Nielsen (2012)).

Another common aspect between the four countries refers to its position in a globalized world. Despite the scientific controversy of classification nowadays, these four countries as peripheral (e.g. Gambarotto, Solari 2014) or semi-peripherical (e.g. Roncevic 2001) according to Wallerstein's World-Systems Theory (Wallerstein 1979). In both perspectives, their non-centrality is never open to question. And this is obvious considering their recent

economic history, their struggle against economic and social crisis and the two-speed Europe (Vanhercke et al. 2016, Piris 2012).

Katrougalos, Lazaridis (2003) showed how difficult it is to characterize these four countries as completely similar, regarding their social policy developments and a broader political economic and social environment. In some indicators, there may be some divergence between the four countries, but in general their trends and characteristics are very different from other European countries. Their similarities and some singularities in their historical, socio-economic and socio-political context, with regards to higher educations over the last decades, will be summarized next. Before that, a description of each country's process of building a higher education system will be given, in an arbitrary order.

There were two major changes in the twentieth century that helped Portugal catch up with the rest of Europe considering the socio-political and socioeconomic context and the changes in several dimensions including higher education. Firstly, the Revolution of 1975, which led to significant democratic reforms. Secondly, Portugal's admission to the European Common Market, which provided substantial financial aid and technological cooperation. Concerning education, one of the major public policies on education was the Education System Basic Law (LBSE 46/1986) and its changes and adaptations to Bologna's educational culture in 2005 (Law 49/2005). Consequently, a renewed educational system helped reduce the educational gap, lowered the socioeconomic gap of the population, and increased the economic and technological development of the country. Since then, education in Portugal is developing at an accelerated rate: illiteracy rates have fallen consistently in the last years from around twenty per cent in 1998 to seven per cent in 2017, of the general population. The enrolment has increased dramatically from six per cent in 1998 up to eighteen per cent in 2017. The country has been developing rapidly and education is accompanying this strong evolution. The higher education system in Portugal is organized in two subsystems: university education and non-university higher education (polytechnic education). Higher education is provided through public and private universities and non-university higher education institutions (both public and private).

In Spain too, there were also important political changes, resulting in a reform on education. Within a short period, only a year and a half, Spain and Portugal both ended a long dictatorial period and began a process of political transformation leading to democratic regimes. Both countries were incorporated into the European Economic Community in 1986. Additionally, in both countries, the political, social and economic changes had consequences for the status of higher education. Notwithstanding the differences in each process of higher education reform, both countries started from the same strategic premise – the premise of modernization – with profound implications for public education policies. Considering the legal framework, the most important reform regarding higher education came with the adoption of the University Reform Act of 1983, where universities became a public service, and private universities were validated as higher education providers. The Spanish higher education system consists of both university and non-university institutions, although it operates more as a unitary system made up of only university institutions (Santiago et al. 2009). The principal law for tertiary education, the Organic Law on Universities (LOU, Ley Orgánica de Universidades, Law 6/2001 on Universities, 21 December 2001, amended by the Organic Law 4/2007, 12 April 2007) concerns universities only. Non-university tertiary education, consisting of post-secondary higher vocational education and specialised tertiary education, is regulated by the Organic Law on Education (LOE, Ley Orgánica de Educación of 2006). In 2009 the Spanish government launched a policy initiative, Estrategia Universidad 2015, aiming to boost the competitiveness of Spanish universities. As in other countries, internationalization was one of the main goals of the strategy. But the focus of this paper will be on other goals than strategy.

On the growth within the educational system in Spain, literature refers to a dramatic increase since the 1960s and continued during the 1970s and the 1980s: from around 100.000 students in 1950 up to more than 1.5 million by the end of the 1980s (Villarroya et al. 2008). During the general restructuration of the education system in 1990, the

enrolment of students in the universities has almost doubled in ten years, between 1983 and 1993 (Díaz 2010). Subirats (2001) stated that the changes in Spanish university in the last three decades are incomparable with any other historical moment: an increase in the infrastructures and enrolments, but also inside the organizations and in the nature of the university's mission.

Historically, during the second half of the 20th century, the Italian Republic was founded in 1946 and the Italian Constitution came into effect in 1948. Also, Italy was a founding member of the Inner Six (the six founding member states of the European Communities) in 1951. These were significant events, which marked a turning page in Italy's post-Fascist history as well as the civil, social and economic consequences of World War II. In such a turbulent and intense socioeconomic and socio-political context, there were multiple reforms in education in general and specifically higher education. Particularly during the past 30 years. Important educational reforms took place unifying Italian mid-school (1962) and liberalizing higher education attendance (1969). The Italian education reform process in 1989 was the first step towards the decentralisation of the university sector and the introduction of a general framework of didactic, organizational and scientific autonomy for all universities. This new reform took into account the principles of the Sorbonne Declaration (signed on 25th May 1998 by the Ministers of Education of 4 EU countries, namely France, Italy, Germany and the United Kingdom) and the Bologna Declaration. This declaration promoted the creation of a European Higher Education Area through the harmonisation of the different European educational systems. In 1999 almost all Italian universities were adapted to the Bologna process. Other milestones in education policy were the legislative decree 509/99,4, redefining the structure of the university system, and the 'Gelmini Reform' (Law 240/2010), changing the institutional governance and internal organization of Italian state universities. But Italy's higher education faced tumultuous time: as Monti (2008) stated in his investigation of the decline of the Italian university, more than 1,000 laws and rules were introduced from 1990 to 2006. Public policies regarding higher education allows to change (or rather permits changes) the system. Similar to Portugal and Spain, but in a slightly different timing, in Italy the growth of the university system which began after World War II reached a peak between 1980 and 2010, when the system virtually doubled in size. Italy experienced a remarkable increase in the numbers of students enrolled at university, percentages of 19-year-old students enrolled and number of graduations in the past 30 years (Turri 2014).

With a binary system, Italian higher education is organized in university (state and private universities, polytechnics, universities for foreigners, schools of advanced studies and on-line/distance learning universities) and non-university sector (among others, national academies in the Fine Arts, Cinema, Dance and Drama, Music Conservatories, schools and institutes for the education and training of professionals in various fields, such as language mediation, design, etc.).

Similar in timing and importance as in Portugal, Spain, and Italy, political and social changes took place in Greece in 1974. There also the country experienced a return to a democratic government and the admission to European Common Market in 1981. These were followed by changes in public policies on education, namely the Framework Law of 1982 (1268/82). In 1999, Greece accessed the Bologna Process. But comparing with other countries' progress, indicators on education showed Greece has undertaken almost all the commitments undertaken within the Bologna Process (Asderaki 2009).

The Greek higher education system grew. Themelis (2013) summarised the spectacular increase of Greek higher education: "Globally, between 1950 and 1970, tertiary-education enlargement was much higher than primary and secondary, with a net increase of approximately 300 percent. This trend continued unabated in the next 30 years. (...) This relevant statistics for Greece are even more startling. Between 1956 and 2001, the number of tertiary-education students grew nearly 16 times, while only between 1976 and 2001, the respective increase was fourfold. This rise, the second biggest among 31 European countries, makes Greece a remarkable case in Europe as far as educational expansion is concerned though not necessarily an exceptional one (HE participation between 1950 and 1965 more than doubles in almost every European country, with the exception of Spain

and Portugal)" (Themelis 2013, p. 81–82).

As for Greece, the organization of higher education is a bit different as there are only public higher education institutions and private higher education is strictly forbidden. It comprises two parallel sectors: the university (Universities, Technical Universities, and the School of Fine Arts) and technological (Technological Education Institutions (TEIs) and the School of Pedagogical and Technological Education (ASPETE)) sectors. Greek higher education was developed according to a regional approach.

The structural and institutional transformations of these four countries along the last five to six decades results in profound reforms concerning education, where milestone public policies were implemented. There has been a gradual merging of higher education standards since the 1970s. Public policy reforms took place, including education broadly and higher education specifically. In summary, there is a consensus on identifying a significant growth of high literacy levels, a wider access to higher education in contrast to the previous elite university system, and education developing at an accelerate rate.

Despite singular differences in time and small details in structure, the four Mediterranean countries that have endured dictatorships were behind on the modernization process of higher education and society, compared to the Northern and Central Europe countries. These were countries with dictatorship regimes in the 1970s (and before) and with a transition to a democratic regime, influencing the way higher education reassumed a priority position. Before democratic times, higher education was in crisis, due to two reasons: a reduction in the university's autonomy to eliminate the production and free dissemination of critical thinking and authoritarian private projects competing with the university under unfair competition processes (Santos 2008). After that, the four countries' higher education systems moved on towards a stage of consolidation of mass higher education, following specific higher education policies towards a modern society and economy. In 1999 the Education Ministers of the four countries signed the Bologna Declaration and they began a general reform of higher education to move it towards the common European Higher Education Area (EHEA). The Bologna Process gave new impetus to the development of their national higher education systems (for a brief description of social changes and education, see Table 1).

Regarding political and social, and more specifically – what higher education is concerned with – processual similitude and coincidence in consequences, occurred in the four countries. However, this does not mean inner or even external homogeneity. The European Commission's guidelines and Europe 2020 goals tend to level EU members in education key indicators and benchmarks. So far it should be kept in mind each country's specificities, leading to a diversity of situations and higher education institutions. As van Vught et al. (2010) stated, diversity is "one of the major factors associated with the positive performance of higher education systems" (van Vught et al. 2010, p. 11), as diversity meets the needs of the labour market and reinforces the link and the role of higher education, economy and society, in another words, a market of university services (Santos 2008).

3 Data, methodologies and results

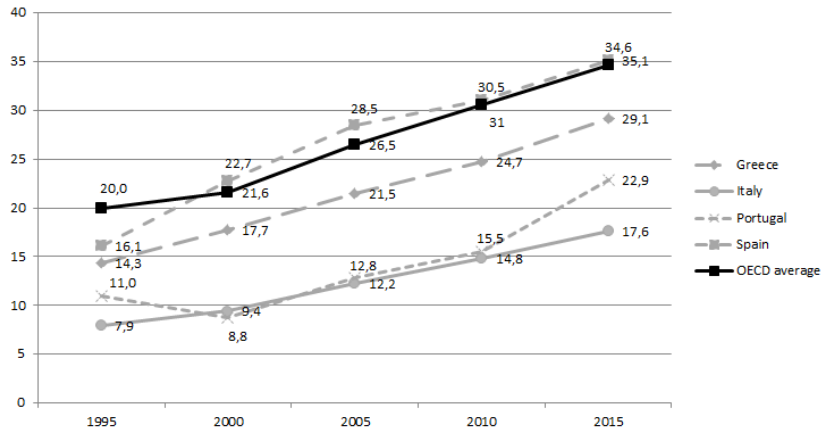
3.1 Data and Indicators about a Mediterranean higher education culture

Empirical data can help evaluate and measure the intensity of similitude and singularity between the four countries' experiences on higher education. Data was collected through reliable secondary sources with parameterized data: OECD, Eurostats, UNESCO-UIS.

In order to sustain and develop the previous reflection about the similitude of the four countries' higher education systems, some indicators were collected and analysed in a comparative way taking a longitudinal perspective. Some of those indicators are measuring the level of higher qualifications of the population in general and their level of employability, and others are referring to higher qualifications in specific sectors of the countries' economic activities. These indicators objectively measure the weighting higher education and qualified professions have in the construction and development of a modernization process of the society and the economy.

Table 1: Brief description of each country's Higher Education and recent socio-historical changes

	Greece	Italy	Portugal	Spain	Summary
Organization of HE	- University and technological - No private universities	- Binary system: university and non-university sector - Public and private	- 2 subsystems: university and polytechnic - Public and private	- University and non-university institutions - Public and private	→ Binary HE systems
Important changes in the country	- 1974: return to democratic government - EU in 1981	- After Fascist regime and WWII, 1946: Italian Republic - EU founding member	- After dictatorship, Revolution of 1974: democratic reform - EU in 1986	after dictatorship, 1978 Spanish Constitution - EU in 1986	→ Structural and institutional transformations
Public policies on Education	- Framework Law of 1982 (1268/82) and reform of higher education - 1999: the Bologna Process	- 1980 reform - Legislative decree no. 509/99,4 - 2015 La buona scuola	- LBSE 46/86 and 49/2005 - 1999: the Bologna Process	- University Reform Act of 1983 - Organic Law of Universities 2001 - 1999: the Bologna Process	→ Profound reforms in education
Consequences	- Five decades of reforms established high literacy levels	- From old elite university system to wider access	- Education developing at an accelerated rate	- Growth of tertiary education	→ Education and social changes



Source: Education at a glance: Educational attainment and labour-force status. OECD (2018), Adult education level (indicator). doi: https://doi.org/10.1787/36bce3fe-en (Accessed on 23 July 2018), International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED 2011 levels 5-8) http://uis.unesco.org/en/-topic/international-standard-classification-education-isced

Figure 1: Percentage of the 25-64-year-old population with tertiary education, 1995-2015

3.2 Results on a Mediterranean higher education culture

The indicator based on the share of population with tertiary education will be analysed in a longitudinal and comparative way. Since 1995, with intervals every five years until 2015, this information allows to see how much the importance of higher qualifications grew in the last two decades in each country.

As Figure 1 shows very clearly, in all four countries there is a considerable growth trend. Despite the growth in all of them, the comparison between the four countries shows different rhythms of growth: despite doubling or more in all of the four countries, it is lower in Italy and Portugal, while in Spain figures are quite impressive and quite similar to OECD average.

The importance of and investment in higher education clearly increased along generations: between middle 1990s and the most recent years, the percentage of young adults aged 25-34 with completed high qualifications almost doubled (Figure 2).

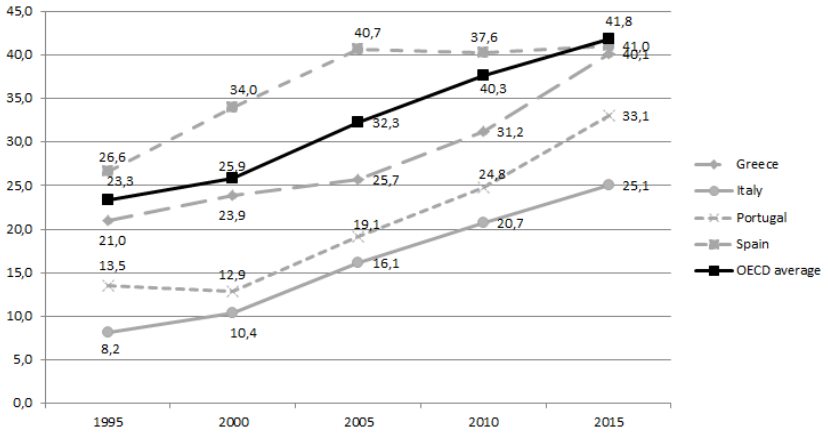
This growth is transversal to all four countries, but with some differences to highlight. Firstly, the percentage of young population with tertiary education in Spain has always been above the OECD average and the other three countries. This indicates a different investment levels, family culture, and the governments' policies towards higher education. Secondly, contradicting the general trend of continuous growth, in Spain there is a stabilization, if not a slight decrease, in the percentage of young people with higher education. Thirdly, the growth in the share of young people with higher education in Italy and in Portugal is even bigger if considering their low starting point in the middle 1990s, reflecting a tripling in two decades.

The growth of the percentage of highly qualified people is an effect of economic, social, political and cultural changes towards modernization, as education drives the modernization process. Holding a higher education degree should provide advantages in the labour market and in technology, industry and economy.

Finding employment after graduation is not the only indicator in the "higher education-labour market" relation: the adjustment between skills and competences provided by higher education and labour market needs, and adjustments to individual career changes are other pieces of the same puzzle that could be considered. However, by now the focus will be only on employment and unemployment rates by level of education.

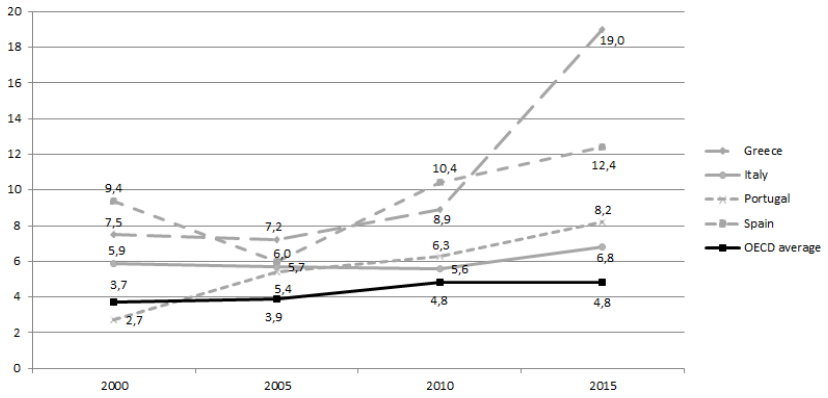
According to recent OECD data, population's unemployment rates of people with higher qualifications vary from 19% in Greece, 6,8% in Italy, 8,2% in Portugal, and 12,4% Spain . All four countries are above the OECD average (4,8%).

Knowing that these percentages are in general lower for the graduated population than among less qualified people, the unemployment data must be read with caution as



Source: Education at a glance: Educational attainment and labour-force status. OECD (2018), Population with tertiary education (indicator). doi: https://doi.org/10.1787/0b8f90e9-en (Accessed on 23 July 2018), International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED 2011 levels 5-8) http://uis.unesco.org/en/-topic/international-standard-classification-education-isced

Figure 2: Percentage of the 25-34-year-old population (% in the same age group) with tertiary education 1995-2015



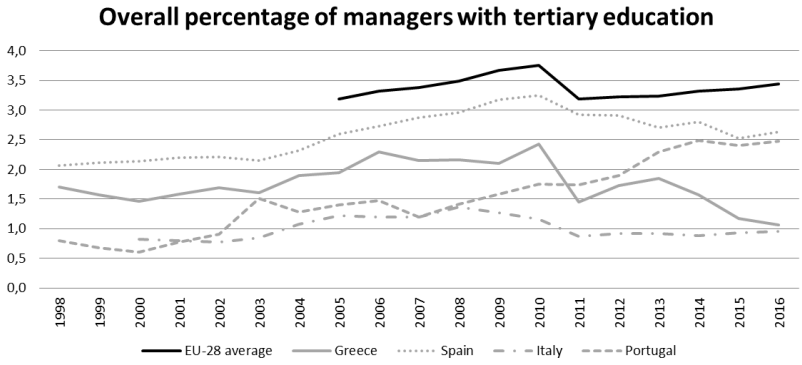
Source: OECD, International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED 2011 levels 5-8) http://uis.-unesco.org/en/topic/international-standard-classification-education-isced

Figure 3: Unemployment rates among population 25-64-years-old population with tertiary education 1995-2015

in these four Mediterranean countries external factors – and in particular the economic crisis – interfered in higher education attainment and in the capacity of the labour market recruiting high qualifications workforce, especially in the last decade (Figure 3).

The economic conjuncture affects the investment in education and training: for instance, in Italy, between 2009 and 2013, overall public funding for higher education was cut by approximately 20% in real terms (European Commission 2015). Governments' investment in higher education and in research and development are different in time, place and amount, which is an additional challenge in the comparison.

As Paleari et al. (2014) stated, because of the economic crisis, a withdrawal of the state as a financier happened in many countries, mainly in Southern Europe. New structures were built in order to respond to those changes. As Meek et al. (1991) stated, financial pressures appear to be driving higher education systems to change. But also the wish for higher education to be more closely tied to national economies (Meek et al. 1991), both in terms of meeting national labour market needs and through research discovering new products or resources, can produce changes in the higher education structure. That is why the percentage of highly qualified workforce in specific economic sectors is an interesting indicator to add to this analysis of a higher education culture.



Source: Own calculations based on data from Eurostat on Employment by occupation and educational attainment level, International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED 2011 levels 5-8) http://uis.unesco.org/en/topic/international-standard-classification-education-isced.

Figure 4: Overall percentage of managers with tertiary education among employed population 1998-2016

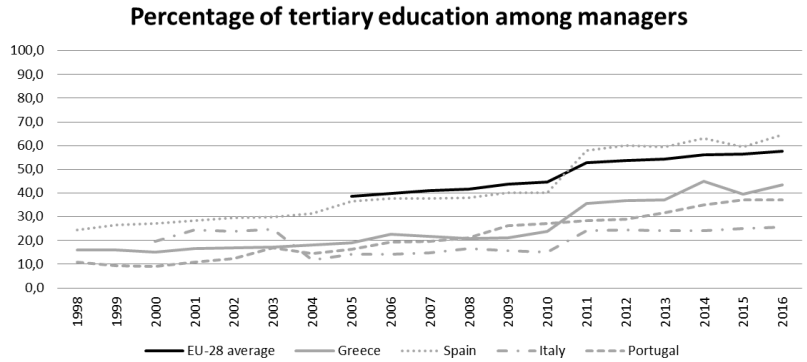
When specific occupations are considered in the analysis, the impact of the higher education growth is transferred to a change in the structure of qualified and unqualified employment. This change of the structure is understandable within a sociological perspective of a knowledge-based society (Krings 2006). Comparing the Southern European countries' higher education systems beyond the traditional figures on students and human resources involving higher education to describe its growth, the analysis aims to understand whether there is a shared common "higher education" culture in the Mediterranean countries.

The analysis combining economic indicators and higher education indicators will be essential to validate this interesting perspective. Data on employment and on levels of education (according to ISCED 2011 classification) will now be considered: in particular, data on the percentage of higher education qualifications in specific occupations, such as managers, professionals, and technicians and associate professionals, according to the ISCO 2008 classification (ILO 2012).

The analysis is supported using Eurostat data between 1995 and 2016 (the most recent data) and comparing the four Southern Europe Mediterranean countries with the EU-28 average. Despite the relation between these four countries and the EU being historically and culturally different, the option of using EU-28 average allows an ongoing comparison including all EU members instead of focusing only on the "classic" EU-15. Besides, differences between EU-28 and EU-15 trends are small.

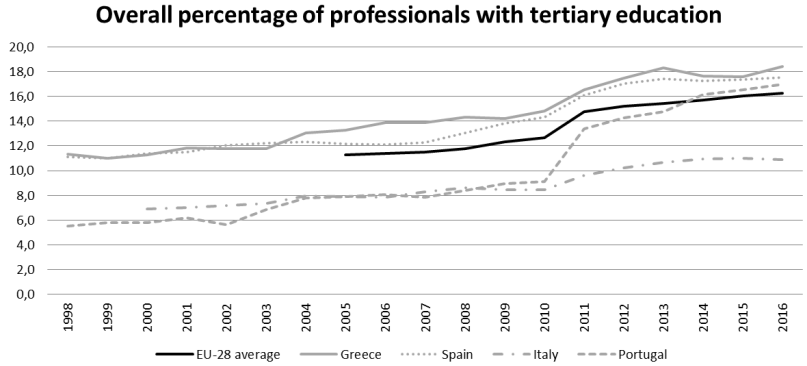
Overall, the percentage of managers with tertiary education is around 3,5% in EU-28 countries. In the four Mediterranean countries, this score is lower; between 1,0% in Italy and Greece and around 2,5% in Spain and Portugal in the most recent year (Figure 4). Despite this difference, in all of them there is a growing trend in having more managers with higher qualifications managers: since the beginning of the last decade, in Spain it surpasses 50% of managers with higher education (Figure 5). However, the lack of higher qualifications of the executives and managers still remains a thorn in the structure of the labour market.

It is among professionals (according to the ISCO 2008 classification) that the presence of higher qualifications is unquestionable and has been increasing each decade: in 2005 qualified professionals were around 11% in a EU-28 average, above that in Greece and Spain, and around 8% in Italy and Portugal (Figure 6). In ten years this figure grew around 50% on average in Europe and in all of the Mediterranean countries except in Portugal, where it more than doubled. changing the structure of the labour market and its qualifications. Furthermore, in Spain, Greece and Portugal, more than 90% of the professionals have a higher education diploma, while the EU-28 average is some percentage points lower (Figure 7).



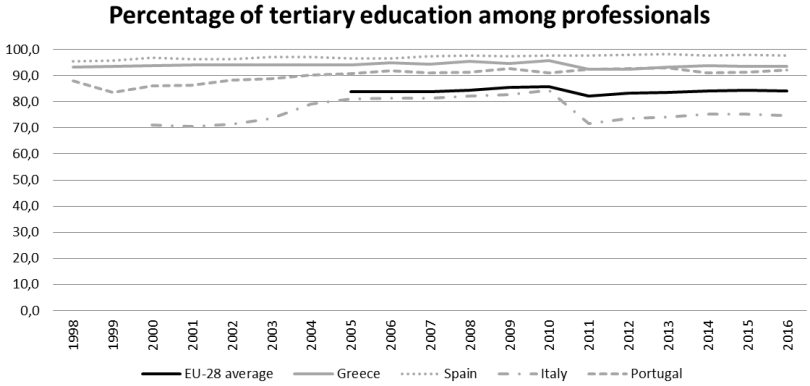
Source: Own calculations based on data from Eurostat on Employment by occupation and educational attainment level, International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED 2011 levels 5-8) http://uis.unesco.org/en/topic/international-standard-classification-education-isced.

Figure 5: Percentage of managers with tertiary education among managers 1998-2016



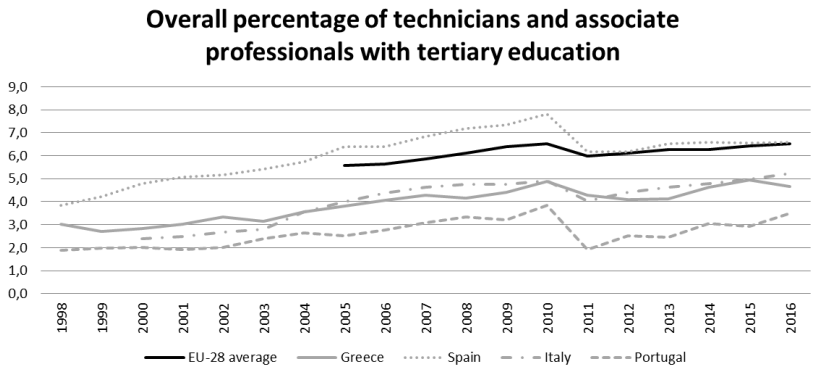
Source: Own calculations based on data from Eurostat on Employment by occupation and educational attainment level, International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED 2011 levels 5-8) http://uis.unesco.org/en/topic/international-standard-classification-education-isced.

Figure 6: Overall percentage of professionals with tertiary education among employed population 1998-2016



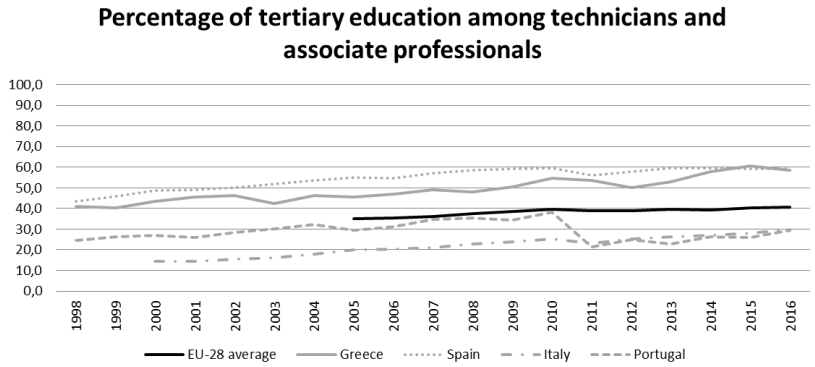
Source: Own calculations based on data from Eurostat on Employment by occupation and educational attainment level, International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED 2011 levels 5-8) http://uis.unesco.org/en/topic/international-standard-classification-education-isced.

Figure 7: Percentage of professionals with tertiary education among professionals 1998-2016



Source: Own calculations based on data from Eurostat on Employment by occupation and educational attainment level, International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED 2011 levels 5-8) http://uis.unesco.org/en/topic/international-standard-classification-education-isced.

Figure 8: Overall percentage of technicians and associate professionals with tertiary education among employed population 1998-2016



Source: Own calculations based on data from Eurostat on Employment by occupation and educational attainment level, International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED 2011 levels 5-8) http://uis.unesco.org/en/topic/international-standard-classification-education-isced.

Figure 9: Percentage of technicians and associate professionals with tertiary education among technicians and associate professionals 1998-2016

The increase of technicians and associate professionals in the labour market is also a reality, although at a slower place and in a different proportion when comparing to managers and professionals.

Again, Spain is particularly paradigmatic of these growing trends, reinforcing the relation between: higher education and the economy, the labour market and modernity, as well as technology and innovation (Figure 8). In Spain and Greece, technicians with high qualifications are actually greater than 50% of the workforce, while the average in EU-28 is around 40%. In Portugal and Italy the share is about 10% less than the EU-8 average (Figure 9).

Deepening the analysis on the relation between higher qualifications and the economy using Eurostat data from 2008 onwards on technology and knowledge-intensive sectors' employment, NACE classification (European Commission 2008) at the national level will be used. This will be used to consider the percentage of workers with tertiary education. It is also a way to evaluate how far higher education is part of the engine of modernizing the economy and the society.

Krings (2006), based on Reich (1991, cited by Krings (2006)), mentions the importance of "symbolic" work, by creating a visible spectrum of knowledge-based activities: production knowledge (research and development, innovation and market oriented products);

targeting knowledge (administration, management, organisation); and orientation knowledge (consulting, controlling, co-ordination), as well as the importance of knowledge-based technology for the political decision making process and public service sector, and the importance of a new professional class with a specific professional profile (technology and knowledge based).

Comparing the percentage of highly qualified workers in different sectors in the four countries and taking the EU-28 average as a reference, it is by far the Services sector that absorbs the majority of the graduated workforce: more than 80% of the workers in that sector hold a higher education diploma. This is particularly evident in Greece, Portugal and Italy, rather than in Spain. The second and third most important sectors in recruiting highly qualified workforce are Education (especially in Greece and Portugal) and Human health and social work activities (especially in Italy and Portugal). Among all the other sectors, three sectors can be highlighted by having around 10% of graduated workforce: Manufacturing (but with lower percentages in Greece and Portugal), Wholesale and retail trade (but with higher values in Greece and in Spain) and Professional, scientific and technical activities (and with 6% more in Italy).

Technological advances and the requirement of more sophisticated skills, have both contributed to changes in the work structure across the world and increased the demand for higher-education graduates (Antonowicz 2012). Limiting the analysis to high-technology sectors, the average in EU-28 is around 7%. In Greece and Portugal it is slightly lower.

The knowledge economy and knowledge-based industries development is marked by the growing demand for higher-education graduates to drive this dynamic sector of the European economy (Antonowicz 2012). Selecting some of the sectors involving high-technology, it is quite remarkable the concentration of qualified workers in knowledge-intensive high technology services when comparing, for instance, with high and medium high-technology manufacturing. And it is particularly evident in other knowledge-intensive market services except financial intermediation and high-technology services. It occurs less in Spain, when comparing with the other countries and with EU-28 average (Table 2).

4 Discussion and Concluding Remarks

The main concern of this article is reflecting and analysing the similarities or differences between Mediterranean countries' higher education and its relation to the labour market. Related, how linked they are to a possible Mediterranean way of thinking and substantiate a common higher education culture. Based on similar historical, social, political, and economic background – and often their developments aligning temporally – the changes in the four countries' higher education followed the same trend.

Higher education in Portugal, Greece, Spain and Italy can be characterised by a similitude of growing importance as a core value in the society, in a time coincidence of changing in political, economic and social dimensions in the last four decades. Significant structural changes have been made in the educational systems, with is clearly reflected in tertiary education. In these countries' second moment, the admission to the European Union and the adaptation of the higher education system to Bologna's guidelines also contributed to a fast, wider and remarkable consolidation of higher education in each society and each economy.

The implementation of the Bologna Process makes it difficult to identify the similitude behind the structure European higher education systems should follow. As Gilder, Wells (2009) suggested, little consideration has been given to the content of each level's qualification and their fitness for purpose (e.g. areas relevant to the labour market). Even before the EU and the Bologna process, the four countries' higher education trajectory is quite similar. However, the lack of adjustment highlighted in some Southern European countries, despite of their improved convergence toward the EU-15 average, can be explained by the deficit of modernization theory (and relevant policy) to address structural problems of countries and regions. For example, lack of quality governance, path dependency, and cultural diversity. In a certain way, a first important conclusion of this study is the confirmation of a Mediterranean higher education culture, which is reflected in their changes. Most of these trends are linked to an effort of modernization of

Table 2: Percentage of workers with tertiary education in NACE (Rev.2) sectors and in NACE high-technology sectors, 2008 and 2016

	EU-28		GR		SP		IT		PT	
	2008	2016	2008	2016	2008	2016	2008	2016	2008	2016
in all activities	26.8	33.9	26.3	35.1	33.9	42.1	17.0	21.3	15.1	26.3
in Agriculture, forestry and fishing; mining and quarrying	1.5	1.5	1.1	1.8	1.3	1.3	0.8	0.9	1.2	1.1
in Manufacturing	11.5	10.6	6.4	6.1	12.3	10.5	8.3	9.2	6.3	7.8
in Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply; water supply and construction	5.2	4.7	2.9	2.5	7.1	4.6	2.4	2.2	4.0	3.2
in Wholesale and retail trade; accomodation and food service activities; activities of households as employers	10.5	11.6	13.8	16.0	15.1	16.8	9.0	10.1	10.1	12.2
in Land transport, transport via pipelines, water transport, air transport, warehousing and support activities for transportation; travel agency, tour operator reservation services and related activities	2.6	2.7	2.3	3.9	3.2	3.5	1.7	1.7	1.6	2.4
in Services	81.5	82.6	89.6	89.6	79.3	83.6	88.5	87.6	88.5	88.0
in Information and communication	5.3	5.6	2.7	4.0	5.8	5.5	4.6	4.5	4.6	5.2
in Financial and insurance activities; real estate activities	5.6	5.7	5.4	4.4	5.6	5.3	5.2	5.5	6.4	6.3
in Professional, scientific and technical activities	10.1	11.0	14.2	12.5	9.9	10.1	17.0	17.1	12.1	11.1
in Administrative and support service activities	2.5	2.8	1.2	1.5	2.7	3.0	2.4	2.3	1.7	2.2
in Public administration; activities of extraterritorial organisations and bodies	9.8	9.2	14.6	13.6	9.0	8.7	8.1	7.1	8.7	7.6
in Education	16.9	15.8	22.7	20.4	14.2	14.2	20.2	17.4	27.5	21.5
in Human health and social work activities	14.0	13.9	10.6	10.8	10.9	12.6	16.9	17.9	13.2	15.6
in Arts, entertainment and recreation	2.1	2.2	1.4	1.5	1.8	2.2	1.7	2.2	1.3	2.3
in Other activities services	2.1	2.1	1.1	1.2	1.8	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.3	1.6
in NACE high-technology and or knowledge-intensive sectors	7.0	7.1	3.9	4.6	6.6	6.8	6.3	6.5	5.9	5.5
in High and medium high-technology manufacturing	5.8	5.5	1.7	1.8	4.9	4.7	4.1	4.8	2.7	2.7
in Knowledge-intensive services	64.0	63.5	72.2	69.3	57.1	58.8	73.9	71.7	73.7	69.6
in Knowledge-intensive high-technology services	5.4	5.7	3.0	3.6	5.8	5.7	4.9	4.8	4.3	5.3
in Knowledge-intensive market services (except financial intermediation and high-technology services)	10.1	11.0	14.2	14.1	10.2	10.2	16.2	16.4	12.1	10.9
in Financial and insurance activities	4.8	4.8	5.3	4.3	4.8	4.5	4.9	4.9	5.6	5.4
in Other knowledge-intensive market services (except financial intermediation and high-technology services)	43.8	42.1	49.7	47.4	36.3	38.4	48.0	45.6	51.7	48.0

Source: Own calculations based on data from Eurostat on Employment in technology and knowledge-intensive NACE Rev. 2 sectors at the national level, by level of education, International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED 2011 levels 5-8) http://uis.unesco.org/en/topic/international-standard-classification-education-isced.

the societies and national economies, in a strong relation to the structure of the labour market at a national and transnational level.

As Meek et al. (1991) stated (and is still valid), many national systems of higher education have been experiencing profound changes by being asked to participate more effectively and efficiently in producing a better educated, culturally enriched, and more economically secure society. Therefore, reinforcing the relation between higher education and the labour market.

Reforms frequently express a path-dependent nature, and every higher education system reflects country-specific regulatory and coordination regimes. This also largely reflect national historical and institutional developments, as each national system is embedded into its own regulations and bears nuances and peculiarities (Donina et al. 2015). And that is why along with some similitude, diversity and singularities can be found, due to different policies, political and economic strategies, as well as different relations between higher education and sectors of the economy.

By analysing data, it seems clear the existence of similitudes between the national systems despite the different shades which are observed from country to country. It was possible to conclude from this exploratory analysis that all four countries have been trying to catch up to the EU average in terms of population's qualification. This was less evident in Spain, where the percentage is even above the EU-28 average. Additionally, this catch up can be observed in the employment of graduates despite still having lower percentages comparing to EU.

Comparing to the EU-28, the current position of each country in educational indicators and their link to labour market indicators is quite similar, in spite of some nuances. Among the four, Spain is the most divergent.

When specific occupations or activity sectors are taken into account, singularities between the four countries emerge, while other similitude persist. In all four, the qualifications of managers and executives are below the EU average; also, Services is where most qualified workforce are. Some singularities, such as less qualified professionals in Italy or less qualified technicians in Italy and Portugal, might be a consequence (or a cause) of a different structure of the economy and industry. Furthermore, differences in some activity sectors and in particular those related to high-technology knowledge intense services might occur either by the structure of the demand of study programmes in each country or by the structure of the needs of the labour market. Much of the singularities depend on other factors affecting the relation between higher education and the labour market on a regional and local level. These conclusions can guide future analysis deepening the focus on a regional level, taking into account different weights of high qualified workforce and different technologic sectors. At the same time, the conclusions also reinforce the strength of regional developments in the economic and social sustainability of societies. Newland writes, "universities have the potential to make an enormous contribution to regional development" (Newlands 2003, p. 15). However, as "regional economic development policy and practice are multi-layered with universities involved at different levels and in different roles" (Newlands 2003, p. 15), further analysis should be focused on a regional dimension of the relation between higher education and labour market, differentiating dominant regions from others (Angelis et al. 2016), in each of the four countries.

Other factors – internal and/or external – that weren't controlled in this study might be interfering. One of those might be the population's demographic structure: as Sprague (2016) suggested, reform of higher education should take into account the trend of ageing and depopulation, given their significant implications for higher education policy. Such reforms include increasing adaptability and employability of the labour force, and participation of the population in the labour market. Also migration is an important and not considered factor. Specifically the phenomenon of brain-drain, where people leave their 'home' country for another country in pursuit of tertiary education. In our globalized labour market, this might be a hypothesis for some maladjustment between higher education and employment in some countries.

Another important question is, in which way education and higher education is defined as part and parcel of each country's strategy for economic development. And this depends

quite often on political programmes, political-party's leanings, and the back and forth of the political pendulum.

Comparing and confronting other groups of European countries, the conclusions on similitude are reinforced. Thus, it is unanimous that higher education has been and still is a core value in all of the four countries as universities will be the cultural reference points for their communities, will have an essential role as a social institution, and will contribute to establishing local social dynamics (Paleari et al. 2014). As Zuti and Lukovics argue, "universities are able to positively contribute to the competitiveness of their regions by considering strategic thinking and third mission activities with the help of tools of economic development" (Zuti, Lukovics 2015, p. 29). This is particularly important for a micro- and meso-perspective, and considering regional contexts. This research has furthered an understanding of strategic considerations for regional development with regards to the inter-relation between economic sectors, the labour market and higher education.

Acknowledgement

This article is based on some preliminary reflections on higher education systems in Europe, integrated in the author's post-doctoral research project on non-university (polytechnic) system in Portugal and the relations between public policies, the educational offer and the social and economic context. This research is supported by Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia (FCT/MCTES) – grant SFRH/BPD/110394/2015 – and this article was made with the support of CICS.NOVA – Interdisciplinary Centre of Social Sciences of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, UID/SOC/04647/2013, with the financial support of FCT/MCTES through National funds.

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The role of the European Union on immigration – An anthropological approach to the treaties that have been carried out in Europe in order to manage diversity

Carmen Clara Bravo Torres[1]

[1] Universidad de Granada, Granada, Spain

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Abstract. Migrations are a global phenomenon that have prevailed throughout history. In recent decades there has been a need to control every person who enters and leaves the borders of a country. This fact can be observed in the European Union where in recent years the migratory phenomenon has appreciated as a problem. This institution carries out different measures in order to manage this diversity within its borders. However, these agreements are not adapted to the different contexts and are not carried out by all the countries that comprise this institution. In spite of all this, the discourse used by the European Union promotes the European identity in front of the rest, differentiating those considered others. These others are differentiated primarily by their nationality although from the discourse analysis, an economic factor can be observed. These themes will be studied in this paper, which will allow us to understand what treaties have been established in the European Union regarding migration and how diversity is managed from them.

Key words: European Union, Europeanization, Immigration and International Relations

1 Introduction

To understand this work, we should start from the idea that we are in a globalized world where transnational migrations are constant. These migrations have given rise to us being in a society characterized by the exchange of customs and languages. Depending on the context, we find different changes that have been of great importance for the case studied – the European Union. An example is Spain. This country has gone from being mainly a country that emits migrants, to being a recipient of a large number of people of different nationalities.

This situation has led to policies, laws, and different actions being challenged and reformulated to fit the current context but we should keep in mind that the migratory policies of a given country are governed by a series of norms and conventions that rule its usefulness. In the first place, it is important to highlight the competencies of the European Union, and then of the country studied. In this case, the Spanish Constitution, which is adapted to the European Union. Taking into account both aspects, we have in mind the International Treaties that the country has signed and ratified, then the laws or regulations with the rank of law and, finally, the regulations and collective agreements

(as for example in the field of employment). Therefore, it is interesting to know what role this institution plays in the current migratory situation, with special emphasis on the processes of otherness that it manifests. A qualitative methodology has been carried out mainly for the accomplishment of this research, characterized by the bibliographical revision of experts both in migration issues and the role of the European Union in the international sphere. Among them, we highlight Barbé (2010, 2014), Olmos (2009) and Palomares Lerma (2010). It is necessary to be aware of the great dimension of the topics that are intended to be addressed in this document. Therefore, this work has been divided into a series of sections where different conventions have been treated in terms of policies of immigration, European councils, and the role of European identity over the rest. Treaties have been chosen since these are European mandates that have been determining the integration of the migrants in the European Union.

2 European immigration policies

Firstly, we must assume that the migration phenomenon is not a novel situation for the European Union. Migrations are a fundamental element of European identity. Since its formation, the European Union has been characterized by both emigration and immigration. Before the creation of the European Union, there already was a considerable flow of people between the different States, motivated primarily by the search for work (Cabré, Domingo 2002). From the Second World War, the need for labour increased. This led to the implementation of a series of measures to accommodate workers from other European States. This flow of people has been constant. Throughout history, some nationalities have predominated over others, since large numbers of people have been moving both within Europe and crossing their borders in times of economic recession and wars. At present, the migratory flow has been increasing, although a large number of people are not taken into account because the figures of migrants in Europe do not fit the reality.

While it is difficult to record all migratory flows, it should be noted that since the last century there is a greater need to restrict, control, and measure all issues that cross state borders, especially those that delimit the European Union (Moeykens 2013). An example of this is observed in Spain, when months before entering the European community the country was obliged to make the first regulation on the Rights and Duties of foreigners (Organic Law 7/1985, of July 1, on rights and freedoms of foreigners in Spain). From this moment, Spain has been influenced by the European Union and has a long legislative path around the migratory issue, since it is characterized by a constant change and a continuous redefinition. But do the laws agree with the existing reality? What is the purpose of these laws?

It is necessary to start from the idea that, as we will see later, in the development of the different Treaties that have tried to regulate immigration, the European Union is increasingly placing greater emphasis on immigration within its borders. This has been implemented since the Treaty of Lisbon, where the sovereignty of States has begun to be questioned as asylum or police cooperation have been regulated by the European Union. However, "many of the rules adopted in the field of immigration constitute what we call minimum standards, that is, they leave a wide margin of discretion to the States in terms of their development"[1] (Barbé 2010, p. 134). These policies appear in relation to the aspects of "integration" where the European Union has indicated what they refer to as good practices. These are a set of guidelines covering how States should act towards migrants entering the territory. However, these guidelines are very general and rarely followed in practice.

Three European states decided not to adjust to the regulation of migration imposed by the European Union. They carry out only those policies that interested him. These countries are Denmark, Ireland, and the United Kingdom (European Union 2015). From such distinctions we find how Europe does not present solid policies and is already divided

[1] Spanish original: "muchas de las normas que se adoptan en materia de inmigración constituyen lo que llamamos normas de contenido mínimo, es decir, que dejan un amplio margen de discrecionalidad a los Estados en cuanto a su desarrollo".

in different aspects. This challenges its representation as a unique institution. However, these general policies have been of great importance, especially those carried out with regard to border control, since the others have made it possible for the Member States to be more flexible in their implementation. Regarding border control, we should highlight the Schengen agreement, signed in 1985; which indicates the removal of internal borders. From this agreement, we can observe the relevance that the European Union to freedom of movement between certain countries. From this agreement, we can observe the relevance that the European Union brings to the freedom of movement between certain countries. In those cases where this free movement does not exist, it is necessary to emphasize the use of a visa, which will vary according to the country that you belong to and the stay in the determined country will require a series of permits. In the case of Spain, the residence permit and work permit for a certain economic amount are required, such as for researchers or "circular migrants" (migrant temporary workers). If they do not meet any of the requirements indicated for these types of migrations, their administrative status is considered irregular, despite spending time in Spain working and trying to legalize their situation. The only opportunity is to return to their country and from the so-called contingencies to be contracted by the State from the country of origin. From this fact, we can appreciate the importance of certain groups determined by their permission stay in a particular country.

In spite of the different policies established, which will be developed a posteriori, we must highlight that when there are laws specifically aimed at foreign people, such as immigration law, we are facing a situation where we differentiate us from the considered other. This influences which social policies get implemented. Not all policies are aimed at all people, only those that meet a number of conditions, such as the administrative situation of the subject in the host country. An example of this can be appreciated when, on 7 March 2016, the European Union entered into an agreement with Turkey where the expulsion of refugees from Europe is agreed, transferring them to Turkey, regardless of their country of origin.

From such policies, as here noted, we can see that the humanitarian character is not present in its measures since it is returning people fleeing for war reasons to another country. Although migration is considered as a right (Moeykens 2013), we find a large number of restrictions. In the case of the European Union, we observe how economic aspects have prevailed since its inception, relegating social aspects to a lower priority. For the European Union, what matters is the economy; it encourages external mobility but only to those within its borders. There is now a concern for the protection of the migrant, although this protection is based on the quest to obtain the maximum yield of these subjects. To this, it should be added that in the case of Spain the policies that are established are restorative since it has intervened when the error is already made and not preventive, as should be established. At present, we are dealing with this situation with regard to refugees, since the measures are being implemented based on the complex situation, without taking into account each individual who is being deported to another country. Situations like the one that is happening weaken the positioning of the European Union as an institution in the face of established international relations. A clear example is seen with refugees and since the wreck in Lampedusa. That is to say, "the prestige of the EU is partly conditioned by how it manages the challenge of migration. In this regard, the tragedy of the wreck in Lampedusa in October 2013 showed how far the EU is having instruments to respond effectively to irregular migration."[2] (Barbé 2014, p. 132).

Thus, we must take into account that we are faced with an institution based on economic aspects but whose reputation is influenced according to its management of different problems, as as the migratory flow. For this reason, in order to understand more clearly what role the European Union plays in immigration, in the following section we will analyse the treaties carried out since these set out the objectives of the European Union.

[2]Spanish original: "El prestigio de la UE está en parte condicionado por cómo gestiona el reto de la migración. En este sentido, la tragedia del naufragio en Lampedusa, en octubre de 2013, puso de manifiesto cuán lejos está la UE de disponer de unos instrumentos que le permitan responder de forma eficaz a la migración irregular."

2.1 *Treaties by the European Union*

This paper alludes to treaties from the area of justice, freedom, and security since it is the space that manages borders and mobility of citizens. Based on different treaties carried out in this area, the greater integration of States has been sought to participate as a single institution. However, the lack of consensus among countries has led to their role being questioned as a single institution in the international sphere. There are a number of challenges to the creation of a common migration policy since it is a policy shared among member states.

Firstly, in 1985, the need for free control of persons between the borders of the countries of the Member States was proclaimed, being a priority of cooperation in matters of justice, freedom, and security. The Schengen space was created but until 1995 it did not enter into force. Subsequently, in the Maastricht Treaty for the first time, reference is made to cooperation and the creation of an area of freedom, security, and justice. In addition, this treaty began to promote social aspects such as humanitarian aid. That is to say, "from Maastricht, all treaties reiterate that the EU will uphold and promote its values and interests, and it will contribute to the protection of its citizens, contribute to peace, security, sustainable development of the planet, solidarity and mutual respect among peoples, free trade and the eradication of poverty, the protection of human rights, respect for and development of international law and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations"[3] (Palomares Lerma 2010).

Nevertheless, we have to highlight to the Maastricht Treaty for its evolution of migration policies since this treaty was for intergovernmental cooperation but a posteriori this fact changed with the communitarization in all aspects except in the police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters (Barbé 2014).

Subsequent to this treaty we find the Treaty of Amsterdam, where "a very significant step was taken in integrating migration policy to the first community pillar; which allowed the extension of the ordinary legislative procedure in most matters, with the consequent participation of Parliament as co-legislator with the Council"[4] (Barbé 2014, p. 133). However, as explained above, the three aforementioned States decided to join only those measures that they considered appropriate. From that point on, the European Union had competence in terms of entry and residence, issuance of long-stay visas and residence permits; the residence of illegal immigrants, including repatriation and the conditions under which third-country nationals legally resident in one Member State may reside in another Member State.

Subsequent to this treaty, the current Treaty of Lisbon, "advocates the creation of a common migration policy. The Treaty led to the abolition of the system of pillars and the application of the ordinary legislative procedure in more areas of cooperation, including labour migration policy"[5] (Barbé 2014, p. 133). The Treaty sought the consolidation of a secure Union, tackling both issues of immigration as judicial cooperation and police (Palomares Lerma 2010). Since the Treaty of Lisbon, common visa policies and other residence permits have been adopted, such as controls at the external borders, elimination of controls irrespective of nationality within internal borders, fight against trafficking in human beings, repatriation issues, and exclusion. From the Lisbon Treaty onwards, "the Spanish Presidency of the European Union during the first half of 2010 set out the following objectives in the area of external action: Consolidating a Safer Union for its citizens, tackling together the challenge of Immigration and building a shared space for judicial and police cooperation"[6] (Palomares Lerma 2010).

[3]Spanish original: "Desde Maastricht, todos los tratados reiteran que la UE afirmará y promoverá sus valores e intereses y contribuirá a la protección de sus ciudadanos, contribuirá a la paz, seguridad, desarrollo sostenible del planeta, solidaridad y respeto mutuo entre los pueblos, el libre comercio y justo, la erradicación de la pobreza, la protección de los derechos humanos, el respeto y desarrollo del Derecho Internacional y los principios de la Carta de Naciones Unidas".

[4]Spanish original: "se dio un paso muy significativo al integrarse la política de migración al primer pilar comunitario; lo cual permitió la extensión del procedimiento legislativo ordinario en la mayoría de materias, con la consiguiente participación del Parlamento como colegislador junto al Consejo"

[5]Spanish original: "aboga por la creación de una política de migración común. El Tratado condujo a la abolición del sistema de pilares y la aplicación del procedimiento legislativo ordinario en más áreas de cooperación, incluyendo la política de migración laboral".

[6]Spanish original: "La presidencia española de la Unión Europea durante el primer semestre de 2010

In addition to the different treaties carried out, agreements and conventions have been enacted regarding the management of the migratory flow. Among them is the Dublin Convention. Based on this agreement, it established that each member country is responsible for managing and studying the different asylum applications. This is done so that there is only one request and it will not be in the country of preference. It can be requested in the country where you have relatives or in the country of arrival. This agreement was signed in 1990 and subsequently ratified by its member states. It was updated in 2003 and in 2013. At present this agreement is not working since the main weight falls on the countries of entry; therefore, the situation is disproportionate. Just as refugee rights are currently being violated since the established laws are not being carried out, mainly only the country of arrival is being taken into account, and family ties and accepted requests are not taken into account. The European Union is failing in this aspect and should look for proposals and alternatives to correct the bad management of the migratory flows that it is carrying out. Besides, it should be noted that with the approval of convention Stockholm (2009) immigration and asylum policies are strengthened towards neighbouring countries.

Additionally, in terms of integration, a number of multi-annual programs have been carried out through European Councils that set targets over a period of five years, as the Treaties provide for little regulation (Barbé 2014). For this research we have studied the Councils in recent years, from 2009 to 2017. We have studied the number of councils where the European Union talked about the migrations, in what way, and what perception reflects the different subjects. This last aspect will be developed in the next section where we will show the image that the European Union transmits of immigrants, migrants, and refugees.

During these six years, 25 councils have mentioned the migratory phenomenon. At some periods, the topic was barely touched, at others it was the focus of the councils. In 2010 and 2011, all the councils talk about the migratory phenomenon. In these years, the importance of the integration of irregular immigrants is pointed out. In addition, these councils emphasize the importance of foreign relations. Events in the Mediterranean and in Libya stand out. In 2013 and 2014, the councils talked about the need for jobs for immigrants, without specifying their administrative situation in the country of arrival. They also highlight the importance of external relations to control and manage borders. In 2015, these councils emphasized the fight against terrorism, stressing the importance of border control. This last year, all the councils made mention of the migratory phenomenon, emphasizing the cooperation between the different countries and the European Union. They also highlight the need for counter-terrorism and the need to prevent illegal immigration. Thus, based on the analysis of these councils, there is talk of integration, but they do not indicate measures to achieve it. They focus on controlling, managing, and monitoring all those who cross European borders, with the aim of economic profitability, since the emphasis is only on integration from employment. In the Europe 2020 strategy, with regard to European policies, the immigrant only appears once, and in the Green Paper emphasis is placed on labour immigration and strategies are sought for maximum economic gains, in addition to the facilities that are given to circular immigrants.

Therefore, we can observe the importance given to the economic aspects of immigration policies, as it looks at their control and profitability, instead of taking into account other essential factors such as the need for immigrants with respect to the aging of the population. But as we can see through circular migrations, not only do European policies play an important role in migration, but the countries that sign agreements with the European Union facilitate the movement of these people. This can be seen from the acceptance of Turkey regarding the reception of immigrants. It is therefore interesting to consider which aspects are taken into account in neighbourhood policies. In line with the idea proposed by the European Union, it is necessary to cooperate with the country of origin in migration policies, as this will lead to better management.

planteó los siguientes objetivos en el ámbito de la acción exterior: Consolidar una Unión más segura para sus ciudadanos, afrontando conjuntamente el reto de la inmigración y construyendo un espacio compartido de cooperación judicial y policial".

Firstly, we must point out that border management in the European Union is managed by FRONTEX (European Agency for Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the member states of the European Union) and the corresponding border guard services in third countries. Despite the designation of this border, account should be taken of the policies entered into with these third countries and that "the European Union has chosen its proximity countries, since it is these countries that generate more migration flows into the Union"[7] (Barbé 2014, p. 132). But in order to be able to understand the neighbourhood policies that are carried out, we should take into account the designations that are used to name the subjects. For this reason, the next section will analyze how, based on what was studied, the subjects studied are designated and constructed as different, in order to deepen the neighbourhood policies in the future. These policies have benefits in terms of economic, social, political, and cultural aspects. Primarily they are based on the strategic associations in search of greater economic growth in both countries.

2.2 Regular immigration / irregular immigration / asylum

Designations for naming a subject have great relevance for the group that represents him as the represented, since "the denominations represent the most primary form of description. So that the simple fact of 'how to call' things, people, or phenomena can help the treatment they receive"[8] (Olmos 2009, p. 245). Thus, from the denominations we represent the rest of the population by which we establish differences with those that we consider the "others" different from "we". This fact we observe in speeches and in laws and regulations at state level. Common examples include the denomination of immigrant, illegal or irregular immigrant, foreigner, or refugee. "The creation of a new legal instrument on immigration leads to the emergence of new categories of subjects; To foreign / national distinction, is added from European foreign / non-EU immigrants and within the latter establishes an even lower, illegal or irregular classification."[9] (Briceño 2004, p. 205).

The terms mentioned play a fundamental role in the naming of others, so they must be explained in detail. But, it is necessary to start from the difference of foreigner / immigrant. A foreigner is one who does not have Spanish nationality. However, immigrants are the majority, if characterized by a relative change of residence in a given time (Castelo 2005). Therefore, no human being is illegal or legal, but its administrative situation in the country of origin may be regulated or not.

With regard to irregular immigration, the European Union has given it great importance as there is an interest in fighting illegal immigration because they are perceived in a negative way. These subjects are constructed as an other different from us, to distance ourselves even more from them and to justify the measures taken. That is why border management and the different preventive measures are important since most of the collaboration with countries neighbouring have been to reduce clandestine immigration flows. It is important to highlight how readmission agreements have been implemented: "The readmission agreements are formally international agreements signed by the European Union and a third State. It is an agreement with a highly technical content that specifies the assumptions and procedures under which the readmission of an irregular immigrant in his country of origin is foreseen."[10] (Barbé 2010, p. 136). Although these readmissions are a fundamental right.

[7]Spanish original: "la UE ha optado por los países de su proximidad, dado que son estos países los que generan más flujos migratorios hacia la Unión".

[8]Spanish original: "las normalizaciones/denominaciones suponen la forma más primaria de descripción, de tal manera que el simple hecho de 'cómo llamar' a las cosas, personas o fenómenos ... puede ayudar al trato que reciben".

[9]Spanish original: "De la creación de un nuevo instrumento jurídico en materia de inmigración se deriva la emergencia de nuevas categorías de sujeto; a la distinción extranjero/nacional, se añade de extranjero europeo/ inmigrantes no comunitarios y dentro de esta última se establece una clasificación aun inferior, ilegal o irregular".

[10]Spanish original: "Los acuerdos de readmisión son formalmente acuerdos internacionales firmados por la Unión Europea y un tercer Estado. Se trata de un acuerdo con un contenido altamente técnico en el que se especifican los supuestos y procedimientos bajo los cuales se prevé la readmisión de un inmigrante irregular en su país de origen."

This is a very costly situation, so the European Union has promoted specific incentives, such as the facilitation of obtaining visas. This is a step towards the liberalization of visas. However, these measures are not taken together with the countries closest to Spain in the Mediterranean neighbourhood. We can therefore highlight how, in the area of irregular immigration, the European Union has agreements with certain countries for readmission, but based on clearly Europeanising measures linked to security (Barbé 2010).

With regard to regular migration, it should be noted that it is not a global priority for the European Union. However, it does play an important role in terms of employment since different agreements are in place to allow regular migration. "It is important to note that bilateral cooperation has been developed between some Member States of the European Union and Morocco in order to strengthen the temporary recruitment of Moroccan nationals in EU countries"[11] (Barbé 2010, p. 142). This fact can also be seen with the creation of the Green Paper, which focuses on labour migration and economic migration. For this reason, workers are differentiated between skilled workers, seasonal workers, paid interns, self-employed, and workers transferred by multinationals (Bazzaco 2008). However, the European Union does not focus on those migrants whose administrative situation in the country is not regulated.

Unlike the two aspects mentioned above, cooperation in the field of asylum between European Union and other countries has been based on the protection of refugees from the 1951 Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees. This Convention not only takes into account refugees, but also those who, despite not being refugee, are at risk of persecution in their country. According to Barbé (2014), one of the key elements established in this Geneva regime was the principle of non-refoulement. But this seems not to be very clear since in the case of Turkey and Syria, we are witnessing this principle not being fulfilled. To these breaches must be added the lack of coherence and agreement between the different countries of the European Union with its neighbours since contexts of this institution are different and each of them has interests and opposing thoughts regarding policies established with neighbouring countries.

So that, "in an increasingly interdependent world, the European Union is working for economic and commercial globalization, which will benefit everyone, as well as the search for political stability in the world. By carrying out cooperation and assistance, the Union contributes to the achievement of the objectives of peace, development and security for all. It is necessary to remember that we are in a multipolar world and that, under these circumstances of international society, the states of the European Union can only defend their values, objectives and interests if they speak with one voice in the world"[12] (Palomares Lerma 2010, p. 20).

But each context is unique and there is no clear consensus among different states to represent as a single institution. This can lead to great havoc at the social level. However, they are all represented as Europe, with a common identity which they want to claim.

3 Europe and the Others

This Europeanization is represented in the established policies and in the catalogues of each one of the individuals. Therefore, it is necessary to emphasize that "we believe that to identify, to call, to denominate to some people 'immigrants' and other 'foreigners' influences in the way in which we perceive them because one designation and another they have loads of different values"[13] (Olmos 2009, p. 71). Thus, foreigner does not

[11] Spanish original: "Es importante destacar que se ha venido desarrollando cooperación bilateral entre algunos Estados Miembros de la Unión Europea y Marruecos a fin de fortalecer el reclutamiento con carácter temporal de nacionales marroquís en países de la U.E.".

[12] Spanish original: "En un mundo cada vez más interdependiente, la UE trabaja por una globalización económica y comercial más justa, que redunde en beneficio de todos, y también en la búsqueda de estabilidad política en el mundo. Realizando labores de cooperación y ayuda, la Unión contribuye a alcanzar los objetivos de paz, desarrollo y seguridad para todos. Es necesario recordar que nos encontramos en un mundo multipolar y que, bajo estas circunstancias de la sociedad internacional, los Estados de la Unión Europea sólo pueden defender sus valores, objetivos e intereses si hablan con una sola voz en el mundo"

[13] Spanish original: "creemos que identificar, llamar, denominar a algunas personas 'inmigrantes' y a otras 'extranjeros' influye en la forma en que las percibimos porque una designación y otra tienen cargas

have the same meaning as immigrant since foreigner refers to both those who comply with the regulations established in the laws of foreigners, as well as those belonging to the European Union and those who have a specific economic rent. The established discourse is of great relevance since from the term that we use to denominate the people we are associating the group with different visions of ethnic elements, motivations, and determined opportunities (García et al. 2008). We are in a country belonging to the European Community where concrete policies are attributed similar to the rest of this community, even though the contexts are totally different. These policies influence the public discourse both outside and within the system. Therefore, this fact has relevant consequences at the social level.

Regarding terminology, it is important to note that despite of the many different words and policies that are used for people who arrive in Spain, those who leave the country are all referred to as 'emigrants'. This is regardless of whether their destination is inside or outside of the European Union, and regardless of the administrative situation of the country. Through this, we appreciate how the legislation itself shows the importance of being considered European, discriminating and considering different people who do not belong to that community. Therefore, "It is necessary to understand the migratory policy in Spain as a consequence of the European dictates, under the ideology of the construction of the "Fortress Europe", which explains many of the contradictory discourses and policy reactions developed in this country" (Agrela, Gil 2004, p. 6). Continuing with the Spanish context and with most European countries; we are faced with dynamic contexts, which are not taken into account in many of the policies or in the social discourse because subjects are categorized for ethnic elements, irrespective of their position in the European country studied. This fact is observed with young people called second generation (Barquín 2009, Massot 2005, Moreno 2002). All these attributions can have great consequences in the collective social imaginary as in the identity of each of the subjects. Therefore, the policies put in place by the European Union and the terminology used can contribute significantly to the construction of the other, thus reinforcing the European identity. Thus, it should be emphasized that this identity, like any process of otherness and identification, arises from essentialist categories typical of a Eurocentric view.

4 Final Reflections

The migration phenomenon has always been an issue that has been present in the European Union. However, currently immigration has been problematized and this institution is not able to cope with this flow of people as it does not present a clear and real distinction in terms of the legislative figure represented by the different subjects. That is, it is clear who is a foreigner and a community citizen, but there is no distinction between immigrant and refugee. However, in treaties and agreements a differentiation is established, although not clear, since they mention that said measures are aimed at a specific group, such as refugees. From the established treaties, the right to emigrate, solidarity, and the management and importance of asylum applications stand out. However, we find that it is not being fulfilled and at present, the European Union does not have a common asylum or immigration policy. Only a series of agreements with different countries are established. These are scarce and do not cover the existing problems.

The current policies are restrictive and are based on border control, promoting differentiation with respect to the "others". Although such differences will vary according to the country and the framed categories, mainly based on ethnic and economic reasons. These are justified by the administrative situation in the country of destination. With regard to irregular immigration, the European Union focuses on Europeanization, while regular immigration is based on rules and agreements between different countries. As far as asylum applications are concerned, they prevail in international standards that although in spite of being scarce, are not being met.

From the analysis of the treaties, agreements, and advice made, the need to control borders, the externalization of resources with respect to the management of migratory flows, and the criminalization granted to some people is observed. The measures that

de valores distintos".

the European Union is carrying out, the political discourse, and the role of the media have great importance because it is not having a humanitarian character in this situation, producing a boom in political parties of far right where the racism and the nationalism are encouraged. We must be aware of the current situation of the European Union and of the influence that its actions have at a social level.

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