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„Integration Policy And The Construction Of Migrant Identity: A Study Of Catalan National Consciousness Amongst Non-European Immigrants In The Greater Barcelona Area“

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Abstract

Over the past few decades, the influx of foreign immigrants into Barcelona and the surrounding cities has created a highly diversified population and evoked particular reactions over periods of time among the local community. Immigration policies and policies on integration evolve with the dynamic flows of people in and out of the receiving society. Catalonia, and more specifically the greater Barcelona area, has an extensive history with internal and external migration and can be used as an example on how an autonomous region deals with the economic, political and social integration of large groups of foreigners. The relationships between civil society, non-governmental organizations and the local governments can be studied to shed light on the situation of integration on a local scale. This thesis focuses on five NGOs and five immigrant individuals in the cities of Barcelona, Badalona and Hospitalet de Llobregat. The purpose of this study is to show how NGOs influence integration and immigration policies, and how individuals feel that these policies affect their sense of identity. This study is based primarily on interviews of NGO staff members and members of the immigrant communities, as well as on secondary data analysis. The results express a range of integration strategies pursued by individuals in the specific Catalan context, and how integration policies affect an individual's sense of identity.

Keywords: integration, acculturation, immigrants, issue networks, policy analysis, NGOs, identity

In den vergangenen Jahrzehnten hat der Zustrom ausländischer Einwanderer nach Barcelona und den umliegenden Städten eine stark diversifizierte Bevölkerung geschaffen und besondere Reaktionen über Zeiträume unter der lokalen Gemeinschaft hervorgerufen. Einwanderungspolitik und Politik zur Integration entwickeln sich mit den dynamischen Strömen von Menschen in und aus der empfangenden Gesellschaft. Katalonien und insbesondere der Großraum Barcelona hat eine umfangreiche Geschichte mit interner und externer Migration und kann als Beispiel dafür verwendet werden, wie sich eine autonome Region mit der wirtschaftlichen, politischen und sozialen Integration großer Gruppen von Ausländern befasst. Die Beziehungen zwischen der Zivilgesellschaft, den Nichtregierungsorganisationen und den lokalen Regierungen können untersucht werden, um die Situation der Integration auf lokaler Ebene zu beleuchten. Diese Arbeit konzentriert sich auf fünf NGOs und fünf Einwanderer in den Städten Barcelona, Badalona und Hospitalet de Llobregat. Der Zweck dieser Studie ist es zu zeigen, wie NGOs Einfluss auf Integration und Einwanderungspolitik nehmen und diese Politik die Identität von Einzelpersonen beeinflussen kann. Diese Studie basiert in erster Linie auf Interviews von NGO-Mitarbeitern und Mitgliedern der Immigrantengemeinschaften sowie auf sekundärer Datenanalyse. Die Ergebnisse zeigen eine Reihe von Integrationsstrategien, die von Einzelpersonen im spezifischen katalanischen Kontext verfolgt werden und wie die Integrationspolitik den Identitätssinn eines Individuums beeinflusst.

Stichwörter: Integration, Akkulturation, Einwanderer, Themennetzwerk, Politikanalyse, NGOs, Identität

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Griselda Asain		
Giselle Escalante*		

1. Introduction

The complexity and scope of international migration is constantly growing, and with the evolution of migration patterns there is an evolution of national and international policies dealing with the flows and conditions. According to a 2013 United Nations report, 231 million people (or approximately 3% of the world population) were living outside their countries of birth. Europe was home to 31% of the 231 million migrants, whereas 25% of the total emigrant population was European and 65% of them remained within European borders.¹ Taking these statistics into account, Europe is the continent with the largest group of international migrants, making it a perfect place to initiate a discussion on migration policies.

When looking at international mobility the European Union in the year 2016, citizens and residents of the EU enjoy some fundamental rights related to moving, studying, working and settling within the EU border. This relatively “free” movement, however, applies only to EU citizens. The movement of non-Europeans has been increasingly made more difficult by certain EU states who are implementing stricter policies in order to keep out “undesirables”. The reasons for harsher restrictions may vary from state to state, but what is apparent is that the experience of moving and settling within the EU

¹ "International Migration Policies: Government Views and Priorities." Statistical Papers - United Nations (Ser. A), *Population and Vital Statistics Report*. New York, (2013): 5,
http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/publications/pdf/policy/InternationalMigrationPolicies2013/Report%20PDFs/z_International%20Migration%20Policies%20Full%20Report.pdf

as a citizen or resident is much different than that of those who come to the EU from abroad. The entry of a migrant is dealt with on a national level, while other aspects, such as acculturation and integration, are dealt with on a much more local level, the level around which this paper will be based.

Social sciences have historically paid much attention to acculturation processes, and the amount of literature on the subject is vast.² Acculturation can be defined as comprehending “those phenomena, which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous firsthand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups.”³ According to John W. Berry, under the heading of ‘acculturation’ fall four subcategories: assimilation, segregation, marginalization and integration.⁴ Many countries in Europe are developing policies that are focused on integrating immigrants and avoiding potential separation and marginalization.⁵ Integration is defined by Dr. Clare Ferguson as, “the process of promoting values, relations and institutions that enable all people to participate in social, economic and political life on the basis of equality of rights, equity and dignity.”⁶ However, policies of other host societies can be oriented towards assimilation, or even separation or marginalization. These policies are based on a multitude of factors, ranging from the host society’s orientation toward cultural pluralism, a history of conflict between religious groups, racial tensions, economic upswings and downturns, etc.

What is the ultimate “goal” of migrant integration policy? According to Mitja Žagar, in an article written in 2008, integration policies should, “ensure the inclusion and voluntary integration of immigrants, immigrant minority and other marginalized communities in a way that would recognize and respect diversity, ensure conditions for the expression and development of different collective identities and cultures based on equal rights and equality as well as the highest standards of human

² See Redfield, Robert, Ralph Linton, and Melville J. Herskovits. "Acculturation." *Oceania* 6, no. 2 (December 1936): 229-33; Teske, Raymond H. C., and Bardin H. Nelson. "Acculturation and Assimilation: A Clarification." *American Ethnologist* 1, no. 2 (1974): 351-67.

³ In reference to a 1936 work by Redfield; Barceló Soler, Joan, “Contextual Effects on Subjective National Identity and Nationalist Vote in Catalonia.” Institut de Ciències Polítiques i Socials (ICPS). Barcelona, (2012): 3, <http://www.icps.cat/archivos/Workingpapers/wp311.pdf?noga=1>.

⁴ Berry, John W. "Acculturation: Living Successfully in Two Cultures." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 29, no. 6 (July 10, 2005): 705, <https://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic551691.files/Berry.pdf>.

⁵ For more information see, "International Migration Policies: Government Views and Priorities." Statistical Papers - United Nations (Ser. A), *Population and Vital Statistics Report*. New York, (2013).

⁶ Ferguson, Dr. Clare. "Promoting Social Integration." *Report commissioned by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA)*, (July 2008): 8-10, <http://www.gsdr.org/docs/open/sc6.pdf>.

rights.”⁷ Host societies that are actively taking the integration approach would see both government and civil initiatives aimed at accommodating the newly arrived immigrants. These civil initiatives may also include non-governmental organizations (hereafter NGOs) that fill in the gaps where the government is lacking in effectiveness. The cooperation between NGOs and governmental institutions is key to more progressive policy-making and implementation.

Looking at the Migrant Integration Policy Index for 2015 (MIPEx), a study pioneered by the Barcelona Center for International Affairs and the Migration Policy Group, there are eight policy indicators used to measure migrants’ opportunities to participate in society: labor market mobility, education, health, political participation, access to nationality, family reunion, permanent residence and anti-discrimination.⁸ The MIPEx is used to measure the level in which national governments promote the integration of migrants in their country. The 2015 MIPEx focused on the specific project, “Integration Policies: Who Benefits?” The three of the main aims of the project are “identifying trends and differences in integration policies across the globe... which groups of immigrants can and do benefit from these policies... and which policies are proved to be most effective for improving integration outcomes.”⁹ According to the Project Manager of CIDOB, this study has become the inspiration for more localized versions of the project, projects rather focused on smaller, local communities than on the national scale.¹⁰

The MIPEx 2015 found that the greatest strength of the EU in regards to migrant integration was that migrant workers, families and residents “enjoy basic security, rights and protection from discrimination” (on an institutional level).¹¹ The greatest hurdle for migrants in the EU is the path to citizenship, as well as the level of political activity amongst migrant populations in their host countries. In general, national policy across the EU is weaker in employment opportunities, education and health support for new migrants.¹² Understanding the strengths and weaknesses on a national level can serve as a starting place for implementing effective integration policies on a more local level. And asking the

⁷ Žagar, Mitja. "Citizenship and Integration: General Considerations and Some Possible Impacts of the EU Citizenship on (Re) integration of Immigrants." *Razprave in Gradivo*, Ljubljana, (2008): p.72, http://www.inv.si/DocDir/Publikacije-PDF/Razprave%20in%20gradivo/RIG%2056_57/Zagar%2056_57.pdf.

⁸ *Migrant Integration Policy Index 2015* (MIPEx). Huddleston, Thomas; Bilgili, Ozge; Joki, Anne-Linde and Vankova, Zvezda (2015).

⁹ Ibid., 6.

¹⁰ Interview with Francesc Fàbregues. Personal interview. Barcelona, July 1st, 2016. Transcript, 3.

¹¹ *Migrant Integration Policy Index 2015* (MIPEx), 9.

¹² Ibid.

question, who *can* benefit from these policies and who *does* benefit from these policies adds another layer to the policy debate.

Between 5-7% of non-EU adults were not living with their spouse or partner as of 2011/2012, and thus may be candidates for family reunion. Approximately one-third of working-age non-EU citizens were not enrolled in any form of educational or training institution, nor were officially registered as a part of the workforce, especially women and those with little to no prior education. Discrimination has been reported by around one-fourth of the non-EU ethnic and religious minorities. And finally, any non-EU migrant who has lived in their host society long enough to apply for citizenship, but has not for any number of reasons, is another example of those who have the potential to benefit from effective integration policy measures.¹³ The links between integration policies and their outcomes are not always apparent or easy to define. But, identifying who actually benefits from the current policies is the first step to improving future initiatives and implementation.

The success or failure of integration policies become much more evident at the local level, or within the cities. The outcome of certain initiatives is based upon the involvement and cooperation of local stakeholders. There are two ways to look at the relationship between stakeholders: vertical cooperation and horizontal cooperation.¹⁴ Vertically, one can look at the breakdown of government-- national, regional, local (municipal). Horizontally, we can look at the local level, paying attention to the relationships between local government and NGOs, and at the relationships with the general civil society.¹⁵ In governments that are highly decentralized, local, horizontal cooperation plays a larger role in the integration of migrants. The success of these policies can be seen more realistically, through interaction and discussions with those most affected, i.e. the migrants themselves.

This thesis focuses on Catalonia, an autonomous region within Spain, that since the year 2000 has experienced a “boom” in foreign immigration from outside of Spain.¹⁶ Immigrants are coming to Catalonia, and more specifically to Barcelona, from a variety of countries, both European and non-European. The motives behind immigration to Barcelona range from labor migrants and asylum seekers to persons coming in hopes of reuniting with family members. With immigration to a foreign

¹³ *Migrant Integration Policy Index* 2015 (MIPEX), 10.

¹⁴ Trbola, Robert, and Miroslava Rákoczyová, "Barriers to Integration of Immigrants and Integration Policy in the Czech Republic with Focus on Stakeholders and Their Co-operation." *Migracijske i Etničke Teme* 27, no. 1 (2011): 86-89.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ *Un pacte per viure junts i juntes: Pacte Nacional per a la Immigració*. Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament d'Acció Social i Ciutadania, Secretaria per a la Immigració. 1a ed. February (2009): 15.

place comes unique challenges. One of these challenges is the integration of immigrants in the new host society, a debate that is constantly evolving with each passing year. The sharp increase of immigrants that Catalonia saw after 2000 called for reformed integration policies to be put in place by the region's parliament, the Generalitat. Studies have shown that immigrants are more prone to unemployment, or have seasonal employment and generally receive a lower income than the local population.¹⁷ The reasons behind these discrepancies in income and employment have been explained by differences in human capital, like native language skills, local networks, and prejudice within the host society, as well as certain legalities that make it more difficult for immigrants to access the wider labor market.¹⁸ Navarro and Gomez, in a 2011 study, also attributed the difference in salary to the "segregation" of immigrants, in the sense that many times immigrants find themselves in different businesses than the local population, businesses that tend to be associated with lower salaries.¹⁹ Integration policy should be used to address the causes of these inequalities between migrants and the local population.

For decades, Catalonia has been a region of nationalist, and at various times separatist, sentiments in Spain. More recently, during the regional elections, the party in favor of independence from Spain was voted into office, pushing the Catalan nationalist agenda to the forefront of discussion. This thesis will investigate the integration policies in Catalonia within a nationalist context. The research has been carried out in the three largest cities in Catalonia: Barcelona, Hospitalet de Llobregat and Badalona--all within the larger province of Barcelona. The research is equally focused on the types of integration policies implemented throughout the years, the roles of NGOs, as well as the migrants' responses to particular initiatives. Were they welcoming to certain programs while more skeptical of others? What caused these reactions? This research could be important in order to recognize which programs are working for which specific target groups and which programs are a misuse of time and resources.

¹⁷ See Statistics from, "Report on the Integration of Immigrants in Catalonia." Quim Brugué and Sheila González (IGOP), Jordi Grau and Ágata Sol (ECAS). Directorate General for Immigration. Ministry of Social Welfare and Family, Generalitat de Catalunya, (2013): 26, 34, http://treballiaferssocials.gencat.cat/web/.content/01departament/08publicacions/ambits_tematicas/immigracio/03publiforacoleccio/18integracio_angles/report_integracion_titol_gran.pdf.

¹⁸ Bevelander, P. "The employment integration of resettled refugees, asylum claimants, and family reunion migrants in Sweden." *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 30, 1, (2011): 22-43.

¹⁹ Rueda Narváez, Mario, and Lucía Navarro Gómez. "Las Ganancias de los Trabajadores Inmigrantes en España." *Hacienda Pública Española / Revista de Economía Pública* 197, no. 2 (2011): 38, http://www.ief.es/documentos/recursos/publicaciones/revistas/hac_pub/198_2.pdf.

By examining the perspectives of everyday citizens, immigrants, local office holders, NGOs, etc., and analyzing their reactions in comparison with data on integration policies in Catalonia, this study aims to answer questions regarding the efficacy of integration policies in the Catalan setting and investigate into how immigrants' self-identities can be affected by such policies.

1.1 Terminology

For the purposes of this thesis the following description of terms will apply:

Acculturation

“Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous firsthand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups... under this definition, acculturation is to be distinguished from culture change, of which it is but one aspect, and assimilation, which is at times a phase of acculturation.”²⁰

Integration

“...immigrants' adaptation to the institutions, norms and culture of the 'majority society' to the extent necessary for the group's members to function in the society, while at the same time keeping intact its own ethnic identity.”²¹

This is possibly the term that is most used within the social-political field of immigration, and is a term that is surrounded by debate and doubt.²² The term integration has been criticized in the realm of migration policy, and has also been misused as interchangeable with ‘assimilation.’ The proposed definition stems from the article, “Paradoxes of Multiculturalism,” written by Ålund and Schierup in 1991.²³

²⁰ Berry, John W. "Acculturation: Living Successfully in Two Cultures," 701.

²¹ *Measurement and Indicators of Integration*. Council of Europe. Directorate of Social and Economic Affairs. Council of Europe Publishing: Germany, (December 1997): 130, http://www.coe.int/t/dg3/migration/archives/documentation/Series_Community_Relations/Measurement_indicators_integration_en.pdf.

²² See Doctoral Dissertation by Mösslinger, Martina. "Assimilation and Integration Discourses in the Social Sciences (1945-1962)." Universität Wien (2016), http://www.academia.edu/30323822/Assimilation_and_Integration_Discourses_in_the_Social_Sciences_1945-1962_.

²³ For more information, see Ålund, Alexandra & Schierup, Carl-Ulrik. “Paradoxes of Multiculturalism.” Gower Publishing Company, Vermont (1991): 14. <http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:213706/FULLTEXT02.pdf>.

Nationalism

Apart from the territorial implications, nationalism can be described as:

“...membership boundaries of the population that makes up the nation the group that deserves territorial control and that is entitled to the supreme loyalty of other members of the collective. These membership boundaries are set by members of the nation themselves, generally by an intellectual or political elite, though they may be based on ideas of surrounding groups as well.”²⁴

Foreigner

The formal concept of foreigner in modern society specifies those who do not possess nationality or citizenship of the country in which they live.²⁵ Other definitions of foreigner can be simplified as ‘those who are not from here.’ These definitions are subjective and can be derived from various ideologies, from frustrations or conflict.

Foreigner (in this context) means anyone with a non-Spanish passport regardless of where they were born.”²⁶

As other terms are mentioned throughout this work, their definitions will also be made clear within the context of this research.

1.2 Aim and Research Questions

Themes of acculturation, integration and nationalisms have been subjects of much study. Quantitative methods have been mainly used in measuring the efficacy of integration policies, such as the MIPEX.

²⁴ Barrington, Lowell W, “‘Nation’ and ‘Nationalism’: The Misuse of Key Concepts in Political Science.” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 30, No. 4 (1997): 714, DOI: 10.2307/420397.

²⁵ Malgesini, Graciela, and Carlos Giménez. *Guía de conceptos sobre migraciones, racismo e interculturalidad*. Madrid: Libros de la Catarata, (2000): 183.

²⁶ “Citizenship and Migration Plan: Horizon 2016.” Directorate General for Immigration. Ministry of Social Welfare and Family, Generalitat de Catalunya, (2014): 20,
http://treballiaferssocials.gencat.cat/web/.content/03ambits_tematicas/05immigracio_refugi/03politiquesplansactuacio/pla_ciudadania_immigracio/PCM_2013-2016-ING.pdf.

For example, measuring rates at which foreigners enter into the labor market, acquire permanent residency, participate politically, or attend higher education can be used as quantitative indicators of integration and perhaps acculturation. The “Citizenship and Migration Plan: Horizon 2016,” produced by Department of Social Welfare and Family of the Generalitat of Catalonia, provides a background to the government of Catalonia’s migration policy, and well as provides figures for migration in Catalonia. Their conclusions are primarily based on quantitative data and analysis.²⁷

Research conducted in Spain, since the transition to democracy in 1975, has been concerned primarily with national and sub-national identity in the provinces of Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia.²⁸ Alongside this branch of study, Spain has also been of academic interest because of its acceptance of a high number of non-EU immigrants in the past decade or so.²⁹ Interest is building in regards to the connection between immigration and nation-building, but the topic remains to be fully explored. As of yet, there have been few studies concerning immigrant identity in regards to the integration policies of the government of an autonomous community with sub-nationalist sentiments, such as is Catalonia. The proposed study aims to collate the sentiments of identity among Catalonia’s immigrant community in relation to current integration policies and to discover themes of acculturation and integration that could aid in the construction of future policies. In order to fully explore these themes of integration, this thesis incorporates the role of NGOs and local government in helping to shape these dynamic identities within the individual migrant communities and the larger scope in Catalonia as a region.

The thesis draws on insights from various NGOs in the greater Barcelona area and from migrant testimonies in order to answer the following research questions.

Central:

What measures has the Catalanian government taken to integrate migrants into the local communities since the first Migrant Integration Plan in 1993, how have individuals reacted to integration measures, and how have these measures influenced the migrants’ sense of identity or a Catalan national consciousness?

²⁷ “Citizenship and Migration Plan: Horizon 2016.” Directorate General for Immigration. Ministry of Social Welfare and Family, Generalitat de Catalunya, 2014.

²⁸ Kleiner-Liebau, Desirée. *Migration and the Construction of National Identity in Spain*. Madrid: Iberoamericana, (2009): 20.

²⁹ “Report on the Integration of Immigrants in Catalonia,” Directorate General for Immigration, 19.

Guiding:

There are four guiding questions that will shape the study. These are:

1. How have NGO networks influenced Catalan integration policy and what have their impacts been on different immigrant populations?
2. What have been the major trends in policy development and how did contextual factors affect which policies were implemented and how?
3. What aspects of life in Catalonia do immigrants find to be the most difficult, and how do these obstacles influence their identity and sense of belonging in the host society?
4. How do the experiences of native Spanish speakers and non-native Spanish speakers differ?
How does the Catalan language play a role in the daily lives of immigrants?

1.3 Disposition of the Thesis

The disposition of this research is to understand how migrant identity is shaped by both integration policies and the non-governmental organizations which work with migrant populations. This type of inquiry lends itself to a qualitative approach that can be aligned with J.W. Berry's theory on acculturation. This theory looks to understand how contact between two groups has both cultural and psychological consequences. At the group level, acculturation involves changes in social structures, institutions as well as cultural practices.³⁰ At the individual level, it has to do with changes in a person's overall behavior or attitude towards their own culture or the other.³¹ It is anticipated that by utilizing this theoretical perspective, more relevant themes will emerge that both address the central research question and perhaps will shed light on alternative ways to measure migrant integration in a sub-national setting.

The NGOs that participated in this study all regularly work with migrant populations and frequently advocate on behalf of immigrant rights and integration. This paper frames NGO influence on immigration policy in the context of network theory. The ways in which NGOs exert influence on policies will be investigated, whether through direct contact with policy-makers or through more informal channels such as campaigns, platforms, demonstrations, etc. By studying how NGOs affect

³⁰ Berry, John W, "Acculturation: Living Successfully in Two Cultures," 698-99.

³¹ Ibid.

policy, this paper intends to relate integration measures to the work done by various organizations and gauge the impact such policies have on the identities of immigrants in the greater Barcelona area.

2. Research Design

2.1 Why the “Greater Barcelona” area?

This study is qualitative in nature and focuses on the Greater Barcelona area for a number of reasons. The aim is to intensely investigate this relatively small area in order to be able to draw conclusions about a particular phenomenon within a specific context. To maximize the richness and accuracy of data, this study will be carried out in the three largest cities in Catalonia: Barcelona, Hospitalet de Llobregat and Badalona. All of these cities are within the county of Barcelona and have populations of greater than 200,000 inhabitants.³² These three cities will serve as good settings due to their geographical proximity and high number of inhabitants and cultural mixture. There are also vast amounts of data collected on the migration trends in the province of Barcelona. Each city will be treated as a setting in which all variables are interconnected, and all policies, reactions and perceptions have an impact on one another, and on the acculturation process as a whole.

2.2 Selection of NGOs

The staff of NGOs that focus on migrant issues can shed another perspective on integration policies, grassroots initiatives and migrant acculturation on a smaller scale. The NGOs participating in this study were chosen with specific parameters in mind. Five NGOs were selected for this study, each from a different sector, and each working towards a certain type of migrant integration into the community. These NGOs work in a range of areas: policy think tanks, labor market integration, human rights and anti-prejudice, not for profit law firms, etc.

The Centre for International Studies and Documentation in Barcelona (CIDOB) is a local think tank located in the heart of the Old Town in Barcelona. Their Migration Programme “aims to contribute to the development of discussions and research on the migratory phenomena, with special emphasis on policy analysis and taking as reference the European Union.”³³ Although their work does not

³² “Citizenship and Migration Plan: Horizon 2016.” Directorate General for Immigration, 24.

³³ “Migrations.” CIDOB. Accessed December 20, 2016.

http://www.cidob.org/en/areas_of_research/issues/migrations.

revolve around migration solely in Spain, or Catalonia, their lead role in the creation of the MIPEX, and expertise in the field of migration policy analysis proves useful in the development of this study.

The second organization, Fundació Exit, specializes on the integration of youth, and especially migrant youth, into the Spanish labor market. Their program, both publicly and privately funded, works in inserting young people at risk of social exclusion through innovative training projects that add value to companies and enhance networking.³⁴ Many of the students they work with are first or second generation migrants from outside of the European Union.³⁵

The third organization participating in this study is SOS Racisme. This NGO works in human rights, and more specifically about equal rights for migrants in the province of Barcelona. This organization provides an outlet for migrants to file complaints on cases of racism and prejudice experienced in their daily lives, whether it be at work or on the streets. They also promote campaigns to combat inequality and fight to bring these issues to the forefront of discussions on integration policy in Catalonia.

The Asociación de Ayuda a Inmigrantes Sin Papeles is a not for profit law firm, based in Hospitalet de Llobregat, which works with migrants who do not have a legal status in Catalonia. And lastly, L'Associació d'Ajuda Mútua d'Immigrants a Catalunya (The Association for Mutual Help for Immigrants in Catalonia--AMIC) promotes a variety of social programs which aid migrants in navigating the waters of integrating into the new society.

Furthermore, the trust these local staff members have with the migrant community proved integral in the access to obtaining interviews.

2.3 Selection of Migrants

The migrants that have participated in this study are all first generation migrants from outside of the European Union who have lived in the three previously mentioned cities for a variety of years. They have all been chosen based on place of origin, native language and length of time as residents in Catalonia (-/+ 5 years). During the period of this study, five immigrants were interviewed.

³⁴ Fundació Exit. "Fundación Exit," (Powerpoint presentation during interview with Manager, Jose Alonso) July 11, 2016. Slide 2.

³⁵ Fundació Exit. "Annual Report 2015," (Powerpoint presentation during interview with Manager, Jose Alonso) July 11, 2016. Slide 52. Report can also be found at Fundació Exit's official website, www.fundacionexit.org/en/annual-reports/.

Each person interviewed revealed their specific motivations for emigrating from their native country, and the questions were adapted based on purpose of emigration. Two of the interviewees were chosen because of ties to an NGO which had also participated in this study, and thus could provide links and personal opinions on how NGOs fit into the integration process. Due to the time limitations of this study, only a few immigrants were interviewed, but were selected from various regions of the globe in order to try and give a wider perspective on integration strategies of people from different backgrounds. Although their responses to questions and their experiences cannot be representative of an entire population, it is the goal of this study to look at specific integration experiences from people of differing backgrounds and analyze them within a unique context to get a better understanding of integration strategies among foreigners in Barcelona.

2.4 Stages of Data Collection

There are three stages of data collection. In each city, the first stage involved collecting data from public records on migration trends, demographics, labor force, education, welfare, etc. Along with this standard information collection, the various plans on integration were compiled and organized according to level, i.e. city-wide initiatives or Catalonia-wide. The first “plan” dates back to the mid 1990s, when the first quota system was set in place for labor migrants and was seen as the first attempt at formally regulating immigration in Spain and Catalonia. Finally, as an additional qualitative feature, media coverage on immigration themes in Catalonia are discussed and analyzed within the specific context and time period.

The second stage of data collection is the interviewing and surveying of participants, both migrants and NGO staff members. Previous studies have focused on migrant perceptions, or what they feel are obstacles and/or facilitators to integration. This study expands on these perceptions, but places more emphasis on how migrants perceive the integration policies influence their sense of a Catalan consciousness or how their identities have been affected by integration in Catalonia. NGO staff members provided an additional facet to this study in the area of influence on policy-making and in the relationships they have with the migrant community.

The interviews are semi-structured, as the participants were given some of the questions previous to the interview taking place, in hopes that this would lead to more in-depth answers. Both the planned and unplanned responses lead to meaningful data. The interviews were relaxed and more conversational in manner when speaking with migrants, while when speaking with other professionals,

the interviews were more structured in nature. When required, a local translator assisted in the interview.

The interviews lasted anywhere between 30 and 45 minutes, and each interviewee was asked permission to record the entire conversation. In the case that the interviewee did not feel comfortable having the conversation recorded, detailed notes were taken and are used in the final analysis. The location of the interviews depended on who was the interviewee. In the case of migrants, the interviews took place in a neutral area, such as a quiet cafe they frequent, whereas interviews with NGO staff members were carried out in their places of work.

The third, and final, stage of data collection took place after the initial data had been analyzed and themes had emerged. If not answered in the first interview, participants were contacted via email or phone to comment on certain trends in conversation that appeared throughout the interview stage. This last phase tied in some of the loose elements that emerged over the course of the data collection process.

2.4.1 Secondary Data Collection

In order to answer part one of the central research question, “What measures has the Catalanian government taken to integrate migrants into the local communities since the first Migrant Integration Plan in 1993...” much of the secondary data comes from administrative data, public documents, censuses, and migrant integration plans that were produced by the Catalanian parliament, the Generalitat. This data provides a base on which the primary research can develop and expand upon. For example, statistics on immigration increase from the year 2000 through 2008 can be correlated with the prevalence of migrant integration plans within this timespan. This information provides a basis on which to understand under what circumstances the Generalitat modified their migration policy and the impact these policies had on migrant integration. The relationship between the numbers and the evolution of integration policies point towards an analysis of the policies’ efficacy, and potentially the dynamic role that NGOs play in migrant integration.

Secondary data was also gathered and analyzed from a variety of other sources. Many articles written by academics and researchers on the role of integration policies in the formation of identity were reviewed and analyzed within the specific Catalanian context. The contextual framework, which will be elaborated upon in the following chapter, is based on John W. Berry’s theory on acculturation. A number of secondary data stems from studies carried out by Berry. To complement Berry’s theory,

works in English, Spanish and Catalan were utilized in regards to the study of national identity and interculturality in Catalonia and the formation of identity among migrants in the host society.

2.4.2 Interviews

The interviews done for this study were very enlightening on the situation of immigration and integration policy in Catalonia. In all, ten interviews were conducted, five were done with directors and staff of NGOs, and five were done with individuals immigrants. To understand the influence the NGOs have in policy-making, interviews revolved around the NGO's work and the specific campaigns they head, as well as delving into which channels are used for exerting the most influence.

In order to answer the second part of the research question, "how have integration measures affected the migrant's identity?" it was imperative to speak with individuals and NGOs alike to get a broader picture. The staff of NGOs work directly with different populations and have a more well-evolved sense of how certain populations respond to certain measures. Since time and resources were limited, the staff of the NGOs served as another link to immigrant populations with the aim of providing more evidence and background to immigrant experiences in Barcelona and the surrounding areas.

During the analysis of the first interviews with the NGOs, different trends arose which prompted a certain line of "questioning" for the interviews with the individuals. This questions were in line with legal resources, political participation, labor force access, etc. The information gathered in the first round of interviews with the five NGOs led to an expansion in the original topics of the interviews with the various immigrants, and overall led to a more comprehensive view of immigration and integration policies as well as the perceived effectiveness of integration plans in Catalonia.

The interviews with different subjects were completed in various manners. For interviews with NGO officials. They were all conducted in their place of work during normal office hours. For the interviews with NGO staff, each interview was conducted one-on-one. Interviews with foreigners were mainly conducted one-on-one with the exception of two participants who preferred to be interview together, due to a potential language barrier with one of them. This partnership facilitated the conversation, and ultimately led to an interesting dynamic.

2.4.3 Reliability of Sources

During the interview stage, all participants were welcoming and reacted positively to this research. Each interviewee was engaged in the conversation and appeared to respond to the best of their ability. Never did I feel unwelcome or rushed to finish the interview. The interview questions were stated clearly, and there were only a few times that clarification was needed in order to obtain a clear and full response. The interviews with the five NGO staff members and directors went smoothly and no misunderstandings occurred. The organization AMIC asked that I not record the interview due to the personal nature of some of the content. However, they allowed me to take detailed notes for over an hour and provided excess secondary data that proved useful in other facets of this study. Fundación Exit works with minors, thus was also hesitant to allow me to record the interview. However, they provided me with useful information as well as internal presentations, which are used in the final analysis. All interviews with NGO staff were carried out in Spanish without the use of a translator.

During the interviews with migrants, one middle-aged man from Senegal asked me not to use his given name nor to record the interview. This study will refer to him as Muhammad. He has been living and working odd jobs in Barcelona for a number of years, but preferred to remain anonymous in this study. This raised the question as to why, which will be elaborated on further in this thesis. The majority of migrants interviewed had been living in one of the three cities--Barcelona, Badalona, Hospitalet de Llobregat--for more than five years, with two interviewees having lived, worked and/or studied in Barcelona for approximately one year. Three of the interviews were carried out in Spanish, and one interview in English (with the two participants together) in which one interviewee required the use of a translator. All participants seemed relaxed and open to answering the questions. No pressure was exerted to receive answers. The sources interviewed for this study are not representative of entire populations, but rather are presented in a way that sheds light on the particularities of integration strategies in a new environment.

3. Conceptual Framework

The aim of this study is to understand how migrant identity is shaped by integration policies, and this type of inquiry lends itself to a qualitative approach that can be aligned with J.W. Berry's theory on acculturation. This theory looks to understand how contact between two groups has both cultural and psychological consequences. At the group level, acculturation involves changes in social structures,

institutions as well as cultural practices.³⁶ At the individual level, it has to do with changes in a person's overall behavior or attitude towards their own culture or the other.³⁷ It could be argued that the success of failure of integration policies should be measured, more or less, according to the level in which acculturation is achieved.

To complement Berry's theory of acculturation, this thesis also emphasizes the role and the influence that NGOs have in the development of integration policy. Policy Network Theory can be used to analyze the relationship between government policy making and the influence that NGOs have in the process. "Policy-network theory highlights the extent to which policy makers may seek agreement across the key players in the sector..."³⁸ For a study on NGOs, it is important to determine through what channels these specific organizations use in order to influence policy making. NGOs can take the form of pressure groups, such as SOS Racisme in this study, or as contracted organizations that work directly with the government, policy consultants like CIDOB.

By utilizing these theoretical perspectives more relevant themes will emerge that both address the central research question and will shed light on alternative ways to measure migrant integration in a sub-nationalist setting.

3.1 John W. Berry's Model of Acculturation

Berry's Model of Acculturation is based on examining cultural contexts. According to Berry, the researcher must first understand both the cultures in contact in order to be able to fully understand the individual perspectives.³⁹ Secondly, it must be determined that the two cultures differ to an extent where the model can be applied. This is to say, that if there are very few, nor non-crucial differences between cultures, there will be little space for noticeable change.⁴⁰ When there are crucial differences between two cultures, Barceló Soler states that the "context of reception [of people from the foreign culture] may be relevant for understanding the patterns of acculturation."⁴¹ This paper posits that

³⁶ Berry, John W., "Acculturation: Living Successfully in Two Cultures," 698-99.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Spencer, Sarah, "Migration and Integration: The Impact of NGOs on Future Policy Development in Ireland." *ESRC Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS)*, 2006: 7, https://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/media/PR-2006-NGOs_Ireland_Policy-1.pdf.

³⁹ Berry, John W., "Acculturation: Living Successfully in Two Cultures," 702.

⁴⁰ Barceló Soler, Joan, "Contextual Effects on Subjective National Identity and Nationalist Vote in Catalonia," 5.

⁴¹ Ibid.

migration policy and the successive integration policies have an effect of the pattern of acculturation demonstrated by people migrating from societies outside of the European Union.

If the researcher determines that the two cultures are sufficiently distinguishable, the following framework for understanding acculturation can be applied.

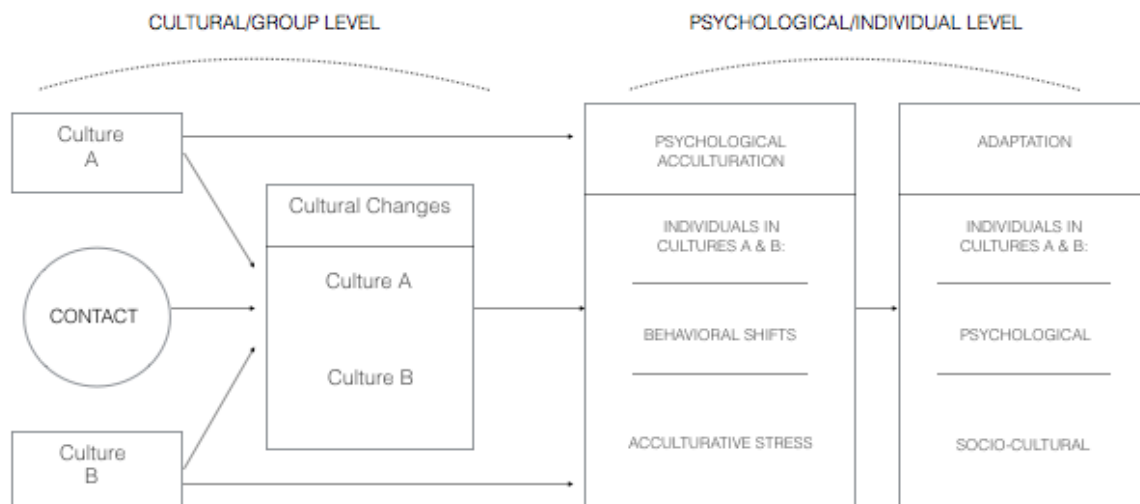


Figure 1: A general framework of acculturation processes⁴²

Taking the immigration process as an example, it can be stated that Culture A is the origin society and Culture B is the settlement society. Important factors to consider in regards to the culture of origin are (literally) where they are coming from, as well as a “combination of political, economic and demographic conditions.”⁴³ This will help to uncover the “voluntariness” of the migration motivation.⁴⁴ Looking at the settlement society, it is important to understand the historic migratory patterns and the general attitudes members of that society hold towards immigration and pluralism. In Catalonia, for example, the 20th C. saw three heightened occasions of immigration into the region, the 1900-1940 period, 1940-1970 period and from 2000-2010 (21st C.).⁴⁵ The last stage of experienced

⁴² Berry, John W., "Acculturation: Living Successfully in Two Cultures," 703.

⁴³ Ibid., 702.

⁴⁴ Berry, John W., "Acculturation: Living Successfully in Two Cultures," 702.

⁴⁵ Climent-Ferrando, Vicent, “Immigration in Catalonia. In search of a public philosophy.” Interdisciplinary Research Group on Immigration. (GRITIM-UPF), Universitat Pompeu Fabra. Barcelona, (June 2012): 3-4, http://www.eurac.edu/en/research/autonomies/minrig/Documents/ALIAS/immigration_Catalonia_climent.pdf.

much more immigration from outside of Spain--reaching 15.7% by 2011--whereas the statistics for the first two phases consisted mainly of a move from rural areas of Spain to the bigger cities in Catalonia.⁴⁶ Although this study focuses on the period from the mid-1980s thru the present, it is imperative to understand the history of migratory patterns in Catalonia in order to apply Berry's theory and to study the evolution of integration policies and their effect on migrants' senses of identity.

In this model, it is apparent that in the first stage the two cultures are seen as separate until they come into contact with one another. In this stage, "the two groups (cultures A and B) that are in contact usually have some initial notions about what they are attempting to do (e.g., colonial policies, or motivations for migration), or what is being done to them during the contact."⁴⁷ Larger cultural changes are taking place simultaneously with changes among individuals, both in the host society and within the immigrating population. "At the individual level (psychological acculturation), both behavior changes and acculturative stress phenomena are now known to be a function, at least to some extent, of what people try to do during their acculturation..."⁴⁸ Behavioral shifts can be categorized into three groups according to Berry, 1) cultural shedding, 2) culture learning, and 3) cultural conflict.⁴⁹ The first two types of shifts can be deliberate or non-deliberate, leaving certain customs and behaviors behind while adopting new ones. Cultural conflict on the other hand makes integration a less likely option and for certain behaviors to be marginalized or assimilated, rather than integrated into society. Acculturative stress is heightened during periods of cultural conflict and the degree of stress leads to different strategies of acculturation.

"Adaptation refers to the relatively stable changes that take place in an individual or group in response to external demands."⁵⁰ Although potentially misleading, the term adaptation does not imply a wholly positive response. There are varying degrees of adaptation. "Psychological adaptation largely involves one's psychological and physical well-being, whereas sociocultural adaptation refers to how well an acculturating individual is able to manage daily life in the new cultural context."⁵¹

⁴⁶ Ibid., 9-13.

⁴⁷ Berry, John W., "Acculturation: Living Successfully in Two Cultures," 704.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 704.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 707.

⁵⁰ Berry, John W., "Acculturation: Living Successfully in Two Cultures," 709.

⁵¹ Ibid.

Figure 2 shows the four strategies used by acculturating individuals in order to face two key issues, 1) the maintenance of one's own heritage and cultural identity and 2) the relationships sought within larger society and among different ethnic groups. These two issues are presented independently from one another.

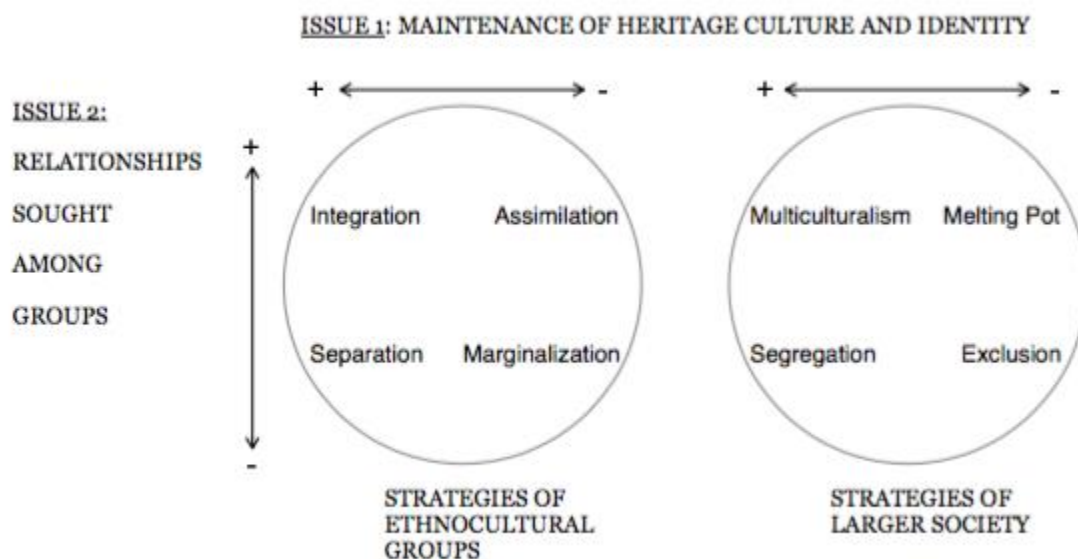


Figure 2: Four acculturation strategies⁵²

The two circles represent cultures A and B from the previous graph, or rather the non-dominant society (on the left) and the dominant larger society (on the right). Taking a look first at non-dominant groups, when individuals choose not to maintain their own cultural identity and are constantly seeking interaction with the larger society, Berry defines this type of acculturation as *Assimilation*.⁵³ On the other hand, when an individual has maintained strongly their original cultural identity and engages very little with the dominant society, this leads to *Separation*. When an individual is neither interested in maintaining their cultural heritage nor engages in relations with the dominant host society (either voluntarily or involuntarily, ex. through discrimination or exclusion), *Marginalization* occurs. And finally, and what Berry refers to as the most desirable outcome, is *Integration*. Integration, however, is much more than a one-sided effort. The individual has a desire to maintain ties to their original culture and to maintain their heritage, while at the same time engaging consistently with the dominant society

⁵² Ibid., 705.

⁵³ Ibid.

in a variety of areas. For integration to truly occur, the host society must be open to cultural diversity and embrace interculturality. “When the dominant group enforces certain forms of acculturation, or constrains the choices of non-dominant groups or individuals, then a third element becomes necessary.”⁵⁴ This is when the dominant group takes on the role of influencing the acculturation strategies used by the non-dominant community. This shifts the focus to the second half of the graph, “The Strategies of the Larger Society”.

Before Berry developed his theory on acculturation, earlier definitions had already deemed that true acculturation occurred in both the non-dominant society, as well as the dominant society.⁵⁵ The demand to know more about the cause and effect the dominant society had in acculturation strategies led to a further conceptualization of the definition. Assimilation occurring solely on the side of the non-dominant group is described as a *Melting Pot*. A forced Separation on the part of the dominant group is termed *Segregation*. Marginalization that is promulgated by the dominant group leads to *Exclusion*. “Finally, for Integration, when cultural diversity is a feature of the society as a whole, including all the various ethnocultural groups, it is called *Multiculturalism*.”⁵⁶ The policies and ideologies of the dominant group constitute an integral part in the social studies of intercultural relations. According to Berry, a society with a positive culturally pluralist ideology will implement policies which promote cultural diversity, whereas in societies where diversity is not so widely accepted, more assimilation policies will dominate the agenda.⁵⁷

What constitutes a society of “cultural pluralism”? To start, it could be defined as the acceptance of differences in culture, ethnicity, religion, linguistic or racial, and attributing a positive value to these differences.⁵⁸ Culturally pluralist societies are:

“less likely to enforce cultural change (assimilation) or exclusion (segregation and marginalization) on immigrants, and they are more likely to provide social support both from the institutions of the larger society (e.g., culturally sensitive

⁵⁴ Berry, John W., “Integration and Multiculturalism: Ways towards Social Solidarity,” *Papers on Social Representations*, Vol.20. Queen’s University (2001): 2.6, http://www.psych.lse.ac.uk/psr/PSR2011/20_02.pdf.

⁵⁵ In reference to a 1936 article by Redfield, Linton & Herskovits; Berry, John W., “Integration and Multiculturalism: Ways towards Social Solidarity,” 2.7.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Berry, John W., “Acculturation: Living Successfully in Two Cultures,” 703.

⁵⁸ Malgesini, Graciela, and Carlos Giménez, *Guía de conceptos sobre migraciones, racismo e interculturalidad*, 325.

health care and multicultural curricula in schools), and from the continuing and evolving ethnocultural communities that usually make up pluralistic societies.”⁵⁹

Berry, along with other scholars, has noted that within pluralistic societies there are variations in the acceptance of specific racial or religious groups, that is all non-dominant groups are not necessarily accepted at the same rate and may have more difficulties with long term adaptation.

3.2 Policy Network & Issue Network Analysis

To complement John W. Berry’s theory of acculturation and to integrate the role of NGOs into the acculturation process, an analysis of policy networks can be explored. R.A.W. Rhodes defines policy networks as, “sets of formal institutional and informal linkages between governmental and other actors structured around shared if endlessly negotiated beliefs and interests in public policymaking and implementation.”⁶⁰ It is a “a cluster of concepts focusing on government links with, and dependence on, other state and societal actors.”⁶¹ Policy emerges out of the interaction between different actors, which range from government authorities, businessmen, legislators, lobbyists, non-governmental organizations, pressure groups, think tanks, academics, journalists, etc.

Networks can vary depending on the relative closeness of the relationships between them. Rhodes asserts that networks involving close relationships are deemed “policy communities”, while relationships that are looser in nature are deemed “issue networks”.⁶² Issue networks are like an alliance or a communications network of interest groups pushing a common agenda in a way that has the potential to influence government policy. Their interaction is based on consultation, and not negotiation or bargaining.⁶³ NGOs typically fit into issue networks more so than into the more formal policy communities, which are made up by members of parliament, bureaucrats, and representatives of private groups. Issue networks are made up of groups that move in and out of the network and which are invested intellectually and emotionally, and less motivated by political lines. In either policy

⁵⁹ Berry, John W., "Acculturation: Living Successfully in Two Cultures," 703.

⁶⁰ Rhodes, R. A. W., “Chapter 20: Policy Network Analysis,” In M. Moran, M. Rein and R. E. Goodin (Eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2006): 426.

⁶¹ Ibid., 425.

⁶² Ibid., 427.

⁶³ Ibid., 428.

networks or issue networks, each one is characterized by routine patterns of interaction between governments and other actors.

For the study of NGOs in network analysis, it means that it is necessary to identify which channels of access can be used by organizations or interest groups to influence policy.⁶⁴ Some of the main channels used by NGOs are individual politicians, courts, political parties, mass media, supranational bodies and the general public.⁶⁵ The nature of the decision being taken may determine which outlets are utilized. It should not be assumed that the decision making process related to migrant integration in Barcelona, and the relationships between policy makers and NGOs, will be the same across other policy areas. NGOs relationship with the government does not stop at merely a pressure group. Spencer notes, "They may also be contracted to provide services, or cooperate with government in relation to issues on which they have a common interest, sharing information or entering into a partnership to achieve a common goal."⁶⁶ An alternative model, and one this paper intends on exploring further, sees NGOs as supplementary to governmental bodies, providing services in areas in which the government has fallen short.⁶⁷

In her work on NGOs, migrants and integration, Sarah Spencer lays out five factors that determine the opportunities for NGOs to influence policy making: 1) factors external to government, 2) factors internal to government and civil service, 3) the accessibility of the official and unofficial channels, 4) the accessibility of organizations that provide indirect channels, and 5) factors relating to the capacity of the NGOs.⁶⁸ Factors external to government include periods of economic growth or decline, migration trends, and future labor demands. These are factors which put pressure on governments to make policy changes, or factors that limit their capacity to make those changes. Internal governmental factors refer to members of parliament and public officials, which may present themselves as channels for influence. Both official and unofficial channels should remain open to be explored by NGOs. Accessibility to indirect channels to members of parliament or media comes through groups or members of society that are receiving of NGOs arguments. These indirect channels provide links to where policy making happens and gives NGOs a space to make their issues heard. Lastly, the internal

⁶⁴ Spencer, Sarah, "Migration and Integration: The Impact of NGOs on Future Policy Development in Ireland," 7.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 8.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

capacity of NGOs is a huge factor in the amount of influence they may exert on a particular issue. This extends to their legitimacy within their field of work, their ability to work interdependently with other organizations in the sector and their own strategies for influence.⁶⁹

3.2.1 Iron Triangles vs. Issue Networks

In her article, "Interest Groups in the Rule-Making Process..." Marissa Golden elaborates on the complex relations of the iron triangles of policy making:

"Iron triangles assume more-complex relations whereby congressional committees, agency clientele, and agency personnel all enjoy low-visibility cordial relations and produce policy that favors all parties involved. These triangles are characterized by consensus, a limited number of participants, and policy expansion."⁷⁰

Iron triangles are characterized by their small number of participants that are consistently involved.⁷¹ In policy, or rule-making, iron triangles are generally made up of Congress (or Parliament), bureaucrats, and special interest groups. An iron triangle is a closed group of participants and is notoriously hard to break into, hence the name. The small number of participants work together so that each member is satisfied and their interested met. However the iron triangle does not account for all actors who influence policy making.

In a 1995 article from the *Public Administration Review*, James Skok writes, "A common theme in the literature is the observation that issue networks are displacing political parties, chief executives, and other political institutions that once served to centralize power in our fragmented governmental system."⁷² In issue networks, the relationships are informal, decentralized and horizontal. This goes back to Robert Trbola's point on horizontal versus vertical cooperation.⁷³ Horizontal cooperation and issue networks can be seen functioning on the local scale. To refer back to Sarah Spencer's article on NGOs participation in rule-making, it is important to make the point that the issue networks rely on

⁶⁹ Spencer, Sarah, "Migration and Integration: The Impact of NGOs on Future Policy Development in Ireland," 8.

⁷⁰ Golden, Marissa M, "Interest Groups in the Rule-Making Process: Who Participates? Whose Voices Get Heard?" *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 8, no. 2 (1998): 249, www.jstor.org/stable/1181558.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Skok, James E., "Policy Issue Networks and the Public Policy Cycle: A Structural-Functional Framework for Public Administration." *Public Administration Review* 55, no. 4 (1995): 330, DOI: 10.2307/977123.

⁷³ See page 4 of this paper for reference.

the fluid participation and inter-cooperation between organizations with the same interests and goals, and that they utilize the channels of influence each organization has access to. Within the networks each unit is expected to operate individually in its specific expertise and contribute this experience and intelligence to the network. Skok emphasizes that the core agency of a policy issue network focuses on the management, design and operation of the network, while individual units are responsible for “maintain[ing] a steady supply of expertise to the network” as well as enhancing their individual capacities--promoting competition and overall strengthening the reputation of the network.⁷⁴

The five NGOs that participated in this study, although not necessarily part of the same issue network, each function within its own sector's network. As previously mentioned these organizations deal in labor rights and integration into the workforce, human rights and anti-prejudice campaigns, general public policy consultation, and residency rights for undocumented migrants. These five organizations individually, as well as jointly with partner organizations, exert a certain amount of pressure on policymakers. Each unit is part of a structural arrangement, and lies somewhere in the middle of the relationship between the state and civil society. Knoke, Laumann and Pappi argue that, “modern state-society relationships have increasingly become blurred, merging into a *mélange* of interorganizational influences and power relations...”⁷⁵ The blurring of the relationship between the state and society opens the doors for many other actors to influence policy making, many new channels to be exploited, and for more participation by citizens in the rule-making process.

4. Migration to Catalonia: Trends and Policy Development

Catalonia's case is particularly interesting when it comes to societal context and immigration trends--a minority nation with a minority language and a distinct identity within a larger state. Josep Llobrera, in his article, “Aspects of Catalan Kinship, Identity and Nationalism,” points out that Catalonia has been able to maintain their sense of national identity in the face to a force which would seem to threaten it; in the last century (as of 1997), Catalonia had absorbed over three million immigrants.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Skok, James E., “Policy Issue Networks and the Public Policy Cycle,” 330.

⁷⁵ Rhodes, R. A. W., “Chapter 20: Policy Network Analysis,” *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*, 429.

⁷⁶ Llobrera, Josep R., “Aspects of Catalan Kinship, Identity and Nationalism.” *JASO* 28, no. 3 (1997): 306, https://www.isca.ox.ac.uk/fileadmin/ISCA/JASO/Archive_1997/28_3_Llobera.pdf.

Catalonia seems to have always been a region of immigration, although historically this immigration came from other regions of Spain. Current population data estimates that non-Spanish foreigners make up 15.3% of Catalanian residents.⁷⁷ That is 1.18 million foreigners, or one in every six Catalans.⁷⁸ Immigration into Catalonia by foreigners not holding Spanish passports began to rise sharply in 2001, rising from 257,000 foreigners to 1.1 million foreigners by 2008.

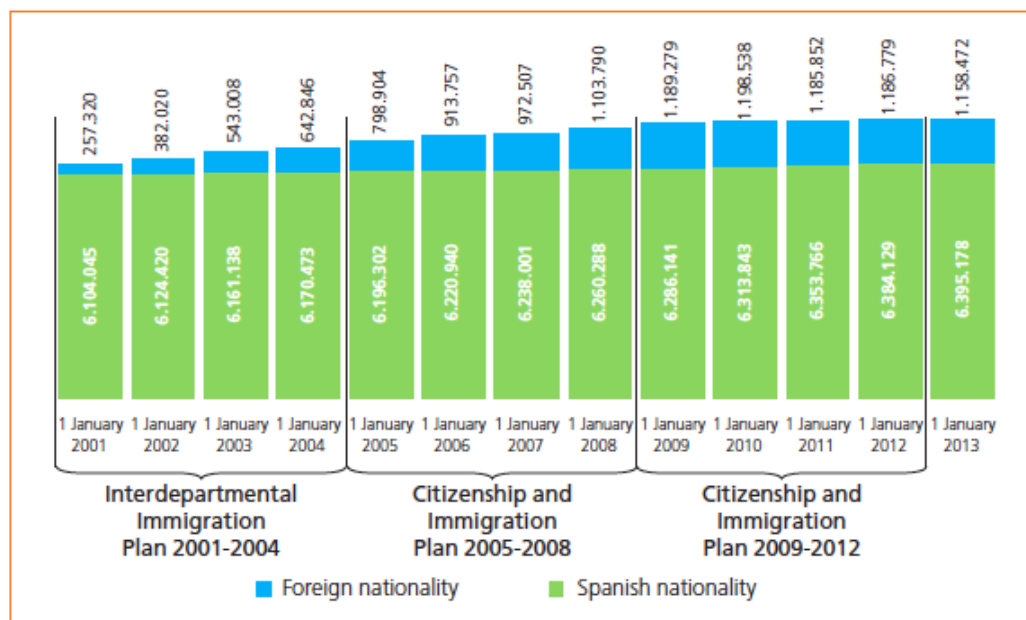


Figure 3: Change in registered population in Catalonia by nationality. 2001-2013⁷⁹

Vicent Climent-Ferrando, in his article, “Immigration in Catalonia. In search of a Public Philosophy,” notes three features that distinguish the latest wave of immigration in Catalonia from waves of the past: 1) intensity, 2) diversification of origin, and 3) immigrant population distribution in Catalonia.⁸⁰ The intensity of immigration during this decade can be attributed to major economic growth that attracted working age unskilled laborers. Furthermore, there were certain types of jobs that were not being filled by the local population. Climent-Ferrando postulates that this was due to higher levels of education in the region and the declining birth rates during the 1970s and 1980s.⁸¹

⁷⁷ “Citizenship and Migration Plan: Horizon 2016.” Directorate General for Immigration, 20.

⁷⁸ “Report on the Integration of Immigrants in Catalonia,” Directorate General for Immigration, 18.

⁷⁹ “Citizenship and Migration Plan: Horizon 2016.” Directorate General for Immigration, 19.

⁸⁰ Vicent Climent-Ferrando, “Immigration in Catalonia. In search of a Public Philosophy,” 15.

⁸¹ Ibid., 16.

The diversification of the migrant population became evident in the late 1990s, where not only Spaniards were coming to Catalonia, but rather people from other countries and continents.⁸² Of the 15.3% of migrants, the vast majority are of Moroccan and Romanian descent.⁸³ The concentration of each nationality differs from each county. For example, Barcelona's majority foreign population is from South America, while in Girona migrants are primarily of African descent.⁸⁴ As the capital of Catalonia, Barcelona (and surrounding areas--Badalona and Hospitalet de Llobregat) has seen the highest number of foreigners throughout history, and currently has the most diverse population, but the latest wave saw more distribution throughout all of Catalonia, not only focused on its largest city. The largest populations of foreigners are in Barcelona, Badalona and Hospitalet de Llobregat, but this does not mean to say these cities have the largest percentage of immigrants compared to the local population--which is held by Guissona (Lleida), Castelló d'Empúries (Girona), and Salt (Girona).⁸⁵ Pakistani migrants are the largest group of foreigners in the province of Barcelona, which includes Badalona and Hospitalet de Llobregat, followed by groups of Ecuadorians, Moroccans and Romanians.⁸⁶ It is also important to note that there are large populations of undocumented migrants residing across Catalonia, many of whom may have arrived legally, but stayed without permission. This issue is one that the NGO Asociación de Ayuda a Inmigrantes Sin Papeles works with specifically, and will be elaborated on in the next section.

It could be argued that Catalonia's long history with migration from other regions of Spain helped them to handle the migration "boom" of the early 2000s. Furthermore, due to increased foreign immigration into Spain between the years 1985-1991 the *Ley Orgánica 7/1985*, the national immigration law, was passed. Now referred to as the *Ley de Extranjería*, it was still a relatively modern piece of legislation in the early 2000s (having been ratified in 1996) and provided the region of Catalonia with an infrastructural base on which to attend to the needs of newly arrived migrants. The law outlined the rights and freedoms of immigrants in Spain, the protocol for entry into the country, employment rights and regulations, and the consequences and sanctions for infractions in the law, amongst other

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ "Citizenship and Migration Plan: Horizon 2016." Directorate General for Immigration, 20.

⁸⁴ "Report on the Integration of Immigrants in Catalonia," Directorate General for Immigration, 23.

⁸⁵ "Citizenship and Migration Plan: Horizon 2016." Directorate General for Immigration, 24.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

things.⁸⁷ The law has since been amended various times, with the current version last ratified in 2000 to include politics of integration among the changes.⁸⁸ A platform called, *Papeles para todos y todas. Ningún ser humano es ilegal*, was promoted by a network of over fifty Spanish NGOs that advocated for this addition, along with amplifying the rights and liberties of migrants and establishing a general equality with the Spanish population.⁸⁹

In 1993, not so long after the passing of the *Ley Orgánica 7/1985*, the first official immigrant integration plan in Catalonia was drawn up, the *Interdepartmental Immigration Plan (IIP)*, whose programs were in place up until the year 2000.⁹⁰ This plan was a product of the Commission for Monitoring and Coordinating Actions on Immigration, a commission established in 1992 and made up of eight governmental departments.⁹¹ The main objectives of the IIP were to mainstream integration policies across the autonomous community, to coordinate services, and promote information and awareness about migration to the various levels of government staff.⁹² The original commission was renamed the Interdepartmental Immigration Committee, and was expanded to include an Advisory Board on Immigration, made up of local representatives, NGOs, trade unions and business associations.⁹³ This is an example of one of the first policy networks on immigration issues in Catalonia. Following this initial plan, multiple other plans were constructed, such as the IIP 2001-2004, the *Citizenship and Immigration Plan 2005-2008*, and then reformulating it for 2009-2012.

⁸⁷ “Ley Orgánica 7/1985, de 1 de julio, reguladora de los derechos y libertades de los extranjeros en España.” Accessed January 4, 2017. http://www.congreso.es/constitucion/ficheros/leyes_espa/lo_007_1985.pdf.

⁸⁸ “Ley Orgánica 4/2000, de 11 de enero, sobre derechos y libertades de los extranjeros en España y su integración social,” Boletín Oficial del Estado, Legislación Consolidada, last updated October 30, 2015. <https://www.boe.es/buscar/act.php?id=BOE-A-2000-544>.

⁸⁹ Aguirre, Begoña, “Basta de Papeles: Un texto de Saramago presenta la campaña de 50 ONG a favor de regularizar a todo inmigrante,” *El País*, last updated 4 December 1998. Accessed January 2017, http://elpais.com/diario1998/12/04/madrid/912774290_850215.html.

⁹⁰ “Citizenship and Migration Plan: Horizon 2016.” Directorate General for Immigration, 16.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

4.1 Policy Trends

The following sections will give an overview of the trends in policy making in regards to immigration since the mid-1980s through the present. Policy trends in employment, family reunification, access to nationality, undocumented migrants, and integration will be explored.

4.1.2 Labor Force & Migrant Workers

When the first laws and policies on migration began to emerge in the mid-1980s, immigrants into Catalonia, and Spain in general, were seen primarily as workers. And, these workers were to be regulated by the Ministry of Labor. The *Ley de Extranjería* of 1985 set strict regulations in regards to migrant workers across Spain, and caused problems particularly in the area of family reunification. The law stated that a foreign worker must receive a job offer before applying for a work visa or a residency permit.⁹⁴ Non-European migrants typically entered the workforce into low skilled occupations, whereas the situation was a bit different for those coming from within Europe once Spain entered the European Community in 1985. Spain experimented with labor quotas during the years 1993-1995, 1997-1999 and in 2002. “The creation of a quota system in 1993 was the first attempt to create an orderly regulation of migrations. This system was elaborated with the participation of all sectors involved and its strategy was to channel the immigrants toward sectors that lacked workers.”⁹⁵ However, there were gaps between the actual need for laborers in certain industries and the amount of workers available, leading to irregular statuses of migrants in the labor force.

In the year 2000, Spain came out with a more comprehensive and ‘proactive’ policy on labor migrations called *Plan Greco* (Programa Global de Coordinación y Regulación de la Extranjería y la Inmigración). This plan was structured around certain, specific criteria for the admission of migrants, in particular those that made up the annual quota, it specified quotas for seasonal employment, and laid out scenarios in which migrants would be hired before entry into Spain, but trained in their countries of origin.⁹⁶ *Plan Greco* incorporated more participation from local governments in

⁹⁴ “Ley Orgánica 7/1985, de 1 de julio, reguladora de los derechos y libertades de los extranjeros en España.” Accessed January 4, 2017.

⁹⁵ López-Sala, Ana and Ruth Ferrero-Turrión, “New Times? Economic Crisis, geo-political transformation and the emergent migration order: Annual Conference 2009,” Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, University of Oxford (2009): 5, [http://digital.csic.es/bitstream/10261/36645/1/L%C3%B3pez-Sala,%20Ferrero%20\(COMPAS\).pdf](http://digital.csic.es/bitstream/10261/36645/1/L%C3%B3pez-Sala,%20Ferrero%20(COMPAS).pdf).

⁹⁶ López-Sala, Ana and Ruth Ferrero-Turrión, “New Times? Economic Crisis...” 6.

determining the needs for their regions, as well as including other actors such as the business sector and trade unions in the decision making process.⁹⁷ This plan also addressed themes of the initial acceptance of immigrants and their access to information, assistance in regards to the healthcare system, incorporation into the labor market and addresses problems with racism, prejudice and xenophobia.⁹⁸ The policies under *Plan Greco* were in place until 2004.

Public opinion in June 2005, as documented by the *Pacte Nacional per a la Immigració*, shows that during that year 28.5% of Catalans felt that immigration was the main problem facing Catalonia, second only to unemployment and general labor insecurity.⁹⁹ In 2007, immigration became the number one issue facing Catalonia, and by 2008 it had dropped to third.¹⁰⁰ Unfortunately, the data does not specify whether the issue was with immigration in and of itself was the problem, or if the handling of migrants in the labor force and general integration was also an issue. In a 2008 survey by the Centre d'Estudis d'Opinió, 54.7% of Catalans felt that it was the duty of the state to manage issues of immigration, this was far above the 18% that felt Catalonia was responsible, and even further above the 4% that felt the local municipal government should handle immigration issues.¹⁰¹

Since 2000, Spain and its respective autonomous communities have more regularly drafted plans and policies on the regulation of labor flow in and out of the country. In Catalonia, the second *Interdepartmental Immigration Plan* of 2001-2004 called for:

“...greater involvement of the Catalan Government in the overall management of immigration policy so that it could put forward proposals about annual manpower requirements and seasonal workers, together with active participation in processing work permits and visas in order to improve administrative procedures and ensure the regions had an active presence in countries of origin.”¹⁰²

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ “El Consejo de Ministros aprueba el Plan GRECO con 37.776 millones de pesetas el primer año,” *El Mundo.es*, last updated March 31, 2001, <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2001/03/30/espana/985961636.html>.

⁹⁹ *Un pacte per viure junts i juntes: Pacte Nacional per a la Immigració*. Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament d'Acció Social i Ciutadania, 18.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² “Citizenship and Migration Plan: Horizon 2016.” Directorate General for Immigration, 17.

This plan was the first to go into effect right as Catalonia was on the brink of a boom in immigration into the region. During this period of heightened immigration into the region, Catalonia's new Statute of Autonomy (*Ley Orgánica 6/2006*) was approved in 2006--a ratification of the previous statute passed in 1979, shortly after the death of Francisco Franco in 1975. Specifically, Article 138.2 in the new statute, it is described what the Generalitat's duties and capabilities are in the area of granting work permits to foreigners.¹⁰³ The Generalitat has executive power in matters of authorizing work permits to foreigners whose employment is located in Catalonia; this includes initial applications as well as renewals and appeals.¹⁰⁴ The executive power to grant work permits was contested by the Spanish state in 2010, and taken to the Constitutional Court. Although in the final ruling, Catalonia maintained the ability to grant work permits as long as the Generalitat "did not infringe upon the core competences on immigration held by a State, that is, border control and nationality-granting powers."¹⁰⁵ However, the term "nation," as it was used to identify Catalonia, was deemed unconstitutional and removed from the statute's foreword.¹⁰⁶

4.1.3 Irregular Migration and Undocumented Migrants

The rights afforded to migrant workers are of the same level of protection as those rights enjoyed by the local Catalan workforce. This includes minimum wage, anti-discrimination and protection from unlawful termination. As of 2013, 47% of foreigners (aged 16 and over) were employed under contract in Catalonia, 24.5% were inactive at the time, and the rest unemployed.¹⁰⁷ Foreigners also account for 25% of the total unemployment rate in Catalonia, with the rates amongst foreigners much more volatile than their native counterparts.¹⁰⁸ What is more difficult to account for are the numbers of undocumented migrants that make up a part of the workforce. According to the Information Center of Foreign Workers in 2010, it is estimated that in Catalonia approximately 200,000 people, of the

¹⁰³ "Ley Orgánica 6/2006, de 19 de julio, de reforma del Estatuto de Autonomía de Cataluña." Boletín Oficial del Estado, Legislación Consolidada. Last updated July 17, 2010: 42, <http://www.boe.es/buscar/pdf/2006/BOE-A-2006-13087-consolidado.pdf>.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Vicent Climent-Ferrando, "Immigration in Catalonia. In search of a Public Philosophy," 48.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ "Citizenship and Migration Plan: Horizon 2016." Directorate General for Immigration, 32.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 33.

17.39% of immigrant population is undocumented.¹⁰⁹ Although this estimate is community wide, it can be approximated that a similar proportion exists in the greater Barcelona area.

The roles of undocumented migrant women have become increasingly important as the population of Catalonia ages. The older the population gets, the more domestic care services become necessary. The vast majority of women coming from Latin American countries work in domestic care, while men tend to work in services such as in bars or convenience stores. During my time spent with Raphael Serrano, head lawyer at Asociación de Ayuda a Inmigrantes Sin Papeles, he elaborated on the situation of undocumented women and men who make up the service sector of the labor market. “The work [done by undocumented migrants] is a very sacrificial work, and one that forms the base of society... The women working in domestic care [above all] do tremendous work, a work which in my opinion is very under-valued.”¹¹⁰ He works with undocumented migrants who are either attempting to legalize their status in Barcelona as migrant workers, or who are filing complaints of exploitation against their “employer”. Mr. Serrano is a pro-bono lawyer who works to inform undocumented migrant workers of their labor rights, and to represent them in court when necessary. Undocumented migrants, just as native workers, can enjoy thirty days of paid vacation, two “bonuses” in June and December, and are protected from prejudice and discrimination.¹¹¹ Mr. Serrano’s role is very important to the migrant community because the low skilled jobs that many non-European foreigners enter into upon arrival in Catalonia are in sectors where unionization is non-existent.

The economic crisis hit Spain particularly hard. Unemployment in 2008 had reached 12.52% among native workers, and among foreigners it was 8.7 points higher at 21.26%.¹¹² By 2009, that number had grown to 28% unemployment for foreign workers.¹¹³ A study by Miguel Pajares in 2009 revealed that the deterioration of working conditions in some sectors of the workforce may be another consequence of the current situation (irregularity in employment and the informal economy), and may particularly

¹⁰⁹ Montagut, Teresa, “City Report: Barcelona,” *Welfare Innovations at the Local Level in Favour of Cohesion*, (WILCO), no. 14, (2013): 6, http://wilcoproject.eu/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/WILCO_WP3_Barcelona.pdf.

¹¹⁰ Interview with Rafael Serrano of Asociación de Ayudantes a Inmigrantes Sin Papeles. Personal interview. Barcelona, September 7th, 2016. Transcript, 6.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 4.

¹¹² López-Sala, Ana and Ruth Ferrero-Turrión, “New Times? Economic Crisis...” 7.

¹¹³ Ibid.

affect immigrants.¹¹⁴ Unemployment fluctuated between migrant groups affecting some communities more than others and causing tensions. Those that lost jobs during the economic crisis may not have had access to renewing a work permit, forcing them to enter into “illegal” status in the country.

4.1.4 Family Reunification

In the 2015 CIDOB led study on migrant integration across Europe, the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) ranks Spain as the number one country in Europe when it comes to family reunification programs.¹¹⁵ The study states that, “in ES [Spain] the number of non-EU residents separated from their spouse/partner is one of the highest in Europe.”¹¹⁶ The statistics from a 2011-2012 survey estimate that 7% of non-European adults were engaged in an international relationship, and eligible for family reunification in Spain.¹¹⁷

Spanish law states that a person can apply for family reunification if they have been residing legally in the country for a period of at least one year, and have authorization to continue residing in the country for a minimum of one year more.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, evidence of financial means must be provided by the person residing in Spain before family members are granted entry under family reunification.¹¹⁹ The policy regarding family reunification went into effect in the year 2000 under the Law for the Rights and Liberties of Foreigners in Spain and Social Integration (*Ley Orgánica 4/2000*).¹²⁰

As of 2012, Catalonia boasted by far the most residency permits granted for family reunification, topping the list at 34.8% of all family reunifications in Spain. The community of Madrid came in

¹¹⁴ Pajares, Miguel, “Inmigración y mercado de trabajo. Informe 2009,” Documentos del Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración, Gobierno de España, Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración (2009): 72, http://extranjeros.empleo.gob.es/es/ObservatorioPermanenteInmigracion/Publicaciones/fichas/archivos/Inmigracinxn_y_mercado_de_trabajo._Informe_2009.pdf.

¹¹⁵ *Migrant Integration Policy Index* 2015 (MIPEX), 198.

¹¹⁶ “Spain: Key Findings,” *Migrant Policy and Integration Index*, Accessed December 2016, www.mipex.eu/spain.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ “Family Reunification for Foreigners in Spain,” Gobierno de España, Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración, ed. 2011. http://extranjeros.empleo.gob.es/es/InformacionInteres/FolletosInformativos/archivos/triptico_reagrupacion_familiar_eng.pdf.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ “Ley Orgánica 4/2000, de 11 de enero, sobre derechos y libertades de los extranjeros en España y su integración social,” Boletín Oficial del Estado, Legislación Consolidada, last updated October 30, 2015. <https://www.boe.es/buscar/act.php?id=BOE-A-2000-544>.

second to Barcelona at 17.7%.¹²¹ Such high numbers of family reunifications prompted the local governments of Barcelona, Badalona and Hospitalet de Llobregat to come together and initiate a municipal program for “new families in Barcelona.” The program, as it came into effect in 2009, aims at facilitating the process of reunification between the foreign national already living in Barcelona and members of his/her family that are planning to come. Support starts before the arrival of family members to Barcelona and upon the first arrival, group activities are organized to help with social integration in the city.

4.2 Integration

The word integration has been used in Catalonia since the early 20th century, but more modern times call for a reformulation of the concept.¹²² Integration can no longer be seen as a one sided process in which migrants are the ones who need to adapt. Integration, when framed within John W. Berry’s views on acculturation strategies, requires that the host society be open and inclusive to newly arrived foreign populations. Economic, social and political inclusion are all key factors for successful integration. Public attitudes are one of the key factors as to whether or not integration can be successful in a society.

4.2.1 Public Attitudes Towards Integration

What successful integration requires is a certain type of public culture that recognizes immigrants as legitimate members of society and accordingly, treats them with respect. The value of formal equality is greatly reduced if representatives of the state and the rest of the citizenry treat the immigrant community as intruders who do not belong to the community and who have somehow acquired a position that is really undeserved.¹²³ Public officials, employers, service providers and the general population must have a positive view of immigration in order for integration to be most effective in society. In a 2014 poll by Simple Lógica, 72% of people questioned in Catalonia felt that Spain had taken in more immigrants than it was capable of.¹²⁴ However, this may not be directly reflective of the opinion specific to the situation in Catalonia. Various factors could contribute to this viewpoint,

¹²¹ “Citizenship and Migration Plan: Horizon 2016.” Directorate General for Immigration, 25.

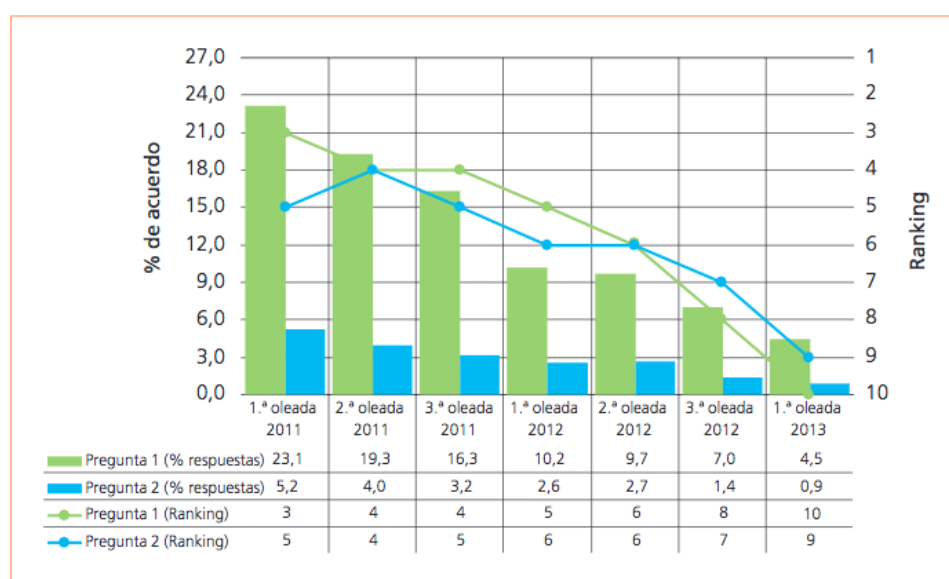
¹²² Ibid., 44.

¹²³ Carens, Joseph H., “La integración de los inmigrantes”, In Gemma Aubarell & Richard Zapata (eds.), *Inmigración y Procesos de Cambio: Europa y el Mediterráneo en el Contexto Global*. Icaria-Institut Europeu de la Mediterrània, (2004): 415.

¹²⁴ “Índices de Opinión Pública: Inmigración en España,” *Simple Lógica*, last updated May 2014, <http://www.simplelogica.com/iop/iop14006-inmigracion-en-espa%C3%B1a.asp>.

including the perception of an ineffective central government in Madrid or concern for less affluent regions of Spain who are forced to bear the burden of heightened immigration with less resources. As previously stated, in 2007 immigration was seen as the number one problem facing Catalonia, and had dropped to third a couple years later. Statistics from 2011 to 2013 show a similar trend of immigration falling as a concern in Catalonia. Figure 4 shows the evolution in the perception of Catalans who see immigration as a problem. Participants' responses were reported based on two questions, 1) the perception of immigration in Catalonia as a problem and 2) the importance they feel is given to immigration.¹²⁵

Evolución de la percepción de los catalanes sobre la inmigración como problema



Fuente: Centro de Estudios de Opinión (CEO). Barómetro de Opinión Pública, diversas oleadas

Figure 4: Evolution of Catalan Perception that Immigration is a Problem¹²⁶

Since 2009, the NGO SOS Racisme has been annually publishing “The Report on the State of Racism in Catalonia.”¹²⁷ Each year they document the number of reported complaints of racism or discrimination based on the color of one’s skin or on religious preference. The overall aim of their reports is to bring to light the actual situation of racism in Catalonia and to aid Catalan public administrators in drafting policies that fight discriminatory practices.¹²⁸ In speaking with the director

¹²⁵ “Citizenship and Migration Plan: Horizon 2016.” Directorate General for Immigration, 19-20.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 19.

¹²⁷ “Estat del racisme a Catalunya 2015,” SOS Racisme Catalunya, Dossier de premsa (2015), Accessed January 2017, http://www.sosracisme.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Informe2015_dossierpremsa.pdf.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 2.

of SOS Racisme, Alba Cuevas, she elaborates on the three types of complaints primarily received in the SAID program (*Servicio de Atención I Denuncia, Víctimas de Racismo y Xenofobia*).

“The majority of complaints are filed by victims ‘abused’ by police. The second type of cases are what we call ‘between neighbors’ and this is anything that can happen between civilians in the street. And thirdly, we receive complaints when certain members of the community are denied access to social rights or services. Complaints about employers or the workplace, we receive very little, but this does not mean that discrimination does not exist.”¹²⁹

One conclusion drawn from the most recent report (2015) states that four out of every ten people that experience racism do not report their case, and the number is skewed even higher if the complaint is within the private sector, ie. at one’s place of work.¹³⁰ The reasons for not reporting incidents of racism stem from a lack of faith in the judicial system or in local institutions, from a normalization of the discriminatory state of affairs, or simply from that fact that complaining would not change the situation.¹³¹

Opinion data from the Centre d’Estudis d’Opinió as cited in an article from the Spanish newspaper, *20 Minutos*, estimates that approximately 25% of native Catalans share discriminatory views or intolerant ideas in respect to immigration.¹³² The director of CEO, Jordi Argelaguet states, “The study shows that there is a strong core made up of roughly 25% of the population that [we] could call cultural racists or are clearly intolerant of immigration.”¹³³ Competition for jobs during times of crisis remains one of the main causes for these poor perceptions on immigration, especially on irregular migrants. Additionally, 65% of the 1,600 people surveyed felt that that state provides more healthcare and educational services to immigrants than to Catalans with the same income level.¹³⁴

¹²⁹ Interview with Alba Cuevas of SOS Racisme. Personal interview. Barcelona, July 13th, 2016. Transcript, 6.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² “El 25% de los catalanes son ‘racistas culturales o intolerantes’ con los inmigrantes,” *20 Minutos.es*, last updated March 14, 2011, <http://www.20minutos.es/noticia/988406/0/catalanes/racista/inmigrantes/>.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

The MIPEX unfavorably ranks Spain 29th out of the 38 countries researched for the study when it comes to policies on anti-discrimination.¹³⁵ “ES [Spain] has weaker anti-discrimination laws and equality policies than 28 out of the 38 countries, nearly 20 points below the average for Western Europe.”¹³⁶ Although Spain and the Catalan region have legislation that protects from discrimination in the workplace as well as in public services, the implementation of these laws is perceived as weak, and the penalties for not abiding by such laws is minimal. For these reasons, relatively few incidents are reported. The MIPEX estimates that in Spain “1 complaint is filed for nearly every 3,000 potential victims of racial/ethnic discrimination.”¹³⁷

As far as opinions on the integration of foreigners in Catalonia, the CEO study revealed that the vast majority (71.4%) of Catalans felt that foreigners should only maintain certain aspects of their culture that do not clash or conflict with the culture and beliefs of Catalans.¹³⁸ For example, the wearing of a burqa in public is not seen to bother locals, whereas wearing a burqa in a public school classroom is not seen as appropriate. The previous mayor of Barcelona from 2011 through 2015, Xavier Trias, was quoted by the Catalan News Agency stating,

"We have gone from a decade in which the arrival of people from other countries has been extremely high to a period of stagnation..." (and stresses the need for policies of) "integration and cohesion, always from the perspective of interculturality and with maximum emphasis on projects that assist processes of interaction between the people of Barcelona."¹³⁹

The interaction between people in Barcelona is the key. Simply implementing laws, policies and plans that promote integration is not enough. There needs to be real and significant interaction between all cultures in the greater Barcelona area. This starts with immigrant children joining local sports clubs and with a local frequently shopping at their neighborhood corner store owned by a Pakistani

¹³⁵ *Migrant Integration Policy Index* 2015 (MIPEX), 198.

¹³⁶ “Spain: Key Findings,” *Migrant Policy and Integration Index*, Accessed December 2016, www.mipex.eu/spain.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ English, Nell, “Cosmopolitan Catalonia: a long history of attracting newcomers from worldwide,” *Catalan News Agency (CNA)*, last updated March 17, 2015, <http://www.catalannewsagency.com/society-science/item/cosmopolitan-catalonia-a-long-history-of-attracting-newcomers-from-worldwide>.

immigrant. Building relationships between communities and understanding one another on a personal level is the basis for real change in public perception.

4.2.2. Societal Perceptions, Language and Nationalism

An ideology in Catalonia worth mentioning is that of civic nationalism. This is to say that national consciousness, and belonging to a community, is not generally thought to be based on ethnic origin. Llobrera states, “It has been a policy of the overall majority of Catalan [political] parties...that Catalans are those who live and work in Catalonia and express the wish to be Catalans.”¹⁴⁰ One of the most notable differences between Catalonia and the rest of Spain, is the language. The Catalan language plays a major part in the identity of Catalans, “...an individual who asserts to have Catalan as his language of common usage is expected to have a higher Catalan national identity.”¹⁴¹

Although studies published on integration policies and immigrant perceptions are primarily quantitative, the “Report on the Integration of Immigrants in Catalonia” dedicates a section of their 2013 study to interviews with immigrants. The immigrants interviewed in that study were first generation migrants who had been living in the country for various time periods, i.e. less than five years or more than six years. The interviews focused on the areas of employment, social networks and language.¹⁴² The report firmly asserts that language, from the individual’s point of view, is the most important factor in terms of migrant integration. “Without knowledge of the language, the problems for communication and understanding are exacerbated, creating a feeling of frustration and incapacity for defense that might lead to isolation.”¹⁴³ For many, regardless of nationality, the biggest obstacle to integration was the language barrier. They expressed not only technical issues, such as carrying out transactions and resolving administrative issues, but also mentioned the emotional stress associated with not being able to express oneself in his or her mother tongue. This emotional stress can be incorporated into the aforementioned topic of acculturative stress, shown previously in John W. Berry’s model.

An attempt to alleviate some of this acculturative stress in regards to communication barriers, the Generalitat offers free classes of both Spanish and Catalan to newly arrived immigrants who wish to

¹⁴⁰ Llobrera, Josep R., “Aspects of Catalan Kinship, Identity and Nationalism,” 307.

¹⁴¹ Barceló Soler, Joan, “Contextual Effects on Subjective National Identity and Nationalist Vote in Catalonia,” 15.

¹⁴² “Report on the integration of immigrants in Catalonia,” Directorate General for Immigration, 79.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 80.

learn the local language. However, the free classes are relegated to “Initial Level” and only valid for a period not exceeding 45 hours. Anything above initial level or after 45 hours is not subsidized by the Generalitat--a rule that has come under criticism by various sectors of the public, including those advocating for more Catalan to be taught and used in Catalonia. In a study by FUNDACC (Fundació Audiències de la Comunicació i la Cultura), the percentage of foreigners who spoke primarily in Catalan rose from 2.9% in 2008 to 6.1% in 2012.¹⁴⁴ And, the percentage of Spanish speaking foreigners decreased from 74.5% in 2008 to 70.4% in 2012.¹⁴⁵ And approximately 20% of the foreign population speak primarily in their native tongue, neither Spanish nor Catalan.¹⁴⁶

Llobrera asserts that Catalonia should be viewed as a success story when talking about language preservation and immigration. Catalonia “has not only managed to preserve the identity of the original Catalans, but that it has largely managed to integrate the majority of immigrants into the Catalan imagined community.”¹⁴⁷ This integration has been a conscious effort, as has been demonstrated in previous sections of this paper. “Inclusiveness” is a term used by modern Catalan ideologists to describe the Catalan method of integration of immigrants--a method focused on the sharing of language, culture, and historical memory.¹⁴⁸ According to these theories and others, immigrants who choose to speak Catalan over Spanish in their daily lives would have a stronger Catalan identity. Language, and moreover, a level of consciousness and literal residency in Catalonia are all factors that determine a person to be considered “Catalan” by larger society.¹⁴⁹

Another crucial aspect of immigrant acculturation in a society is the manner in which immigrant groups are portrayed in the daily media. The way in which migration, immigrants and integration is displayed on television, in newspapers and online has a huge role in the way the host society chooses to acculturate. In the book, *Discourses on Immigration in Times of Economic Crisis: A Critical Perspective*, Maria Martinez Lirola concludes that the media takes a “two-pronged” approach to pieces related to immigration. She elaborates on explicit anti-racist techniques in writing and presentation, but criticizes the hypocritical and overt Eurocentric view that leans towards xenophobia and a rejection of the

¹⁴⁴ “Citizenship and Migration Plan: Horizon 2016.” Directorate General for Immigration, 30.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Llobrera, Josep R., “Aspects of Catalan Kinship, Identity and Nationalism,” 307.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

“other”.¹⁵⁰ In her book, she looks at the case of Catalonia and concludes that much of media attention falls on the relationships immigrant communities have with the native Catalan population. She concludes that media does tend to focus more so on the tensions and conflicts between communities, but in her particular case, the stories tended to end on a positive note, many times ending with a resolution.¹⁵¹ However, Martínez Lirola consents that the “initial negative news coverage had a much greater impact.”¹⁵²

In Catalonia and Barcelona in particular, there is a significant amount of media attention paid to the effect immigration will have on Catalonia’s nationalist vote. There have been a multitude of scholars who have theorized and debated on the potential “threat” that immigrants pose to the nationalist aims of a region or country. Scholars such as Chaim Gans (1998), Benedict Anderson (1983), and Eric Hobsbawm (1991) have contributed to this evolving area of study.¹⁵³ In 2004, during the height of immigration in Catalonia, the ex-president of the Generalitat, Jordi Pujol, was quoted (in Catalan), immigration, whether you like it or not, poses a problem of identity and, in a certain sense, of democracy.¹⁵⁴ This statement was made at the Fórum Barcelona 2004 and his message was spread across the many newspapers and news stations across Catalonia. This had a big impact on the population both native and immigrant. The media at the same time is a mirror of the values of society and is simultaneously involved in the construction of these social values. It is the cause and the effect.¹⁵⁵ Jordi Pujol’s statement can be seen as taking an opposing stance Berry’s idea of acculturation and integration and sees immigration as a threat to the society rather than a welcome change. More recently, surrounding the parliamentary elections of Catalonia in 2015, and consequently an informal “referendum” on independence from Spain, the media focused its attention towards how immigration could affect the nationalist vote. There were many articles on how the different political parties were

¹⁵⁰ Lirola, María Martínez, *Discourses on immigration in times of economic crisis: a critical perspective*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing (2013): 233.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ For more information on immigration and its effects on nationalism, see. Chaim Gans article “Nationalism and Immigration” in the journal *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice*, Vol. 1, No. 2; Benedict Anderson’s seminal work *Imagined Communities*; and Eric Hobsbawm’s work *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*.

¹⁵⁴ “Pujol: ‘La inmigración, se quiera o no, plantea un problema de identidad,’” *La Vanguardia*, last modified May 31, 2006, <http://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20040925/51262798487/pujol-la-inmigracion-se-quiera-o-no-plantea-un-problema-de-identidad.html?facet=amp>.

¹⁵⁵ “Medios de comunicación e inmigración,” Ed. Joan Manuel Tresserras. *Quaderns del CAC*, Consejo del Audiovisual de Cataluña, Vol. 12, January-April (2002): 4, http://www.cac.cat/pfw_files/cma/recerca/quaderns_cac/q12_es.pdf.

campaigning in immigrant concentrated areas, Hospitalet de Llobregat in particular for its high percentage of immigrant voters. Whether or not immigrants were seen as voting in favor or against the nationalist vote impacted the local Catalan population, and singling immigrants out as a key group of voters, potentially determining the outcome of the election, sent out a distinct message, and in a sense divided the population further on an already sensitive issue.

4.2.3 Political Participation

The opportunity to engage in political action in one's host society is an important aspect when looking at acculturation strategies and identity. Political participation is one of the indicators used to measure immigrant integration in the 2015 MIPEX. The MIPEX ranks Spain 15th out of 38 countries when it comes to the integration of immigrants into the political arena.¹⁵⁶ Voting rights for immigrants in Spain mainly come through reciprocity agreements Spain holds with other European and non-European countries. Of those non-European countries, many have historic ties to Spain. These bilateral voting agreements have only been confirmed in a handful of countries, and have not been confirmed between Spain and countries such as Morocco or Pakistan, which have very large communities in the greater Barcelona area.¹⁵⁷ According to MIPEX studies, "In the 2015 local elections, only an estimated 2% of all non-EU citizen adults were eligible and registered to vote."¹⁵⁸ Due to the restrictions on voting rights, many communities are isolated from participating in the political process via a directly cast vote. Joan Barceló Soler's work, "Subjective National Identity and Nationalist Vote in Catalonia," finds that those born outside of Spain showed an inclination towards "Spanish-oriented" political parties, although he consents that the lack of the right to vote for many makes it difficult to observe the consequences of this phenomenon in reality.¹⁵⁹

The *Pacte Nacional per la Immigració* recognizes the difficulty many foreigners face when attempting to participate in politics in Catalonia. The year 2008 was a very significant year in that for the first time in the democratic period of Catalonia a significant percentage of the population did not enjoy all of

¹⁵⁶ "Spain: Key Findings," *Migrant Policy and Integration Index*, Accessed January 10, 2017, www.mipex.eu/spain.

¹⁵⁷ "El derecho de voto o sufragio activo," Gobierno de España: Ministerio del Interior, last updated 2013, http://www.infoelectoral.mir.es/el-derecho-de-voto-o-sufragio-activo/-/asset_publisher/cHaHRW1HGFg7/content/preguntas_derecho_voto_quien_puede?_101_crumb=%C2%BFQui%C3%A9n+puede+votar%3F.

¹⁵⁸ "Spain: Key Findings," *Migrant Policy and Integration Index*, Accessed January 10, 2017, www.mipex.eu/spain.

¹⁵⁹ Barceló Soler, Joan, "Contextual Effects on Subjective National Identity and Nationalist Vote in Catalonia," 18.

the same rights to citizenship, in particular the right to political participation.¹⁶⁰ Furthermore in 2008, many foreign residents in the region had spent more than five years as a permanent resident and still faced legal and administrative difficulties in obtaining Spanish nationality (which in turn grants them the right to vote).¹⁶¹

Civic and political participation can be seen as a point of departure in the perception of migrant integration, as it is the base for an inclusive citizenry.¹⁶² An inclusive society should make access to the public sphere available to all members of the society, and incorporate the political voices of immigrants into the civic community. Civic integration should be considered as something more than social integration, although social integration is important step in order to later on lead to political action. Social integration includes areas like education services, health services, neighborhood living conditions and social protection (*protección social*).¹⁶³ Foreigners need to have integrated socially to a certain extent before engaging politically. Furthermore, as immigrants are active members of the community, they should be viewed by the host society not as recipients of social sectoral politics, but rather as actors or participants who are capable of assisting in the political design of their “home”.¹⁶⁴

5. Interviews & Analysis

David Lockwood, in 1964, developed a theory of social systems that breaks down integration into two categories, system integration and social integration.¹⁶⁵ While system integration is mainly driven by anonymous institutions and mechanisms, social integration is an active process undertaken by individuals.¹⁶⁶ One of the steps of social integration, as proposed by Esser in 2000, is the concept of *culturation*, which is very similar to John W. Berry’s theory of acculturation.¹⁶⁷ Esser defines culturation as, “the transmission to and acquisition of knowledge, cultural standards and competences by an

¹⁶⁰ *Un pacte per viure junts i juntes: Pacte Nacional per a la Immigració*. Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament d’Acció Social i Ciutadania, 23.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Lucas, Javier De, *Los Derechos de participación como elemento de integración de los inmigrantes*. Bilbao: Fundación BBVA, (2008): pg. 24, http://www.fbbva.es/TLFU/dat/informe_derechos_participacion.pdf.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 25.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 25.

¹⁶⁵ “Integration and Integration Policies: IMISCOE Network Feasibility Study.” EFMS INTPOL Team. European Forum for Migration Studies, Institute at the University of Bamberg. August (2006): 9, <http://www.efms.uni-bamberg.de/pdf/INTPOL%20Final%20Paper.pdf>.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

individual necessary for successfully interacting in society.”¹⁶⁸ So, it could be determined that the success or failure of integration policies should be measured, more or less according to the level in which [ac]culturation is achieved.

But, various problems present themselves when it comes to measuring the level of success specific integration policies reach. Language integration and political participation are relatively easily measurable indicators, but when it comes to bi-national friendships or music/food preferences, clothing and hairstyles, etc., the lines become blurry. The Council of Europe’s report, “Measurement and indicators of integration,” concedes that perhaps one of the most effective ways of measuring integration is carrying out small-scale local projects.¹⁶⁹

5.1 Catalan NGOs, Networks & Integration Policy

During the five interview sessions with the various NGOs and private foundations, it came to my attention that each organization was informed as to which areas the other organizations worked in, and some had even cooperated on certain initiatives and platforms. It was in this realization that theories of policy networks and issue networks came to be a part of this study. In answering the question, “How have NGOs and their networks influenced Catalan integration policy,” the interviews with organizations like CIDOB, AMIC and SOS Racisme proved to be very insightful tools.

In an interview with the CIDOB Project Manager, Francesc Fàbregas, he talked extensively about the structure of CIDOB and its relationship to other Catalan bodies and institutions.

“CIDOB is a private foundation. We have a board, and on the board is the Generalitat, the local town hall, and the Council of Barcelona... We have a good relationship with them. They add to our reputation, and we are a validated voice in the community. We work together on projects, organizing conferences, and spreading knowledge.”¹⁷⁰

When talking about the influence certain organizations have on policy making, it is important to make note of the relationships between civil society and the political arena. Referring back to R.A.W. Rhodes’s definition of a policy networks, he defines them as being comprised of formal and informal institutions and linkages that share and negotiate their beliefs and interests.¹⁷¹ CIDOB’s interaction

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ *Measurement and Indicators of Integration*. Council of Europe (1997), 13.

¹⁷⁰ Interview with Francesc Fàbregas of CIDOB. Personal interview. Barcelona, July 1st, 2016. Transcript, 6.

¹⁷¹ Rhodes, R. A. W., “Chapter 20: Policy Network Analysis,” In M. Moran, M. Rein and R. E. Goodin (Eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*, 426.

with the Generalitat in the area of immigration policy consultation is an example of one of the links in this type of policy network. As a self-defined “think tank” since the year 2006, CIDOB works as a consultant body to, and researcher for the Generalitat and maintains relationships with other organizations across Catalonia and across Europe. Taking the MIPEX as an example, CIDOB worked with 27 partner organizations across Europe as well as eight partners in non-European countries to develop their rankings and recommendations on integration policy.¹⁷² Heading a project of this magnitude for an organization made up of 33 permanent employees is pretty impressive and contributes to this “validated voice” that Mr. Fàbregas was speaking of before. Their reputation among other organizations in the European Union and beyond, makes them a powerful and recognizable force when it comes to discussions with policy makers in Catalonia.

To further demonstrate the ties CIDOB has to other organizations and institutions in Catalonia--and more specifically the Barcelona area--they were referenced as a participating partner in the Citizenship and Migration Plan: Horizon 2016, alongside more than 60 other participating bodies, both governmental and non-governmental.¹⁷³ As an individual agent, a 33 person think tank might not pull much weight, but looking at the scope of projects in which they have been a participating member is an important factor to consider when looking at their role in the influence of policy making. A single organization can be a part of multiple networks, some more related to policy and others leaning towards issue networks. CIDOB in particular is connected to 16 international networks in addition to local networks in Catalonia and Spain.¹⁷⁴

When considering the influence that institutions, organizations, and networks have in the acculturation strategies of the larger society, Berry asserts that the institutions in place should promote an idea of acceptance and an openness to changes in society.¹⁷⁵ In order for the host society to adapt to the changing environment, governmental institutions, and educational and health institutions should explicitly demonstrate an attitude of acceptance and a willingness to welcome change. This theory can be debated as it implies that acceptance and integration can be a “top down” phenomenon, that

¹⁷² Interview with Francesc Fàbregues of CIDOB. Personal interview. Barcelona, July 1st, 2016. Transcript, 1.

¹⁷³ “Citizenship and Migration Plan: Horizon 2016.” Directorate General for Immigration, 62-64.

¹⁷⁴ “Partners,” CIDOB, accessed January 13, 2017, <http://www.cidob.org/en/cidob/partners>.

¹⁷⁵ Berry, John W., “Acculturation: Living Successfully in Two Cultures,” 705.

society's institutions, over a given period of time, can influence the behaviors of the citizenry. To an extent, Alba Cuevas, director of SOS Racisme agrees with this idea.

"We [at SOS Racisme] work from a perspective of equal rights. Obviously, coexistence is extremely important and respect for one another is essential; it's like a set of rules. However, the policies that are set by governments and institutions dictate the ways in which citizenry are able to flow within these rules, right?"¹⁷⁶ The primary goal of SOS Racisme is to influence change on policies and to strengthen a positive perception of immigration in Catalonia at the institutional level, to which the dominant society should then adapt. John W. Berry correlates true integration to the dominant society's acceptance of institutions which are constantly evolving in order to meet the needs of a pluralistic society.¹⁷⁷ The acceptance of a pluralistic society and of the institutions that serve it is a second goal of SOS Racisme. The organization works in educating people, creating platforms and disseminating information on the importance of equal rights for all members of the community. Although Ms. Cuevas and her team do not dwell on terminology, "We are not focused on the terms for certain politics [whether its integration, adaptation, cultururation]...",¹⁷⁸ it is evident that their combined efforts of networking for legal change and efforts in education work towards this idea of integration as the desirable acculturation strategy. No true integration can occur if all groups are not seen as equal in the eyes of the law, one group will always maintain a "perspective of superiority."¹⁷⁹ And ultimately, as mentioned previously, the program SAID serves as a direct line for the immigrant community to file complaints of racism and xenophobia. Although the complaints filed are few in comparison to the estimated number of incidents, it gives a very personal aspect to the topic of immigration policy reform, and reinforces the continuous need to promote equality and acceptance. "The work done in networks is super important. We work with trade unions, youth associations, immigrant associations... All of our acts and demonstrations drink from this network."¹⁸⁰ The recurring interactions between members of this network have led to direct changes in policy and changes in the actions taken towards immigrants in Barcelona.

¹⁷⁶ Interview with Alba Cuevas of SOS Racisme. Personal interview. Barcelona, July 13th, 2016. Transcript, 8.

¹⁷⁷ Berry, John W., "Acculturation: Living Successfully in Two Cultures," 706.

¹⁷⁸ Interview with Alba Cuevas of SOS Racisme. Personal interview. Barcelona, July 13th, 2016. Transcript, 8.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Interview with Alba Cuevas of SOS Racisme. Personal interview. Barcelona, July 13th, 2016. Transcript, 9.

Following the 2012 death of a boy in Barcelona's Detention Center for Immigrants (*Centro de Internamiento de Extranjeros*, CIE), SOS Racisme began a campaign to close down the center, called "Tancarem el CIE" (*Close the CIE*).¹⁸¹ The detention center holds immigrants of irregular status, while they are being investigated before being deported. This campaign was organized between three permanent members, SOS Racisme, Tanquem els CIEs, and Fundació Migra Studium, along with 165 other entities, of which SOS Racisme is still the acting administrator.¹⁸² The political strategy of this issue network, as in any issue network, is to frame the issue at hand in an innovative way, a way which garners attention in the political sphere; this can be using new labels or keywords to define the stakes of the issue and make apparent the urgent need for action.¹⁸³ There needs to be a "clear articulation of the issue[s] they are committed to."¹⁸⁴ SOS Racisme and their network was direct in their message. It is plainly stated in the name of the campaign. When multiple organizations of differing sectors come together to form a network aimed at specific policy change, it is imperative that a clear message is sent, so that the action on the issue becomes the central part of the debate.

Although the CIE of Barcelona remains open, Ms. Cuevas names two important advancements the campaign has done to resolve the issue. She states, and what can also be found in a 2016 article from *El Diario*, is that both the Catalan Parliament and the City Council of Barcelona have called on the central Spanish government to close the center, with joint positions taken by all Catalan political parties except by the Catalan Popular Party and, the center-right party, Ciutadans.¹⁸⁵ By accessing proper channels, a once diverse group of non-governmental and civil society actors, has added to its network the important element of governmental actors. Ms. Cuevas is very happy about what they have been able to achieve through this platform, but consents that the work will not be done until the CIE has been permanently closed. This is a great example of a local issue network operating out of Barcelona working towards a goal that will have a direct impact on members of the community.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 3.

¹⁸² "Premsa," Tancarem el CIE, accessed January 14th, 2017, <http://tancaremelcie.cat/premsa/>.

¹⁸³ Marres, Noortje, "Net-Work Is Format Work: Issue Networks and the Sites of Civil Society Politics," *Reformatting Politics: Networked Communications and Global Civil Society*, Jodi Dean, John Asherson, Geert Lovink (eds.), Routledge, (2006): 5, http://govcom.org/publications/full_list/Marres_06_format_work.pdf.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Interview with Alba Cuevas of SOS Racisme. Personal interview. Barcelona, July 13th, 2016. Transcript, 4; França, João, "El Ayuntamiento de Barcelona ordena el cierre del CIE por falta de licencia," *El Diario*, last modified July 7, 2016, http://www.eldiario.es/catalunyaplural/Ayuntamiento-Barcelona-cierre-CIE-licencia_0_534397585.html.

As previously stated in Ms. Cuevas's interview, when developing campaigns and platforms SOS Racisme regularly partners with unions and youth organizations. SOS Racisme partners with an organization called AMIC-UGT (*L'Associació d'Ajuda Mútua d'Immigrants a Catalunya*), which has a location in each major city in Catalonia. AMIC is operated under the General Workers Union of Catalonia (UGT), and their work focuses on the social, labor and political integration of immigrants.¹⁸⁶ One staff member, Albert* at AMIC Badalona explained that their organization works directly with the municipal government, the provincial government, as well as with the Generalitat.¹⁸⁷ They function like a legal organization and work in two main areas, 1) in helping immigrants to navigate the Ley de Extranjería, and 2) in encouraging and promoting the insertion of immigration into laboral, social and political environments.¹⁸⁸ This organization is one of the more recognized among the immigrant community due to its strong ties to the General Catalan Workers Union.

From 1993-2005, AMIC functioned solely within the legal sector, working on renewing visas, work permits, passports, etc., but, mid-way through the first decade of this century, with more and more immigrants entering daily, they expanded their services to include integration support.¹⁸⁹ In general, AMIC's non-judicial services focus on what Berry would deem the "acculturative stress" immigrants experience when immersed in a new host society. Other critics have called acculturative stress, on the part of the individual, the "adjustment" process.¹⁹⁰ AMIC offers programs to help with the insertions of immigrant into the labor market, one of the most difficult aspects of life in Barcelona, as claimed by foreigners in interviews conducted for this study.¹⁹¹ For the integration of an individual from the non-dominant culture to be successful, both parties must accommodate one another, and be seen as equal. In the workplace, for example, the employer must treat the foreign employ with the same respect and put the same requirements as he/she would to a native employee, and in exchange the foreigner must adjust to the new work environment. One area AMIC works in is the area of "labor insertion," working directly with immigrants searching for work, as well as with companies in

¹⁸⁶ "Qui som?" Associació AMIC, accessed on July 16, 2016, http://web.associacioamic.cat/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=23&Itemid=44.

¹⁸⁷ Interview with Albert* (Name changed) of AMIC Badalona. Personal interview. Barcelona, July 14th, 2016. Not Recorded.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ In reference to, Ward, C., Bochner, S., & Furnham, A. (2001). *The psychology of culture shock*. London: Routledge; Berry, John W., "Acculturation", 707.

¹⁹¹ Interview with Albert* of AMIC Badalona. Personal interview. Barcelona, July 14th, 2016. Not Recorded; Interview with Saad & Sahir. Personal interview. Barcelona, October 20, 2016.

Barcelona/Badalona who would potentially hire foreign employees. AMIC could be viewed as a liaison in the acculturation process, to a certain degree, because they work simultaneously with both the dominant society and the non-dominant communities. And their close ties to the government, plus relations with other NGOs, further make them an important channel for policy influence.

AMIC forms a part of the service SAIER (*Servicio de Atención a los Inmigrantes, Extranjeros y Refugiados*), which is a multifaceted service that works with both documented and undocumented immigrants, provides legal advice and counsel to asylum seekers or refugees, aids in the validation of foreign educational degrees, guides foreigners through insertion programs and provides a variety of linguistic and translation services.¹⁹² All of the areas where SAIER works are essential first steps into how a foreigner in Catalonia is able to manage their everyday lives. In Berry's model, the ways in which the non-dominant community manages activities and obstacles their daily lives, is what he calls sociocultural adaptation strategies.¹⁹³ AMIC, and in turn SAIER, have extensive services to make the first steps of this adaption easier, especially when it comes to translation services and legal aid--not to mention all of this is free of cost. AMIC's role in the SAIER program is more geared toward insertion into the labor market. They work with immigrants in helping them to prepare their CV, in searching for job opportunities, and advising them on what to expect once they become part of the Catalan labor force, rights and requirements, etc.¹⁹⁴ While the service is well known among NGOs working with immigrant integration and rights--it was mentioned by Mr. Fàbregas in the interview with CIDOB¹⁹⁵--after speaking with a few foreigners in Barcelona, they seemed to know little about the programs offered or were critical of its effectiveness.¹⁹⁶ This will be elaborated upon in the following section.

Once the crisis hit in Spain in 2007, the Generalitat cut a significant amount of funding from their budget allotted to immigrant integration programs and it was necessary that AMIC combine many of its offices, cut employees and re-distribute work amongst the remaining offices. The problems AMIC faced were compounded upon due to the large numbers of immigrants that lost their jobs during this

¹⁹² "Nou SAIER: A New SAIER," Ajuntament de Barcelona, (PDF) accessed on January 16, 2017, <http://www.bcn.cat/novaciudadania/pdf/saier/SAIER.fullet.ca-en.pdf>.

¹⁹³ Berry, John W., "Acculturation", 709.

¹⁹⁴ Interview with Albert* of AMIC Badalona. Personal interview. Barcelona, July 14th, 2016. Not Recorded.

¹⁹⁵ Interview with Francesc Fàbregues. Personal interview. Barcelona, July 1st, 2016. Transcript, 4.

¹⁹⁶ Interview with Saad & Sahir. Personal interview. Barcelona, October 20, 2016. Transcript, 15-16.

time and fell into an irregular status, requiring again assistance from the organization.¹⁹⁷ A few of the immigrants I spoke with for this study arrived to Catalonia during this period of crisis, and found it difficult to access services such as this one, or to have success in acquiring a job via SAIER or a similar program. The contextual and economic factors surrounding the arrival of many immigrants to Barcelona/Badalona during the crisis undeniably had an influence on how they perceived these initial integration services and their effectiveness. Albert reiterated that the profile of the immigrants arriving to Barcelona, Badalona and Hospitalet from 2000-2010 changed midway through the decade, and the working hours changed from working a typical 8 hour day to working less than 40 hours per month. Before the crisis, the majority of immigrants were working aged men from Morocco, Sub-Saharan Africa, Pakistan, and halfway through the decade there was a surge in women from South America coming to the metropolitan city in hopes to be reunited with their family.¹⁹⁸ The economic situation put a stress on the programs focused on securing work contracts for newly arrived immigrants and this should be a factor in measuring the efficacy of the programs--what the program was able to accomplish within the given societal context.

While AMIC works along more legal avenues to aid in the insertion of immigrants into the labor market, Fundació Exit uses a wide network of both for-profit companies and nonprofit organizations to prepare Catalan and immigrant youth for entrance into the labor market. Although this thesis has not focused a large part on young immigrants, Fundació Exit can be used as a great example of both a participating NGO in a Catalonia wide network, as well as an example of how one organization is preparing the next generation of workers for a more integrated and diverse labor market.

In an interview with Jose Alonso, Manager of the Yob Project, he goes into detail on the profiles of youth that pass through the program, as well as how their organization operates, and aims to secure employment or internships for students who are considered at risk of social exclusion.¹⁹⁹ Exclusion, as noted in Berry's Model of Acculturation, is when marginalization is used as an acculturation tactic by the dominant group.²⁰⁰ So the question remains, what is Fundació Exit doing to combat the exclusion of immigrant youth in the Barcelona area?

¹⁹⁷ Interview with Albert* of AMIC Badalona. Personal interview. Barcelona, July 14th, 2016. Not Recorded.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Interview with Albert* of AMIC Badalona. Personal interview. Barcelona, July 14th, 2016. Not Recorded.

²⁰⁰ Berry, John W., "Acculturation", 709.

Mr. Alonso manages the program Yob Project, which is a combination of specialized training programs to help marginalized youth participate in the workforce. It is a two month program that works directly with youth, ages 16 to 21, as well as partners with a multitude of domestic and international companies. The people that participate in this program are offered opportunities to work at Catalan and Spanish companies and develop their skills in real-life situations.²⁰¹ This constant contact between domestic companies and immigrant youth is setting the stage for a changing working environment. Through their work with marginalized youth, Fundación Exit is changing the way these populations are seen to contribute to the workforce. They are promoting a multicultural environment in which the place of work is open to working with people of different backgrounds and promoting a positive attitude among youth groups. One important thing to note about this organization is the types of companies that are participating in their network. There are some very well-known and well-reputed companies that are actively accepting the role of integrating first or second generation immigrant youth. Companies such as CaixaBank (one of the largest banks in Spain), Carrefour, Desigual, IBM, Deutsche Bank, etc., are all members of this network and give the organization a legitimized place in society and among organizations working with marginalized populations.²⁰² Alongside these for-profit companies, Fundación Exit partners with other social organizations working with marginalized populations and youth, who connects these persons to Fundación Exit to continue the cycle of fighting exclusion. What Fundación Exit does on a daily basis is not only assisting in the integration of marginalized peoples, but is promoting a positive attitude for future relations between local people and domestic companies with the “less visible” communities in Barcelona.

As for the last NGO to participate in this study, Asociación de Ayudantes a Inmigrantes Sin Papeles, the head lawyer, Mr. Serrano went into detail many of the problems faced by undocumented immigrants in Barcelona. The biggest problem Mr. Serrano reiterates, time after time, is fear and the problem of being mis- or ill-informed of immigrant rights in Spain.

The problem is fear. Their fear is born due to a lack of understanding. But the problem is not just a lack of understanding on the part of the people that come here without papers, but also on part of the Spanish society. The older generation does not recognize

²⁰¹ Fundación Exit. “Annual Report 2014,” (Powerpoint presentation during interview with Manager, Jose Alonso) July 11, 2016. Report can also be found at Fundación Exit’s official website, www.fundacionexit.org/en/annual-reports/.

²⁰² “Quién nos apoya?” Fundación Exit, accessed on July 16, 2016, <http://www.fundacionexit.org/quien-nos-apoya/?lang=en>.

that immigrants without papers have rights and [may treat them differently], and this deters undocumented persons from speaking up for themselves or searching for avenues of help.²⁰³

His association works at educating undocumented peoples of their rights in Catalonia, guides them through the bureaucratic process and represents them in court should an undesirable situation arise. Many of the remarks made by Mr. Serrano echo those of Ms. Cuevas (SOS Racisme) in that the most fundamental aspect of integration in a society is equal rights for all people, and consequently ensuring that vulnerable populations are aware of these rights and have the confidence to take action when they feel their rights have been violated. Mr. Serrano and other three members of his organization work with up to 40 clients per month, assisting them in obtaining their papers and defending them in court against unlawful treatment in the workplace.²⁰⁴ For real integration to occur in a society, according to Berry's model, there needs to be a mutual acceptance of one culture, or people, and the other, and a mutual understanding that both belong in the same space.²⁰⁵ What Asociación de Ayudantes a Inmigrantes Sin Papeles does is to educate both native and non-native communities of the equal rights to live and work in Spain, and assist in that first step to legal integration in society by helping them to get papers. Organizations like these are plentiful in Catalonia, according to Mr. Serrano, but not all offer their services free of charge.²⁰⁶ Either way, these types of organizations in the three cities of the greater Barcelona area are cultivating a culture of acceptance and equality that is essential for an integrated society. If the larger society is promoting a strategy of multiculturalism, individuals from each culture are more likely to pursue strategies of integration and compromise.

Mr. Serrano, originally born in the southern Spanish city of Córdoba, discusses the importance that language has in the adaptation of a foreigners in a new environment. In regards to requiring Catalan classes for acquiring certain residency permits, he states, "I understand that you also have to force the people a little to know the language of the country."²⁰⁷ He tells stories of clients who have appeared with him in court, and who could not speak a word of either Spanish or Catalan. He says the problem

²⁰³ Interview with Rafael Serrano of Asociación de Ayudantes a Inmigrantes Sin Papeles. Personal interview. Barcelona, September 7th, 2016. Transcript, 2.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 5.

²⁰⁵ Berry, John W., "Acculturation", 705-706.

²⁰⁶ Interview with Rafael Serrano of Asociación de Ayudantes a Inmigrantes Sin Papeles. Personal interview. Barcelona, September 7th, 2016. Transcript, 4.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 6.

is that residency via the social roots (*arraigo social*) path toward citizenship requires at least 45 hours of Catalan classes, but residency via the labor roots (*arraigo laboral*) program does not, which can create a gap for a certain sector of the immigrant population.²⁰⁸ Many foreigners who enter into the labor roots program are uninformed about the free Catalan classes offered by the Generalitat, and thus do not pursue avenues to take the courses.

One of the most powerful parts of the interview with Mr. Raphael Serrano was near the end of the talk when he shared how the work he does impacts him personally. He says that his work is a world that he is passionate about, because it gives him an immense amount of personal satisfaction when he helps a person to obtain legal residency. Because, more than anything, when undocumented immigrants obtain their papers, they are not forced to endure a life as an “internal” person. It is a very hard life to lead, the life of working as an undocumented person in Spain. It is a very exploited position to be in, like a type of jail. But once they obtain legal status, they are free.²⁰⁹ A big part of this study is to look at a variety of immigrant situations, and the life of an undocumented person can change in an instant once they are granted residency. The fear that is experienced during the first months or years without papers are very difficult to endure, and once that fear is alleviated there is more opportunity to interact with larger society and more opportunity for positive integration.

These five organizations are contributing to a greater understanding and tolerance among the communities in Barcelona. And they are only a few of the hundreds of organizations like them. Through issue networks and initiatives to engage the local and foreign populations in promoting equal rights and integration, these organizations are creating a culture willing to adapt to the constantly evolving demographics. For a positive acculturation strategy to be possible, it is essential that the larger society is open and accepting to change. Barcelona and the surrounding area has proven to be a place that is taking progressive action to facilitate the integration of all peoples. What is equally, if not more, important is if integration plans and policies, campaigns and programs are reaching their target communities. Are these communities responding to integration initiatives, such as free Catalan classes? Do immigrants have access to information that can help them to adapt and integrate into the host society? And how has their identity evolved since arriving to their new environment?

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 5.

²⁰⁹ Interview with Rafael Serrano of Asociación de Ayudantes a Inmigrantes Sin Papeles. Personal interview. Barcelona, September 7th, 2016. Transcript, 8.

5.2 Immigrant Opinions, Experiences and Notions of a Catalan Identity

The previous sections have had a strong focus on statistical data and overviews of immigration policies and integration plans. This section analyzes the qualitative aspects of immigrant perceptions and experiences, and attempts to analyze the effectiveness of the policies and plans that have been put in place since the 1990s. In order to gather qualitative data, interviews were carried out among five participants, all of which are foreigners in Barcelona who come from outside the European Union. The information provided by these interviewees has provided insight into the integration process in Barcelona as experienced by each individual, the obstacles to integration, and a general perspective on integration and immigration in Barcelona, Badalona and Hospitalet.

The questions in the interviews deal in many of the integration areas mentioned in section 4: employment, social networks, political participation, language acquisition, etc. Factors such as age, gender, country of origin, length of time in Catalonia were all taken into consideration in constructing the questions and carrying out the interviews. It needs to be stated that this study has been undertaken with the awareness of its limitations; the parameters of this study allowed for a small sample to be taken and cannot be fully representative of all communities co-existing in the Barcelona area, with the Chinese community not represented by any of the interviewees. However, the different profiles of each interviewee and their unique stories provide insight into the experiences in the integration process and how different peoples react to and define integration in Catalonia.

5.2.1 Language and Acculturation

Communication can be argued as the most important element for successful integration into a new host society. If an individual does not have a basic understanding of the dominant language used by the host society, then feelings of isolation and frustration could arise, which in turn would impede the overall integration process and lead towards societal marginalization of the individual. In each of the three cities in this study, both Catalan and Spanish are spoken by residents on a daily basis. To be able to function in society and communicate with locals, knowledge of one of these languages is essential. One interviewee from Pakistan detailed his experience learning the languages during the first months living in Barcelona,

“We just went to school for one and a half hour a week for the Catalan and Spanish classes, and then we leave class and come back and speak our language, so this is the

big problem. That we do not really listen to the Spanish people. We live in Spain, but we do not know about Spain... It was a very tough experience in my life.”²¹⁰

The classes Saad is referring to are those offered by the Generalitat when applying for a residency permit through the *arraigo social* process, a process instituted in 2000 with the *Ley Orgánica 4/2000*. Although the classes are offered during the first period of arrival, it appears that in the views of Saad and Sahir the classes does not provide such strong support in language acquisition early on. Saad arrived in Barcelona in 2008, when it was obligatory to take the 45 hours of language courses in order to access residency through *arraigo social*.

Another interviewee, Muhammad, emigrated from Dakar, Senegal to Barcelona in 1990 before specific programs for integration had been put in place. He was not required to participate in any language classes, and feels that it should not be an obligatory part of the residency process or part of any integration program.²¹¹ His main reasoning was that people of all ages and all types of backgrounds come to Barcelona and for some, the requirement to reach a particular proficiency in the language adds unnecessary stress. It should either be a natural process of learning the language or be an option for those who want to learn.²¹² This sentiment echoes an interview that appears in the *Report on the Integration of Immigrants in Catalonia*, in which a man from Colombia states, “I do understand perfectly the importance of language for a country, but the problem starts when it’s imposed, right? I believe people are against impositions.”²¹³ Although there is hardly little doubt that communication is one of the most important aspects to integration, if not the most important, requiring language classes to obtain residency is debated as to whether or not it is appropriate. Mr. Serrano reiterated that sometimes it is necessary to “force” people to learn the language, while Muhammad stood firm in that it should be a natural process. These classes only apply for those who do not already speak either Spanish (or Catalan) as their native language, thus the rule applies differently to different groups of people.

After living and working in Barcelona for approximately one year, one interviewee from Argentina, Griselda, explained her attitudes towards and experiences with the Catalan language, and its use in both social circles and at her place of work.

²¹⁰ Interview with Saad & Sahir. Personal interview. Barcelona, October 20, 2016. Transcript, 11.

²¹¹ Interview with Muhammad* (Name changed). Personal interview. Barcelona, October 22, 2016. Not Recorded.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ “Report on the integration of immigrants in Catalonia,” Directorate General for Immigration, 84.

“There is not really any language problem for me [at work or in social situations]. That can sometimes be an obstacle... Luckily, now I understand Catalan, I do not speak it because I did not study it-- yet. I would like to, but as of now sometimes other realize they are speaking to me in Catalan and they will change to Spanish.”²¹⁴

As a native Spanish speaker, and her application of residency through the *arraigo familiar* (family roots) process, Griselda was not required to take any language courses. She does, however, concede that her knowledge of one of the local languages facilitated her adaptation to life in Barcelona, and helped her in obtaining a job, meeting people, etc.²¹⁵ One interviewee from Peru spoke of her experience at the University of Barcelona when she witnessed discrimination by a professor who “belittled” a group of Chinese students for their lack of knowledge in Spanish.

“A professor, of about sixty something years old, made a comment in class that the Chinese students did not need to do their presentations in front of the entire class... No one would understand them anyways, because of their strong accents and low level of Castellano.”²¹⁶

This action by a university professor reflects the importance some natives give to adapting to the local language, and the discrimination that can occur if the language level is not perceived as proficient. Giselle went on to say that generally she did not see discrimination based on language in Barcelona, but that this moment in university was so shocking, and that as a native Spanish speaker, that it made her think about how others deal with discrimination in many different areas.²¹⁷ All of the participants in this study agreed that Spanish was the more useful language, and if effort was to spent to learn the local language than that should be spent on learning Spanish, not Catalan. One interviewee, Sahir, from Pakistan, has been living in Barcelona for just over seven years, but has yet to reach a level of fluency in neither Spanish nor Catalan. During his interview it was necessary to use his friend as a translator. It was explained during his interview that he had arrived having known a few people in Barcelona and mainly stayed within this group. He took his first job working at a bar and then at a small shop, but all within the Pakistani community, and he currently works in a factory with mainly immigrants, many of which are also from Pakistan. His social circle and professional life take place within this community so it could be speculated that his need to learn the local language was not

²¹⁴ Interview with Griselda Asain. Personal interview. Barcelona, January 21, 2017. Transcript, 8.

²¹⁵ Ibid., 3.

²¹⁶ Interview with Giselle Escalante*. Personal interview. Barcelona, January 25th, 2017. Transcript, 7.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

urgent. This is an interesting contrast to his friend, Saad, who has spent a total of eight years in Spain, but who speaks both Spanish and English very well. Saad was very adamant about the necessity to break out of the Pakistani community in order to feel “good” and welcome in the host society.²¹⁸ Often employment is tied to one’s ability and desire to branch out from a cultural community or immigrant circle. Employment was a common theme in the potential for integration.

5.2.2 Employment as a Key to Integration

Interview after interview revealed that the number one motive for emigration from the country of origin was the lack of employment opportunities. In this sense, the most important element of life in Catalonia is the potential to secure a dignified job and to create a better life than would have been possible in the society of emigration. Each person interviewed arrived in either Barcelona, Badalona or Hospitalet de Llobregat without having secured a job prior to arrival. Each interview was structured around questions that intended to reveal the priority given to finding a job, and the difficulties or facilities each person had while immersed in the job search. It became clear that one’s employment status was a major factor in the acculturation strategy pursued by each individual, with integration as the ultimate goal.

Whilst conducting each interview, it became apparent that the need to find stable employment was the highest priority of each individual. And, the value given to the job was based on the degree it provided the individual with security, dignity and flexibility. This is to say, a person did not feel trapped in their current employment situation, but had a degree of flexibility to move in between jobs if possible. It is important to note the differences in experience between certain groups who arrived in an irregular status, versus those who arrived through other avenues. For undocumented persons, the first months, or even years, in Catalonia were very difficult and costly in a number of ways. It was brought up in the interview with Saad and Sahir that many undocumented immigrants will pay upwards of 10,000 Euros for a contract, in order to later apply for residency. Saad explains, “For example me, I paid 8,000 Euros for my contract...this is the part that the Spanish people do not know about. It is illegal. [The jobs are] as a waiter, as a cleaner, supermarket, salesman, but majority are waiters and cleaners.”²¹⁹ As discussed not only in the interviews with Saad, Sahir and Muhammad, but also with Mr. Serrano, many undocumented immigrants are working 12-15 hour days at convenient

²¹⁸ Interview with Saad & Sahir. Personal interview. Barcelona, October 20, 2016. Transcript, 11.

²¹⁹ Interview with Saad & Sahir. Personal interview. Barcelona, October 20, 2016. Transcript, 8-9.

shops, or as internal caretakers of the elderly, and they have little free time to interact with larger society. Although policies for obtaining employment in Spain and Catalonia do not necessarily create excess obstacles (as presented in section 4), but the realities of obtaining a contract and furthermore the realities of many jobs are not compatible with pursuing social relationships outside of the workplace. And, therefore, integration is hindered in the overall society. Muhammad elaborates on his current employment situation in which he works simultaneously at a “latino” bar in Hospitalet de Llobregat, as well as in collecting second hand goods and appliances to ship to Senegal for money.²²⁰ He explained that his job working at the bar allowed him to mix with locals more frequently, but that the terms of his contract and the payment were not enough to support him in Barcelona, so he found alternative ways to earn a living. It is as if he lives between two worlds when working between jobs. One is where he constantly engages with the local people of Hospitalet and the other is within his own Senegalese community. He vacillates between the two, but reiterates that he is content with his current employment situation. He is at the same time maintaining ties to the Senegalese community while making a concerted effort to mix with not only Spanish people, but people of many different backgrounds.

However, not all foreigners searching for work in Barcelona encountered such rough circumstances or difficulties upon arrival. Griselda talks about how she had done approximately eight months of research on the Spanish labor market, and more specifically job opportunities in Barcelona before she decided to emigrate from Argentina. She applied for residency through the *arraigo familiar* process, due to the fact that her father is of Spanish descent, and after one month she obtained permission to start looking for work.

“Once you have turned in all of the documents and you have the [social security] number, everything is much easier...then you can look for work. To be honest, I started looking for work one day, and by the next day I had an interview... In the beginning I thought of searching for any job that came along, since it was summer I could work as a waiter or something, but I was lucky and found a position in Human Resources.”²²¹

In Griselda’s experience, she was able to integrate into the Spanish workforce almost seamlessly. Many of her colleagues were born in Catalonia and speak Catalan on a regular basis. But, she says that in

²²⁰ Interview with Muhammad*. Personal interview. Barcelona, October 22, 2016. Not Recorded.

²²¹ Interview with Griselda Asain. Personal interview. Barcelona, January 21, 2017. Transcript, 17.

many situations they will speak Spanish with her in the office, or speak in Catalan unless she makes it clear that she does not understand.²²² As a recruiter, she also works with large companies in Catalonia, and she says that many people recognize that she is from Argentina based on her accent and will switch to Spanish without a second thought. She was clear that in her experience there was no prejudice in shifting from one language to the other in a professional setting.²²³

One's place of work is an extremely important factor in the ways one acculturates to a society. Many hours of the day are spent in this place, and the relationships you maintain and build at the workplace are crucial to the way you view a society. For Pakistanis working for a year, 15 hours a day, in a shop with other members of the Pakistani community, their experiences cannot be compared with that of Griselda. Or at the very least, the effort it takes to integrate with the local community cannot be compared. On the one hand Griselda is working in a Catalan company, seven or eight hours a day, with the easy possibility to join her colleagues after work for socializing. A person working internally as a caretaker, or working overtime as a cleaner and a shop-worker, does not have the same luxury to socialize with local people or to make the effort to take language courses. They are very different experiences.

It is important to note that, for example, once Saad and Sahir were granted their residency, they were able to leave their first jobs and look for a more normalized and stable type of employment—one that could be sustained over a long period of time. Once Saad received his residency card, he was able to fully utilize his skills in English and he started giving English courses at a local Pakistani non-profit organization, and once he obtained his driver's license he began to give driving courses to immigrant youth. He says, "It was very tough, but thank God we are here. I have my documents, I survived and I am very happy. Now I work for myself... I am lucky."²²⁴ While for those who are able to obtain an official residency permit life becomes "easier" in a sense, it was revealed that social tensions arise within the communities between those who are able to regularize their status and those which continue in an irregular situation.

²²² Ibid., 9.

²²³ Ibid., 12.

²²⁴ Interview with Saad & Sahir. Personal interview. Barcelona, October 20, 2016. Transcript, 12-13.

5.2.3 Social Networks

According to Berry, “Good psychological adaptation is predicted by personality variables, life change events, and social support, whereas good sociocultural adaptation is predicted by cultural knowledge, degree of contact, and positive intergroup attitudes.”²²⁵ Hence both psychological and sociocultural adaptations are dependent on some sort of social interaction and support from a larger network. Of all the persons interviewed for this study, none has a significant other that is of Catalan descent, a circumstance that would definitely affect one’s integration and adaptation into the host society. However, each interviewee spent a portion of the interview speaking on the importance of having some sort of “sentimental” relationship with local people, a type of support system or network.

“[I was] Only living inside [my] own community... You must be able to go outside. Then I realize after two years, oh my God, I have to go. Then I saw more of Barcelona, and I made a Spanish friend and he has his Spanish wife and she is like my sister, and she loves me too like a brother. And we are like a home. This is the family system here in Spain.”²²⁶

Saad’s experience in Barcelona is reminiscent of a study done by Dahinden in 2013. Dahinden studied the differences in the social networks of newcomers and those who had spent a significant amount of time in a society, many of whom had the advantage of experiencing some type of upward mobility. There can be tension and separation between the two groups coming from the same cultural heritage.²²⁷ Saad talks about spending two years in Barcelona, the two years he was undocumented, and how he stayed inside the Pakistani community. But once he received legal residency he realized that he must go out from the comfort of the Pakistani group and find support among the Barcelona locals. With his documents he experienced a type of upward mobility, securing a position teaching English, and this created tensions among “friends” in his cultural community. “Actually Sahir and me, we had a lot of problems in the Pakistani community. Because we have documents and we have jobs... We pass our time watching Barça [Barcelona’s football club]... we have totally different mentalities.

²²⁵ Berry, John W., “Acculturation,” 709.

²²⁶ Interview with Saad & Sahir. Personal interview. Barcelona, October 20, 2016. Transcript, 11.

²²⁷ Marta Kindle, Vesselina Ratcheva & Maria Piechowska, “Social networks, social capital and migrant integration at local level,” *European Literature Review*, Iris Working Paper Series, no. 6 (2015): 7, <http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/Documents/college-social-sciences/social-policy/iris/2015/working-paper-series/IRiS-WP-6-2015.pdf>.

We came here, we find a job and talk to the [local] people...”²²⁸ This statement makes the point that integration is a concerted and active process on the part of the individual. Saad and Sahir made a point that if they had not taken the steps to pursue a relationship with the local community, they may still be living solely in the Pakistani community. The way they presented this point of view, was not so much a positive or negative way to approach life in Barcelona, just different mentalities of different people.

Giselle commented that she has made an effort to make connections with those who are from outside of Latin America, but she concedes, “...but, there is always someone that you will meet from your city that you end up making a strong connection with, no? But, also, we make an effort, you know, not... to close ourselves off from everyone else.”²²⁹ This mentality is in line with John W. Berry’s acculturation strategy of integration--making an effort to connect with the dominant society, but realizing the necessity and perhaps inevitability of holding onto ties from your place of origin. Giselle, in general, has a positive view on the locals’ tendencies to accept foreigners, but she made an important comment on how she may be perceived by locals upon first glance.

“In Peru, I come from the middle class... Going to university, having a job, living in a nice neighborhood. We [middle class] do not experience a real discrimination in our cities. The people of the interior part of the country are discriminated against. Here, you can be discriminated against just for being latino. In some way we are discriminated against for being a type of burden... They see us [latinos] as those who clean bathrooms, perform manual labor, work in construction... This puts you in a different position than you understand in your own country, you know?”²³⁰

She reiterates that the majority of her friends are mostly people of higher education or artists, poets, musicians-- that she tends to “run in these circles.” So her experiences cannot be compared to someone who interacts daily with other sectors of the community. She has found a niche where she feels respected, appreciated and comfortable interacting with people from Catalonia, Spain and abroad.

²²⁸ Interview with Saad & Sahir. Personal interview. Barcelona, October 20, 2016. Transcript, 12.

²²⁹ Interview with Giselle Escalante*. Personal interview. Barcelona, January 25th, 2017. Transcript, 4-5.

²³⁰ Ibid., 6.

Not all people share the same experiences when beginning to create social networks. Griselda, who came to Barcelona and within one month found a job at a Catalan company, found it very easy to adapt to the social situations of the host society. She explained in her interview that she does have a group of predominantly Argentinian friends, but has managed to engage socially with Barcelona locals through her work and in other casual circumstances, like at events or group gatherings.²³¹ “Often circumstances make it difficult for the foreign population (and also among the native population) to express their desire to create new networks of relationships or have enough time and space to cultivate them.”²³² The trend that was observed throughout this study and in the interviews is that once a stable and “dignified” job is attained, the possibility for establishing social relationships outside your community becomes much more viable. Saad and Griselda both experienced an expansion in their social networks and their relations with Barcelona natives, once they had entered into the general workforce. There, more time is spent with one’s colleagues and the effort it takes to cultivate the relationship is lessened, and a social connection becomes more feasible. John Berry reiterates the importance for the larger society to accept foreigners and to make an effort to include them in society. Co-working, i.e. the multicultural atmosphere in the place of work, makes this possible.

The stereotype of Catalan people is that they are very “closed,” or that they tend to establish relationship within their own cultural group. Griselda made a point to this claim in her interview,

“I have Catalan friends, yes. At first, I did not know what to expect, because everyone tells you that Catalans are quite *special*, that they have their own language... But really, no. At my work and with people that I have crossed [in daily life], we have had no problems.”²³³

It could be argued that Griselda comes from a place that is not sufficiently culturally different from Barcelona, and thus her adaptation was much easier than it is for some. She had a hard time expressing the differences she felt between Barcelona and her hometown in Argentina, but resigned in the fact that her community is more open and social than the community in Barcelona. Perhaps, her disposition and general character for socializing assisted in her developing social networks in Barcelona. At the age of 28, she also arrived at a younger age than the other interviewees of this study, affecting the dynamics of daily life in Barcelona.

²³¹ Interview with Griselda Asain. Personal interview. Barcelona, January 21, 2017. Transcript, 8.

²³² “Report on the integration of immigrants in Catalonia,” Directorate General for Immigration, 90.

²³³ Interview with Griselda Asain. Personal interview. Barcelona, January 21, 2017. Transcript, 8.

When speaking about racial prejudice and discrimination, each interviewee explicitly stated that they had not been victim to any overtly prejudicial or racist act in Barcelona. In Sahir's interview he says,

"Generally, in general, I don't really see so much [racism] here. I hear stories from Paris in France, unfortunately that they have it happening there, and in Europe [things] have got to change... Of course, Spain is part of Europe... But here, I did not feel or I did not find like this and we are happy here."²³⁴

One interesting comment was made by Saad in regards to cultural tensions between different immigrant communities, and how groups interact when living in close quarters in the same neighborhood,

"I never have had any incident here from Spanish people, never! I don't know, my job is like this, our relation with people, I don't know, I never feel any, not even one single day... But other hand, from immigrants to immigrants we are always in conflict. A bunch of communities are living very close together, for example I am Pakistan and I have lived here for 8 years, and I live next to my neighbor who is from India, and you know Pakistan and India, and the other people are from Morocco, Ecuador... Immigrants to immigrants is a little bit tough."²³⁵

In literature on acculturation, there are always talks about the dominant society coexisting with the non-dominant society, but what falls between the cracks are the relationships between two minority groups in the larger society, and the conflicts that may arise. Muhammad was living for some years in the Raval neighborhood in the center of Barcelona, known for having a high percentage of immigrant residents, but moved to Hospitalet de Llobregat to escape tensions between some community members in the Raval. In Hospitalet de Llobregat, the atmosphere is more relaxed, he has family there. For a man of 60 years old, it is a more pleasant atmosphere than the chaos of the Raval.²³⁶ It is an important aspect to cover when discussing acculturation strategies, but this study is limited in its scope to properly investigate the particular interactions between all 170 different nationalities that are living in Barcelona.

²³⁴ Interview with Saad & Sahir. Personal interview. Barcelona, October 20, 2016. Transcript, 15.

²³⁵ Ibid., 14.

²³⁶ Interview with Muhammad*. Personal interview. Barcelona, October 22, 2016. Not Recorded.

5.2.4 Catalan Political Participation and National Identity

After speaking with the organization SOS Racisme, it became more apparent that the right to vote was a pertinent topic when it came to immigration policy and integration strategies. Each participant in this survey had an opinion on Catalan politics and the importance it has in their life in Catalonia. Integration means that many areas of society are shared and participated in equally among groups of people. With the current political situation escalating in Catalonia in regards to independence from Spain, it became increasingly interesting to see how immigrant populations reacted to the political climate and how politics affects their lives. The MIPEX cites the degree of political participation as a factor in integration effectiveness, and it is an issue that more than one NGO is taking on in the name of the immigrant community. But, as was shown in section 4, at the present time, many immigrants do not have the right to vote, and during the interviews it was revealed how that fact affects immigrant populations in Barcelona.

“We [Sahir & I] are just not interested in politics, I'm sorry. I really hate this. Because I did not find any personally, good things I mean they are good politicians... [But,] not in my area in Asia. I'm talking now about myself in my country, we have very bad experiences with politics, and I hate it... I know here it is a democratic system, it's a good way of life, but we have no good experience. And if anybody ask me here about politics, I say, I hate it!”²³⁷

The fact that a large percentage of non-European foreigners living in the Barcelona area are unable to vote is a hindrance to their overall integration. It is a vital area of public participation that a large group of the community is excluded from. For many immigrants, nationality is the only way to gain the right to vote, but many times this requires a ten year wait, and for some is not a possibility at all. Perhaps because they do not currently have the right to vote, the participants in this study did not place a high level of importance on political engagement, and did not feel that this type of participation in society would greatly affect their daily lives. Muhammad has lived between Barcelona and Hospitalet de Llobregat for almost thirty years, and has never felt the need to participate in the political process. He recounts a story of family members in Senegal who were politicians. During the interview he became irritated when speaking about the politics in his country of origin, saying that there is too much corruption and little democratic action. His statements are similar to those of Sahir and Saad, where

²³⁷ Interview with Saad & Sahir. Personal interview. Barcelona, October 20, 2016. Transcript, 16.

one's attitude towards the political system can be shaped by the political environment from the country that was emigrated from.

In the MIPEX key findings on political participation on immigrant in Spain, it states, "Immigrants may be more likely to participate politically by going around official channels rather than through them..."²³⁸ This is to say that while they cannot vote, immigrants participate in petitions, demonstrations, contacting local public officials, etc. in making their voices heard in society. Griselda says that while she cannot currently vote in elections in Spain or Catalonia, once she obtains nationality, she will become more involved.²³⁹ As of now she is much more concerned with the political situation of Argentina and follows much more closely the news in Argentina than in Spain. Through friends and colleagues she does stay abreast of any major political events, but does not make it a priority to keep up with the political situation in Catalonia.²⁴⁰ If the foreign population is not engaged politically, nor allowed to, it would seem like a hindrance to promoting any sense of Catalan identity. Among all of the participants in this study, none declared any sense of a Catalan or Spanish identity. Each participant maintained a strong sense of their cultural heritage, regardless of the time spent in Catalonia--from 1 year to more than 30 years. The time did not seem to matter. It is important to point out that none of the participants had started a family in Barcelona; as having a partner from, or child born in Catalonia could affect this sentiment.

The independence movement in Catalonia, as it is ever present in the city of Barcelona, was never elaborated upon in the interviews. Either the participant was indifferent to the situation or not aware of the specifics of the movement. In other words, there was no direct opposition of independence from any of these participants, nor votes in favor. Without being involved in politics, or feeling that your opinion matters, it is understandable that a hard position could not be taken. It was simply stated by Saad, "I respect the culture and I respect this community. All of the countries..."²⁴¹

Respect for the dominant culture and receiving respect in return is the root to positive integration, not necessarily constructing a new identity, but rather recognizing and welcoming the natural evolution that comes when two cultures come into contact. All of the participants in this study, including the staff of the NGOs, alluded to the fact that no foreigner should feel that they have to give up some

²³⁸ "Spain: Key Findings," *Migrant Policy and Integration Index*, Accessed January 2017, www.mipex.eu/spain.

²³⁹ Interview with Griselda Asain. Personal interview. Barcelona, January 21, 2017. Transcript, 15.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Interview with Saad & Sahir. Personal interview. Barcelona, October 20, 2016. Transcript, 16.

part of their cultural heritage to successfully interact with the new host society. But, naturally, ideas may change and new habits may form, but none of this should be a forced process. Integration as the desired acculturation strategy comes from the fact that foreigners do not let go of their heritage, but invite others to learn about it and to share it with the host society. In Barcelona, Badalona and Hospitalet it is evident that a rich mixture of cultures are coexisting. It is apparent in the city festivals, in the food markets, in the restaurants and at civil demonstrations held across the city. It is a multicultural city, although not perfect, but one that is headed in the right direction.

6. Discussion

The integration of immigrants in the greater Barcelona area is not limited to merely enacting policies and forming integration plans, but rather goes far beyond the administrative arena. To achieve integration within a society requires a cooperation between the many members and a multi-dimensional approach that incorporates integration in the economy, the political sphere, educational institutions, in the media, culturally, linguistically, etc. Although, as illustrated, public administration and policy making is a crucial first step to the equality and integration of foreigners into a new society, and those who influence these policies should be well-connected to the groups which they represent, but efforts in integration should surpass the administrative level.

The central research question was aimed at uncovering the effects of integration measures on immigrant identities in Barcelona, Badalona and Hospitalet de Llobregat. Through speaking with NGO staff members and immigrant persons, it became apparent that integration measures were not aimed at promoting a certain identity, but rather the policies, plans and general larger society had an effect of the ways immigrants viewed themselves in a new surrounding. There was no moment in which it was expressed that foreigners residing in Catalonia should feel, or do feel, a sense of Catalan national identity, but the responses in the interviews rather revealed how self-perceptions change or evolve during time spent in a new host society. Integration is a subjective phenomenon, and the degree to which one feels integrated in society is based on personal experiences, historical background, and a variety of other factors.

Berry's model of acculturation recognizes integration as the most desirable strategy to be adopted by both the dominant society and the individual. Throughout this study, it was evident that the policies enacted by public officials did not lean towards marginalization nor separation of foreigners in Catalonia, but rather were intended to incorporate the strengths of the foreign population into society

and valued the diversity that accompanied immigration flows. This is not to say that there are not flaws in the current integration policies, such as that of the right to vote, which was a main focus in the interview with Alba Cuevas of SOS Racisme. The perceived flaws or gaps in the integration policies or in official discourse on integration are being tackled by non-governmental organizations, and their influence is important in the continued evolution of integration policies.

Trbola states that NGOs are more “oriented to the comprehensive identification of client needs and their satisfaction (consultancy, crisis intervention, learning the language, dealing with agendas, social orientation courses) than other actors of social integration, whose powers are usually limited by legislation.”²⁴² In Barcelona, the local government and the NGOs complement each other’s work and there are larger networks to facilitate this interaction. A positive relationship between NGOs working directly with migrant populations and the government is an essential part of ensuring that proper policies are put in place and that they best serve the needs of the target groups. This study has revealed relationships between the Catalan government and local think tanks, between the government and human rights organizations as well as with labor unions. In the case of Barcelona, Badalona and Hospitalet, it is evident that there is an open dialogue between the two sectors, and this creates a positive atmosphere for successful integration. This study has aimed to show that in the cases of these three cities of the greater Barcelona area, the cooperation and dialogue and networks between civil society, NGOs and the policy makers have promoted a positive view of integration and one, more specifically, that is not geared toward assimilation, but rather a positive coexistence between cultures.

Previous studies carried out by the Generalitat attempted to define the key factors to integration in order to improve upon existing policies. But, in their studies the focus on the role of NGOs was minimal. One study in particular only provides statistics on NGO relations with town halls, but lacks depth when it comes to their role and influence in policy making, an area to which this study dedicates a significant amount of time and energy.²⁴³ It is imperative to include NGOs as actors and stakeholders in the integration process, especially due to their close relationships to the immigrant community. One interviewee was explicit in his views towards NGOs, stating that:

²⁴² Trbola, Robert, and Miroslava Rákoczyová, "Barriers to Integration of Immigrants and Integration Policy..." (2011), 93.

²⁴³ “Report on the Integration of Immigrants in Catalonia,” Directorate General for Immigration, 120.

“We have had very bad experiences with democracy and politics, but I love the social work and I respect the culture and I respect this community. [They work] with and for the people. First of all, everyone wants to solve the problems of the other people. For the immigrants you hear a lot of NGOs, and a lot of Spanish people are working for this kind of stuff. They really want to resolve the problems.”²⁴⁴

This study has incorporated the roles of NGOs in integration policy, as well as investigated the particularities of certain relationships. Speaking with NGOs provided a base on which to start talks with individuals. The relationship that non-profit and non-governmental organizations have with immigrant communities is a crucial aspect into investigating the problems, obstacles and solutions to immigrant integration in a new society.

Catalonia has been a place of immigrant reception for decades, first receiving people from other parts of Spain, other parts of Europe and then from around the world. One common trend when speaking with individuals is that all of them viewed Barcelona as a very multicultural, international place, where one identity did not overshadow the rest. This perception, of course, can only be applied to this particular case and not to other cities across Catalonia. Although, individuals who had spent a significant period of time in one of the three cities (more than five years), did share feelings of an evolving identity, but none went as far to say that they had a true feeling of a Catalan consciousness. And, overall, I suppose John W. Berry’s assertions on integration comply with these observations. The immigrants interviewed for this study expressed certain adaptations and changes in their sense of identity, but maintained a clear hold on their native culture. To be integrated into Catalan society does not necessarily mean that you have to adopt some form of a national consciousness, but rather subjectively feel accepted, respected and treated equally in society. To characterize the community of the greater Barcelona area is to see it as a constant flow of peoples, cultures and languages.

During the interviews, the biggest criticism or obstacle to integration in Barcelona was clearly securing employment. Each interviewee spoke on the importance of contributing to society by participating in the workforce, in a legal way. Depending on the country of origin and level of education, access to the job market upon arrival in the city is limited to certain sectors. The interviewees from Pakistan and Senegal found themselves working in what they called “exploited” situations before obtaining the proper papers to allow them a better job opportunity. To subject sectors of the immigrant population

²⁴⁴ Interview with Saad & Sahir. Personal interview. Barcelona, October 20, 2016. Transcript, 16.

to exploitation is a significant hindrance to integration. NGOs such as Asociación de Ayudantes para Inmigrantes Sin Papeles is filling the gap and helping immigrants to secure a dignified contract, working situation and labor rights in general. The area of employment is potentially seen as a sector of integration where government policies fall short. As some interviewees noted, there is a lot that goes on behind the scenes that the government and the Spanish people are unaware of.²⁴⁵ It is a complicated system to regulate, and this specifically is why NGOs are so important to the integration process. Recognizing gaps in the system and attending to the needs of migrants is why some interviewees claimed to give such value to the work done by non-profit organizations. The collaboration between NGOs, the public administration and the individuals of Barcelona both foreign and native is something that propels the city of Barcelona in the right direction for positive immigrant integration.

7. Conclusion

Although not perfected, the integration initiatives, plans and procedures are attractive to newcomers in Barcelona. As demonstrated throughout this paper, permanent residents of the Barcelona area enjoy many of the same rights and privileges as native peoples (with the exception of voting rights for much of the population). They are offered free classes in Spanish and Catalan, given mentors to help in navigating the labor market and validating university degrees and titles, enjoy the same unemployment rights as Spanish people, and if they are denied these rights, there exist organizations that help to fight in favor of immigrant labor rights. For undocumented peoples, the biggest obstacle is overcoming the fear of deportation and taking the initiative to seek help in the areas of need. This study has shown that although there need to be improvements in system in order to properly serve all sectors of the immigrant community, the bones for a proper integration system are in place.

During the interviews, there did not seem to be a heavy emphasis put on the discrimination of immigrant groups in Barcelona. In fact, there were few complaints at all, although the problem was elaborated upon when speaking with SOS Racisme, and the experiences that they have in this area. Social networks are extremely important in the integration process and all individuals interviewed claimed to have positive relations with Catalan people, and having their own social networks among persons of their own cultural background, as well as with those of Catalan or Spanish descent. This study revealed the social relationships that can develop between different groups, and the positive

²⁴⁵ Interview with Saad & Sahir. Personal interview. Barcelona, October 20, 2016. Transcript, 16.

tone in the interviews points in the direction that the larger society in Barcelona is adapting and has been adapting to the changing demographics for some time now, and is more likely to react positively to the evolving society and arrival of new immigrants.

NGOs in Barcelona, Badalona and Hospitalet have been developing programs for immigrant integration throughout the years the immigrant community has been growing in the area. They have become adept at identifying the problems in society and creating platforms to spread information and promote positive change. This study has revealed that the networks between the NGOs, civil society and public administration in the three cities are vast and have an effect in policy making. This study has attempted to show the importance of issue networks and that the interests of all stakeholders be taken into consideration--and, above all, how the interaction between members of NGOs, the larger society and immigrant communities can affect the identities of individuals.

This study has looked at NGOs from various sectors of integration, as well as compiled information from individuals themselves about integration and identity. It has attempted to fill in the gap in previous literature where solely NGOs and governments were studied, or studies of NGOs and integration programs, and has expanded it to looking at the issue networks, the plans to tackle these issues and the ultimate effect it has on the non-dominant group in society. Furthermore, it has looked at all of these aspects on a sub-national level. This multidimensional approach to studying integration is increasingly important as the movement of people around the globe is ever more common. Proper integration policies must be put in place in order to preserve past origins and cultures and, at the same time, allow for a smooth transition and pleasant coexistence in society. Close collaboration between NGOs and local governments should produce positive results and better reflect the needs and desire of society. This is why the study of the NGO relationships with immigrant communities, and the relationship with policy makers is so important to understand. It is crucial to consider how NGOs from various sectors interact with different communities and how they develop their relationships with them. The relationships and closeness between an organization and a foreign group can influence how an organization will ultimately influence policy making. This study has attempted to cover all of these aspects and to give a broader perspective of the policies and effects they have on different groups.

This study has been based on only five organization in the Barcelona area and the conclusions drawn about their ties to issue networks and their relationships with the immigrant community cannot be

applied to other organizations in Catalonia. In order to understand more about the roles of NGOs in integration policies and immigrant identity, more organizations and subjects must be studied. This study has looked at the evolution of policies since the 1990s, but a different time frame could also reveal different conclusions. It is important to take into consideration the limitations of this study, and to understand the conclusions and results within the particular context and situation in the Barcelona area. Not all immigrant groups were interviewed and the experiences of other groups, Chinese or east-Asian for example, cannot be compared to the experiences of the five individuals in this study.

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APPENDIX: INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

Guide to Interviews:

.	Full stop
...	Trails off / Not a strong endpoint
()	Unable to determine word or phrase
(XXX)	Mumbling
--	Sharp cut off
Laughs	Laughing by one or both parties
[PAUSE]	Noticeable pause in the conversation
[CUT]	Part of the interview has been taken out for impertinence to specific research

Interviewee: Francesc Fàbregas — Project Manager

Organization: Centre for International Studies of Barcelona (CIDOB)

Interviewer: Kate Mattingly

Date: July 1st, 2016

Time: 12:00 (CEST)

[A] Interviewer

[B] Interviewee

[B] Pues él MIPEX ya terminamos hace un año y... Terminó hace un año. Es un proyecto de 18 meses un proyecto que CIDOB lideró.

[A] A sí?

[B] Y dentro de un consorcio de 27 partners.

[A] 17?

[B] 27. Uno para cada estado y también (uhhhh) otros países fuera de la Unión Europea. Los Estados Unidos, Turquía, Canadá... Ocho países más y lo terminemos hace un año y sabes que es un proyecto que analiza las políticas de integración.

[A] Sí.

[B] No analiza si los inmigrantes están bien o no bien integrados.

[A] Esto es de lo que estoy investigando para el tesis.

[B] Yes, that's right, OK. Entonces analiza política a partir de unos indicadores y de 8 áreas de estas ocho áreas

- [A] Sí
- [B] Y de ocho areas labor market mobility... Uhhh...
- [A] Integración política—
- [A,B] Reunificación de familias...
- [B] Estos ocho... Y dentro de estos ocho hay indicadores en cada uno de ellos. Y de todos los indicadores suman 167. Entonces por ejemplo..., y estos se distribuye. Con los partners hacemos un cuestionario de y preguntamos por ejemplo, "cuanto tiempo... (uhhh)" o por ejemplo, "en su país los inmigrantes pueden votar? Las elecciones generales o locales o regionales?"
- [A] Sí
- [B] Si es que sí, damos una puntuación. Si es que no, damos cero y si pueden votar unas o otras no, ponemos cincuenta. Si es todas, 100, si algunas, 50, si no, cero. Para que te hagas una idea. Hacemos una puntuación con todos los 167 indicadores.
- [A] Y hacen esto en solo 18 meses? Me parece much trabajo...
- [B] Pero Kate, es que cada partner se encarga de su país.
- [A] Claro.
- [B] CIDOB hacemos en España, y se hacen en una semana el test.
- [A] Ahh ok ok.
- [B] Porque lo hacen investigadores que se dediquen a esto... Y lo hacen los partners. Entonces hay que revisar, hay que hacer la web, y tal. Has visto la web? Ah, sí claro.
- [A] Ví que España se quedo en once.

- [B] En la clasificación? No me acuerdo exacto. No está mal España.
- [A] Noruega va como primero y Portugal bastante arriba también. Y, ver todo esto como vengo de EEUU, me parece muy interesante!
- [B] Eres del EEUU?
- [A] Sí. Y que te parece el MIPEX?
- [B] Bien es interesante...
- [A] Que los rankings refleja..?
- [B] Sí es interesante. Es una herramienta interesante. Yo no soy muy experto. Vale? Pero, considero por lo que he oído y por lo que he trabajado, y he trabajado con gente... Me encargado del gestión del proyecto, y del management.
- [A] Sí, ví que eres el project manager.
- [B] Sí, del budget, bueno del todo... Informes, reports, dirección, etcetera...
- [A] Pero tú crees que se puede hacer del nivel nacional de MIPEX al nivel local? Pues sería como lo que hacen en España se puede hacer en Barcelona o Catalunya?
- [B] Vale, es una idea que tuvimos y quizás lo haremos en CIDOB. No lo sé si lo vamos a hacer. Pero por ahora es una opción.
- [A] Pero teóricamente, se podía hacer?
- [B] Sí, sí puede hacer. En Catalunya tenemos competencias de inmigración, algunas por lo tanto se podría hacer. Sí, y creo que estamos con una idea de hacer algún tipo de MIPEX en Barcelona. No sé hasta que punto tenemos esta realidad. Ya lo preguntaré.

[A] Como he leído el MIPEX me vino la idea viendo el MIPEX, luego quería ponerlos más al nivel local. Haciendo el master sobre la política de inmigración en Barcelona de los non-European inmigrantes.

[CUT]

[A] Trabajan mucho Uds. también con la Generalitat?

[B] Sí, trabajamos en algunas cosas.

[A] Es que estuve viendo como unos competencias de cosas de que CIDOB hizo con la Generalitat sobre inmigraciones.

[B] Sí hemos hecho algunas, lo que pasa no me acuerdo mucho pero, sí que lo coordinamos algunas actividades y charlas.

[A] Y una cosa más... Conoces algo del Citizenship and Migration Plan: Horizon 2016? Es que parece cada unos años hay un plan de integración aquí para Catalunya. Y estaba viendo y mencionó CIDOB en alguna parte...

[B] No lo sé...Voy a mirar.

[A] Parece una rama de la Generalitat que trabaja también con ONGs para construir estos Plans... Hay un montón de iniciativas aquí que he visto en el Plan, por ejemplo, y otros como el Servei de Primer Acollida.

[B] Vale...SAIER es esto. Tienes que ir allí! Y hay otra institución que se llama Tot Raval que es "Todo Raval", te voy a enviar un link porque es una entidad que me gusta y hacen muchas cosas y creo que hacen cosas con integración de inmigrantes. Lo tienen que hacer...

[A] Y la proporción de inmigrantes... Cual sería el grupo de inmigrantes más grande en Barcelona? Si tendrías que decir o adivinar? ...Vi en el link que me mandaste esta mañana, y ponía como de Rumania, de Pakistan y tal.

[B] Sí sí, yo te diría, Marruecos, Rumania y Pakistan aquí en Barcelona. Y latinos también hay, claro que hay muchos.

[A] Pero no hay un grupo que es mucho más evidente en la ciudad?

[B] En Barcelona... No lo sé. Yo diría Pakistanis.

[A] Y algún motivo por tantos Pakistanis aquí en Barcelona y no tantos en otras partes de España o en Catalunya?

[B] Buscando trabajo claro.

[A] Sí es que yo vi entre el año 2001-2008 que había un "boom" en inmigración aquí. Casi un millón de personas, y fue en el año 2001 que empezó de ver más políticas de inmigración y integración en España y Catalunya en particular. Pero, desde entonces, cada pocos años están haciendo o modificando planes. Y quería saber porque en esta época hubo tanto movimiento, y lo encuentro difícil de saber la respuesta.. Como nadie me puede decir.

[B] No lo sé. Busca en el anuario, hay artículos de Barcelona. Algunos. Vale?

[A] Vale.

[B] Y estará bien si lo hablas con alguien del Ayuntamiento. Conozco a alguien pero no sé si aún están. Yo te hablo de hace tres o cuatro años.

[CUT]

[B] Oriol Amorós, fue, bueno yo creo que fue un buen secretario de inmigración en Catalunya. Con el tripartito, el tripartito hubo un periodo, un gobierno de Catalunya 2004-2008 más o menos, era tripartito porque era del partido socialista, Esquerra Republicana y de iniciativa per Catalunya que fue un grupo de politicos de la izquierda. Y se tuvieron que repartir los departamentos y Esquerra Republicana se quedó en

inmigración y Oriol Amorós fue el director. Una persona razonable y buena pero no sé que él está haciendo ahora.

[A] Él dirigió un trabajo que se titula, “The gap between aspirations and expectations in ‘second generation’ immigrants” en como 2009.

[CUT]

[A] Y tu especialidad es?

[B] Inmigración me gusta, tema europeos me gustan, (uhhh). Todo lo internacional. Estudié filosofía, y el Master de CIDOB, ya el programa ya no existe. Está ya parte de la Universidad de Pompeu Fabra.

[CUT]

[B] CIDOB es una fundación privada. Tenemos un board, está la Generalitat, el Ayuntamiento, esta la Diputació de Barcelona. Catalunya tiene cuatro regiones, cuatro provincias, Girona, Barcelona, Lleida y Tarragona. Pues el gobierno de la diputación de Barcelona está también en nuestra board. Ministerios exteriores y algunas otras, entonces al... Nosotros lo que hacemos ya sabes, hacemos sobre la () política, unos policy briefs, estudios, recomendaciones, etcetera. Entonces de sobre la política de integración hacemos proyectos como puede ser el MIPEX, unas conferencias, unos papers...

[A] Y hay buena relación y la Generalitat?

[B] Sí, sí, sí, sí hay buena relación. Al nivel de reputación nuestra de relaciones con de hacer cosas en común sí. Somos un locutor valido, bueno sí. Hacemos cosas en común. Quiero decir proyectos en común o conferencias o trabajar juntos. Sí, y hacemos esto -- orientación, conocimiento.

[A] Y sueles hacer conferencias de vez en cuando?

- [B] Ayer tuvimos uno por ejemplo! Sí, ya ves si en la web si hay actividades vas a ver actividades de todo tipo. Ayer era uno de health and work.
- [A] Y viene mucha gente de fuera, digo fuera de España or Catalunya?
- [B] Sí, sí, sí, si ves lo de ayer fueron muchos internacionales. Venía gente de Medicos sin Fronteras y si cuando hacemos conferencia sí invitamos a gente de todas partes, del OPA. Depende del tipo de conferencia y el tipo de proyecto.. vale? Pero mira de los actividades y veras un poco lo que tenemos planeado. Ahora tenemos varios proyectos que se trata del mediterráneo, Europa, unos en America Latina, inmigraciones. Entonces cada uno tiene su responsable.
- [A] Y cuanta gente trabaja aquí?
- [B] 33 personas.
- [A] Cuando se fundó, fue pequeña? Y estáis creciendo aún más o estáis más estable ahora?
- [B] Bueno, estamos estable. Unos proyectos si que hace falta contratar a otra gente por el MIPEX por ejemplo, surveys de personas, de research...
- [A] Vi que empezó 1973. Y luego en 78 cambio a otra cosa..
- [B] Sí sí Kate, ha cambiado mucho. Y tu puedes imaginar. Empezó siendo un centro mucho de cooperación y desarrollo y luego se dedicó más a estudiar a hacer centro de publicaciones y de conferencias y de relaciones internacionales, y luego bueno nos definimos como "THINK TANK" de hace unos 10 años y bien! Si, más o menos. Y bueno hacemos publicaciones de todo tipo. De relaciones internacionales. Mírate las opiniones... si buscas por migraciones, puedes encontrar allí alguna que sean de Barcelona, no sé.
- [CUT]

- [A] Hay algún centro o instituto que hace encuestas sobre las dudas y preocupaciones de la gente española o catalana?
- [B] Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas. Esto es cuando hace un encuesta de intención de voto. Pero, the main concerns of Spain of Spanish people. Primero, terrorismo, empleo, inmigración. Busca a ver si hay alguna específica de inmigración. No lo sé si hay una encuesta específica de inmigración. Lo dudo.. vale? Hace de 10 o 15 años, inmigración seguro q era el segundo tema de preocupación de los españoles, ahora esta... no está. Esta el décimo o el quince pero es igual
- [A] Pero porque?
- [B] Porque? Porque hace diez años— Porque había mucha inmigración que llegó, fue una década en la que venia mucha inmigración y había trabajo y estamos en la UE económico vale? Pero con la crisis ahora lo que importa es el empleo, el paro.
- [A] Pero, bueno según el Brexit la inmigración e la disponibilidad de trabajos van muy relacionados no?
- [B] Sí, pero como también habido menos inmigración y habido gente que se ha ido, ya no. No (es una preocupación). Mira y también el Centre d'Estudis d'Opinió, es lo mismo pero es de la Generalitat, pero yo no sé si ellos han hecho.
- [A] Entre España y la comunidad de Catalunya, hay diferencias en lo que puede hacer Catalunya y lo que hace España con inmigración?
- [B] De inmigración?
- [A] Digo, por como ser una comunidad autónoma tenéis algunos derechos que son distintos de otras partes...
- [B] No lo sé. Las competencias exactas de lo que Catalunya puede hacer, lo buscaré. Pero sí sí sí hay diferencias en lo que Catalunya puede hacer. Claro, pero no sé to what extent.

[CUT]

[B] Sabes que pasa Kate, cuando estaba Oriol Amorós era una época de no crisis económico. Estábamos bien en España hace diez años, entonces había unas oficina exclusiva para esto. pero con la crisis se cortaron mucho, entonces yo creo que en las secretarias se cortó y pasó a formar parte de bienestar social, entonces va por allí. No sé hasta que cierto punto tiene su propio servicios y funcionamiento y tal. Pero mírate allí, porque allí te lo pueden decir.

[A] Vale. Y hacemos esto!

[B] Muy Bien.

[A] Creo que ya esta! De momento, nada más. Muchas gracias!

END OF INTERVIEW.

Interviewee: Alba Cuevas — Director

Organization: SOS Racisme Barcelona

Interviewer: Kate Mattingly

Date: July 13th, 2016

Time: 13:00 (CEST)

[A] Interviewer

[B] Interviewee

[A] Y la información que tenéis en “La Memoria” del año pasado, y también la de hace dos años así que tengo un poco de una idea de las estadísticas. Lo que quiero es más también tú opinión...

[B] Sí, SOS Racisme es una asociación que tiene unos socios y una junta directiva y un equipo, y a parte pues grupos de activistas en diferentes temas participan de la asociación eso como al nivel más orgánica. Entonces funcionamos desde del 89 y es una asociación de ámbito Catalan así que tenemos una cierta relacione con lo que es la federación de SOS Racismo del estado español. Pero bueno, hacemos...

[A] Pero, empezó aquí en Barcelona?

[B] Sí, al nivel de España el primer SOS que se creó fue en Barcelona, y luego cada uno funciona en manera independiente nos coordinamos para unos temas o proyectos conjunto pero cada uno tiene sus funcionamiento. Entonces aquí siempre decimos que nuestro trabajo se centra como en tres grandes actuaciones. Una es "La atención a víctimas de racismo. Nosotros tenemos un servicio para las denuncias...

[A] Eso es SAID?

[B] Sí, SAID. Servicio Atención i Denuncia Víctimas de Racismo y Xenofobia. El servicio como tal funciona desde el 92 y entonces SAID se atiende a las personas que han

sufrido una situación de racismo... Uhhh y entonces les atiende desde dos partes—por un lado intentando solucionar de alguna manera la situación y sea por la vía penal, sea por una denuncia pública...

[A] Depende de la situación específica?

[B] Sí, eso depende de la situación de esa persona. Entonces, lamentablemente muchas de los proceso acaban yendo por la vía judicial o sea son muy graves o porque ya se han (justificado), pero entonces también hay proceso de actuación que es bien intervenir con la administración competente, hacer una denuncia publica, intentar hacer de intermediación en todas las partes y eso. Pero aparte de intentar solucionar la situación del racismo que ha surgido también sea acompañada personas intentaba de una incidente grave.. hay de otros ámbitos (de subidas) hay que hacerles un acompañamiento sobre todo como una red de recursos por si necesitan acompañamiento psicológico o algún tema mas vinculado con...

[A] No hay psicólogos que también trabajan con SOS Racisme?

[B] Bueno sí, que trabajamos de una manera conjunta con entidades que específicamente trabajan con psicólogos, con psicólogos que sí trabajamos a menudo. Tenemos puestos entidades con la que tenemos un convenio colaboración. Entonces ese es el servicio SAID. Es como una parte super importante porque nos permite aparte evidentemente atender a y dar atención a las personas, también nos permite hacer un diagnostico de análisis de la realidad. Porque a través de las víctimas pues conoces lo que pasa. Otra línea muy importante para SOS es todo lo que tiene que ver con la denuncia de la incidencia publica y política. Hay distintos...mmm... temas, o sea por un lado es todo lo que tiene que ver con la dispuesta inmediata todo lo que pasa en realidad, pues ahora temas que tenemos... Llevas seis semanas en Barcelona, todo temas de los "manteros," gente que vende cosas en las mantas. El centro internamiento de extranjeros bueno, tenemos varios temas en los que de manera para darles encuestas sobre todo a la actualidad estamos... Y luego también hay como grandes "escenas" al nivel politico son importantes. Como todo que tiene que ver con la lucha por el derecho al voto de las personas extrajeras. Es un tema muy importante. La derogación de la ley de extranjería. No sé... Son un poco por los cientos temas que de manera histórica forma parte de

nuestra incidencia política. Y la tercera línea de actuación digamos es el lo que tiene que ver con la sensibilización a la ciudadanía. Nos toca generar proyectos para acercarnos a la ciudadanía y puede hablar de cuales son los derechos, de antirracismo, de derechos humanos, de diversidad, bueno... Que es a partir pues de proyectos de sensibilización, información, intentamos hacer bastante información también. Y de alguna manera esto es la asociación, y se dedica a esto y bueno a partir de estas tres líneas de actuación, pues se van generando distintas campañas en el último año y medio más o menos yo creo que cobra mucha importancia todo lo que tiene que ver con el tema de los refugiados y racismo institucional. Eso estamos trabajando en una plataforma que llama "Stop Mare Mortum."

[A] Como es?

[B] "Stop Mare Mortum". Somos un grupo de entidades y ciudadanos al nivel individual que nos reunimos en lo que vamos a trabajar en abril de 2015 ()....Entonces el objetivo de esta plataforma es denunciar la políticas migratorias que causan muertes en el mediterráneo. "Mare Mortum". Y eso para nosotros ahora es un ámbito muy importante de trabajo porque también entendemos que hay el elemento de racismo en toda la construcción de estas políticas. Pues esto nos ocupado un gran parte de estos últimos meses. También toda la campaña de "Tancarem el CIE" de Barcelona. En 2014 hicimos tres actos importantes delante del centro de internamiento en los que hemos movido. No sé si sabes de estos? El centro de internamiento que está en la Zona Franca...

[A] Sí, estaba leyendo sobre eso en no sé de que web esta mañana. Así un poco si de la historia conozco...

[B] Pues alguna manera yo creo que desde los centros de internamientos si están en España, cerca de () desde los años ochenta. Pero absolutamente silencios. La gente no los conocían, SOS estaba en la lucha contra ellos pero poco más. Entonces en 2012, en el CIE de Barcelona muere un chico por falta de atención medica y eso de alguna manera... La muerte de, muy lamentable, pero sí que sirvió para saltar a la Generalitat, un poquito ehh. Y ahí en 2012 empezamos a tener más visibilidad, los (medios) empezó a preocupar por lo que pasaba. Y fue en 2014 que fue desarrollando

una campaña en la que intentamos a hacer la plataforma "Tancarem el CIE" en la dan apoyo a ciertas entidades de toda Catalunya porque para nosotros lo importante es que las campañas dejara de ser solo de las entidades de inmigrantes o anti-racistas o de derechos humanos, pero que fuera algo más universal. Y hemos montado tres actos los últimos... Uno en 2014, uno en 2015 y uno en 2016. Muy importantes delante de propio centro de internamiento. Eso además, en los últimos meses el internamiento de Barcelona ha cerrado todo obras, pero también hay dos cosas importantes que se han conseguido con esa campaña, que es un dos aclaraciones institucionales, el parlamento de Catalunya una, y la otra del ayuntamiento de Barcelona, y los dos se comprometen a trabajar por el cierre. Y justamente la semana pasada, jueves el ayuntamiento de Barcelona anunciaba que () la actividad del CIE porque no tiene una licencia administrativa. Bueno, un tema más burocrático y administrativo, pero que permite seguir () en el centro de internamiento. Así como un ejemplo de lo que nos ha ocupado bastante tiempo en los últimos años. Eso es un poco de lo que vamos haciendo, no desde, bueno intentar combinarlo la intención a víctimas es nuestro servicio principal, con toda la parte de intentar incidir para cambiar y para implicar a la administración pero también con concienciar a la ciudadanía no de que racismo nos afecta todos, no depende de que color de piel tengamos, pero al nivel democrático y esto.

[A] Responde mucho la ciudadanía a estas campañas y estos proyectos en Barcelona? Cómo lo ves?

[B] A ver, igual que con el CIE, yo creo que tenemos que estar contentos de lo que hemos conseguido, no? Porque la ciudadanía se ha involucrado bastante con el tema de los refugiados también hay una buena respuesta en general, pero no deja de ser pequeña. No es masiva. 19 de junio, el día anterior del Día de las Personas Refugiadas, intentamos hacer una manifestación en el medio de Barcelona que fue importante pero para tal y como está la situación, no tanto. No? Aquí puede ser que lo has visto, pero para toda el tema independentista está saliendo mucha ciudadanía a la calle. Mucha. Y para este tema no. Con lo cual, sí tenemos más visibilidad y más sensibilización que hace cinco años, pero nos hemos hecho mucho recorrido. Mucho.

[A] Y tú crees que con el tema del independentismo y tal que inmigración tiene algo que ver con la decisión de estar más a favor de un lado que el otro?

[B] Para evitar la inmigración? No, yo creo que no.

[A] Cómo el Brexit? Y algunas partes en Alemania que también se quejan por tantos inmigrantes allá...

[B] Nosotros nos da la sensación que no. Siempre hay grupos de gente de pequeños, entonces los que quieren la independencia que pueden ir hacia esas ideologías, pero en general no. Aquí en Cataluña siempre el hecho de que Cataluña siempre habla de esa tierra de inmigraciones, sobre todo porque en los sesenta viene toda la inmigración interna de España, y siempre dice que Cataluña se crea con esas inmigraciones. Creo que siempre ha sido un punto bastante a favor. Incluso a nivel de las organizaciones sociales que están por la independencia que es la..al nivel masivo, la Asamblea Nacional Catalana y Omnium Cultural, las dos son aliadas en este tipo de campaña. Por ejemplo, "Tancarem el CIE" las dos participan. Y en la de los refugiados, las dos han participado. O sea que el discurso más general es integrador. Integrador es un poco peyorativo, no? Pero, incluso es como construimos juntos. Luego habría que ver y eso es importante, porque también la independencia hay también la busca de la derecha catalana, qué país construiríamos? no? Realmente, la nueva Cataluña tendría leyes de extranjería. Luego habría que ver como... Pero esto al nivel general, yo no lo compararé con lo que pasa con el Brexit. Que habido un discurso muy anti-inmigración, pero en general, no...

[A] Y los medios de comunicación como... Trabajáis en campañas en contra del discurso de la inmigración? O cómo lo ves?

[B] Sí, nosotros hemos empezado bastantes. Tenemos aliados con los periodistas de Cataluña. Un aliado por ejemplo. Hemos intentado hacer formaciones. Hace unos años con todo el tema, creo que se consiguió bastante pero a ver que volver que advertir de que no se podía hablar de personas ilegales, por ejemplo. Un batalla importante a tener. Las actividades son ilegales no las personas. Eso por ejemplo, uno de trabajo conjunto creo que tuvo un cierto éxito. Nosotros participamos más con los espacios, aquí hay una

cosa que aquí se llama el Consell d'Audiovisual de Catalunya, que de alguna manera es como una, es un consejo que tiene capacidad sancionadora en los medios públicos. Y tenemos un gran problema con los privados, por personas privados podemos ir al nivel de consejo de información, bueno... El otro no sé como es, no se puede vigilar a todos. Pero con esto el trabajo es mucho más difícil. En cambio del CAD, formamos parte de la mesa de la diversidad. Y el trabajo con periodistas aquí hay cientos proyectos que se han iniciado los últimos años de periodistas que están preocupados también por eso, y intentamos trabajar de una manera conjunta. Ahora por ejemplo, con el tema del "top manta" porque es el monstruo mediático, nosotros decimos que es un monstruo mediático, entonces para uno que hace un enfoque digno digamos tenemos muchos que con el tema de "top manta" además allí una reguera muy, nosotras la criticamos la actuación municipal. No nos gusta pero también hay una guerra mediática contra de unos políticos contra otros y que allí se ve quien tienen poderes a medios. Pero, sí es importante todo el discurso en los medios es un tema con lo que hemos trabajado bastante en los últimos años, es el discurso racista por parte de los partidos políticos. Aquí tuvimos, ahh prácticamente ya se ha desaparecido, pero en todo lo que hubo en la Plataforma per Catalunya, que era un partido que puede aparece como el de Le Pen, no? Son nacional y nunca creció tanto, ni cerca del nivel de Parlamento ni tuvo los votos para poder presentar, entonces hemos intentado hacer un discurso bastante de cortado cuando los políticos utilizan el racismo. Pero también nos hemos dado cuenta lo que ha surgía del () eso es que los partidos de tradición democrática ha sumido parte de los discursos. Eso por un lado, y por otro lado que aquí el Partido Popular eh, una de las cosas que siempre decimos es por qué nos triunfa en España un partido como (). De alguna manera porque la derecha central en el PP ya lo coge todo, aquí... no sé si conoces el caso del alcalde de Badalona, Abiol, el alcalde de la tercera ciudad más grande de Catalunya, y fue alcalde del anterior legislatura por una campaña basada en el discurso racista.

[A] Luego voy a hablar con la organización AMIC de Badalona...

[B] Ah sí?! Pues nosotros con Abiol en concreto, en el año no me acuerdo... Nosotros contra Abiol iniciamos un proceso judicial por su campaña policial contra los gitanos. Entonces nosotros somos como acusación popular con nuestros abogados. Bueno con nuestro abogado, estábamos nosotros SOS Racisme, la Federación y la asociaciones Gitanas.

Lo absolvieron, pero fue un proceso largo que ahora él está en Estrasburgo. Lo hicimos todo aquí, lo acabaron con la resolución... Ahora en las últimas elecciones ha bajado mucho todo estos temas del discurso racista por parte de los partidos políticos, pero desde 2010 más o menos para nosotros esto ha sido en tema muy importante. Era muy grave, muy actual.

[A] Y con Ada Colau (la nueva alcaldesa de Barcelona), has visto un cambio?

[B] A ver, habido cosas que sí. Es decir todo lo que tiene que ver con discursos obviamente no tiene nada que ver una cosa con la otra. Es verdad también, alguna parte de que bueno reo que lo compartimos otras organizaciones de ciertas (frustragios), no? Y entendemos que nos esta actuando conformen o lo que tender en una paraguas de derechos humanos. Seguro que es difícil estar en una ayuntamiento como el de Barcelona, es está en el punto de mil cosas, pero entendemos que no se está haciendo uno de todo bien. Entonces para nosotros con el tema de "top manta" es importante. En el web verás algún comunicado que hemos hecho en el último año, varios. Nosotros entendemos que no hay una buena.. Pero es lo que esperábamos. Que le quedan tres años y que tiene que trabajar cada año un poco.

[A] Y en el SAID, en este un proyecto, has visto como un aumento de denuncias...?

[B] No. Claro... Nosotros es muy difícil porque en el fondo nosotros... En España no existe ningún datos oficiales sobre situaciones de racismo, ni delitos. No existe nada de eso. Claro en el fondo nosotros seremos adonde quedamos, porque no dejamos de ser una asociación para que las víctimas nos conozcan. Conozca, creo, que les pasas una situación de racismo y que encima le pueden denunciar, son tres cosas que son muy difícil. Entonces nosotros centran y nos vamos moviendo más o menos entre... Pasan por en servicio alrededor del año, unas 450 personas pero de estas alrededor de cien es una situación que podemos identificar como solucionarlo. O ante la cual podemos actuar. Entonces siempre estamos en eso, así que cosas que nos damos cuenta es que se normaliza por ejemplo, tenemos muchos más casos en el ámbito cotidiano o que son situaciones entre particulares, por ejemplo. Pero no podemos hablar de que haya un aumento. No.

[A] Hay algunas personas que dicen, "en mi trabajo he tenido una experiencia, no sé que" y que en eso SOS Racisme puede hacer algo?

[B] Es difícil siempre actuar. Nosotros mira donde... De lo que más más recibimos es situaciones de abuso de parte de la policía pública. Ese es el primero, luego en el segundo tipología son casos entre particulares que le llamamos "entre vecinos" o lo que puede pasar en la calle. En esta nos preocupa mucho, se resuelve la segunda. Y luego se lo tiene que ver con derechos sociales, el acceso a derechos sociales. Laboral hoy está una de las que vimos menos, no porque no haya. Nosotros siempre pensamos que no recibimos porque hay miedo de perder el trabajo.

[PAUSE]

[A] Lleváis desde el año 89? Y tú, cuanto tiempo llevas con esta organización?

[B] Yo desde el 2009.

[A] Y cuanta gente trabaja aquí?

[B] Mira aquí somos entre dirección, campañas, como me dices por proyectos nuevos, ahora estamos haciendo un proyecto central en el () entonces aquí hay tres... cuatro... sSomos seis. Solo que están estos, siempre seis. No, miento, cinco aquí.

[A] Y yo, más que nada, estoy haciendo investigación sobre la política de integración aquí, pero a veces cuando dices "integración" de las personas o asimilación o así, como suena mal, no? O cómo una persona no debería tener que integrar o asimilar o cambiar su cultura. Me gustaría tener solo tu opinión sobre este debate.

[B] Claro, nosotros siempre en aspectos en que nos hemos encontrado no nos enfoca en como se llama ciertas políticas, o sea no la manera en que llaman a estos conceptos. Entonces encerramos en que o la hacemos desde la perspectiva de la igualdad de derecho. Obviamente la convivencia es un equilibrio en el que las personas tienen que respetar o las unas a las otras para poder convivir. Y esto es importante y hay unas reglas que nos hacen y ponemos entre todos, pero el tema es que todos tendríamos

que tener posibilidades fluir en ellas, no? Entonces es muy importante respetar la igualdad de derechos, por ejemplo una de nuestras luchas es el derecho al voto.

[A] Y cómo ves ahora el derecho al voto? Quién puede votar?

[B] Aquí, nadie nadie. No nadie. Hombre en las municipales, sólo las municipales, o la gente que tiene un convenio de reciprocidad o los países, pero es que incluso así, si tu eres de origen extranjero y quieres votar en las municipales y tienes la suerte de que tu país de origen tiene el convenio de reciprocidad, te tienes que apuntar a un censo distinto y tienes que hacer muchos meses antes, con lo cual, es bastante increíble. Entonces en estos temas, como el derecho al voto, es uno pero nosotros entendemos que para poder hablar de convivencia, lo tenemos hacer, o de hablar de interculturalidad o de diversidad o integración, da igual, pongamos el nombre que tengamos hasta que no hay reconocimiento de que somos todos igual, y que juega con las mismas condiciones, no avanzaremos. Porque siempre lo haremos desde una vision uhhh de superioridad, el espacio publico... Qué hay que hacer con el espacio publico? Bueno, no sé. Todo el mundo tenemos una visión distinta del espacio publico. Y no sólo por una raza o origen. Seguramente, una persona de ochenta años y una de veinte no tiene nada que ver en el espacio publico. Entonces nosotros entendemos que esto es importante, y que sí que hay unos derechos y normas y todo el mundo tenemos que cumplirlo. Pero el reconocimiento de igualdad en el que estamos es.... ().

[A] Trabajáis con otras organizaciones como vosotros, que lucha por derechos humanos, etc?

[B] Sí, el trabajo hecho en redes es súper importante. No tanto como en plataformas, como te he comentaba, no, de juntarnos en plataformas temáticas con temas concretos, pero por ejemplo, formamos parte de la Federación de Organizaciones por la Justicia Global. Trabajo con sindicatos, con asociaciones con juveniles, con asociaciones con inmigrantes, bueno es como no es una de las redes de actuaciones, pero sí las actuaciones beben de ese trabajo en red. Es super importante.

[A] Y programas que ofrece la Generalitat, cómo lo ves?

[B] Mira aquí hay en Cataluña, durante el segundo tripartito, más o menos 2008, se desarrollan como dos herramientas importantes. Uno fue el Pacto Nacional por La Inmigración, que todo el mundo firmó, nosotros al final no lo firmamos por algunas temas tratando sobre el derecho al voto, para llegar al acuerdo político se han añadido una cosa que nosotros nos sentimos inadecuado y por lo tanto no lo firmamos. Pero, es una herramienta interesante porque () y todo esto y habla de cosas interesantes. Y de ahí, una de las cosas salió fue la Ley de Acollida. Pero esa Ley de Acollida, que más o menos aprobaba hacía allí en 2010 no tuvo reglamento hasta el 2015. Y no tiene presupuesto prácticamente o tiene un presupuesto bastante baja. Con lo cual se ponen ciertas instrumentos (no sé tan de presupuesto), para decirlo de alguna manera. Y yo creo quedar de recorrido... Cataluña ha avanzado en cosas, yo creo en todo de lo que tiene que ver con enseñanza de idiomas y todo esto, más o menos le falta avanzar en el reconocimiento del derecho que es fundamental y también en pensarlo más al nivel local. Y que en el fondo que las personas que en un momento llegan a una ciudad, puedan o que tengan facilidad en participar de manera transversal, así en espacios.. no nos gustan los circuitos paralelos, entendemos que no más que un circuito de acogida, más en la primera acogida que tendría que ser un tan cortita, y en unos meses, todo lo otro se había pasado al circuito general. Y dotan más recursos al circuito general... y eso faltaría y otra cosa que creo que es la fundamental es "hasta cuando se considera a una persona un inmigrante?" Estamos hablando de hijos de inmigrantes... Bueno, no sé el vocabulario.

[PAUSE]

[A] Creo que ya está. Muchísimas gracias y me has ayudado de una forma tremenda. Gracias.

[B] Y si necesitas cualquier otra cosa, por favor contáctanos.

[A] Sí, sí lo haré. Gracias.

END OF INTERVIEW.

Interviewee: Rafael Serrano — Head Lawyer
Organization: Asociación de Ayudantes a Inmigrantes Sin Papeles

Interviewer: Kate Mattingly

Date: September 7th, 2016
Time: 11:00 (CEST)

[A] Interviewer
[B] Interviewee

[A] Sí, conocer algo más de la política legal y como funciona un poquito. Pues, quiero saber cómo empezó esta organización, hace cuanto?

[B] Pues será hace cinco o seis años.

[A] Y cuándo Ud. empezó?

[B] Yo empecé hace nueve o diez años en temas de los inmigrantes sin papeles. Empezaron los brasileños, luego Brazil empezó un boom importante y marcharon muchos hacia Brazil y entonces después de ser abogado de trabajadores españoles durante treinta años que la verdad es que ya casi no hay obreros españoles **Laughs** Casi, de hecho el colectivo al nivel de trabajadores españoles ya es muy mayor, o sea me refiero que... Entonces habido mucha regeneración y ha pasado lo que todo el mundo contra los inmigrantes. El inmigrante hace el trabajo que no quieren los españoles. Eso, eso está claro. El español quiere el trabajo más cómodo, más dinero y estable. Entonces, por el flujo económico, antes del año 2000 los extranjeros no tenían ningún derecho. Los inmigrantes sin papeles antes el año 2000 no tenían derecho.

[A] Y qué pasó en 2000? Una ley?

[B] Una ley, Aznar promovió una ley donde se le reconocían todos los derechos a los inmigrantes sin papeles. Despido, treinta días de vacaciones, pagas extras, prácticamente todos los derechos. Incluso antes, hubo una época en que también tenían derecho al

desempleo, pero salió unas sentencias entre un () supremo diciendo que no tenían derecho a desempleo. Entonces, cuando los inmigrantes sin papeles reclaman y vamos al juicio, pues tienen derecho normalmente a los papeles. O sea la normativa en ese sentido protege mucho a los inmigrantes sin papeles, pero el problema es el miedo, desconocimiento, pero no desconocimiento únicamente por la gente que viene sin papeles, pero de la propia sociedad española. O sea, la gente asimila, sobre todo la gente más mayor setenta y pico, ochenta, ochenta y pico asimila que los trabajos sin papeles no tienen ningún derecho. No tienen ningún derecho. Y cómo se les tratan diferente, a veces esto hace que la gente sin papeles no busca ningún tipo de ayuda. Entonces, qué pasa? Que incluso a chicas que... Por sobretodo, el colectivo que viene últimamente son de chicas de jóvenes en su país que es un país volcánico, como Honduras, una violencia tremenda, Paraguay, menos violencia pero mucha inseguridad también. Entonces vienen casi siempre el 90%, trabajar de domestica.

[PAUSE]

[B] Que es la salida más normal que tienen, porque la sociedad española ha avanzado mucho tecnológicamente, pero ha retrocedido mucho humanamente.

[A] Y en plan de femenino, bueno las mujeres trabajan más en areas domesticas y los hombres también o...?

[B] Los hombre algunos, pero no normalmente. Los hombres trabajan en domestico, pero cuando hay ciertas necesidades de carácter físico, hay que levantar al señor, hay que levantar la señora, entonces o hay que sacar de paseo a un señor de ochenta años que ya no tiene mucha movilidad, entonces intervienen los hombres, pero normalmente el colectivo de inmigrantes las chicas casi siempre están en internas. Y los chicos trabajan en construcción en pintura, en lo que sale. En lo que sale.

[A] Cómo se entera la gente de esta organización? Yo les encontré por Facebook.

[B] Sí en Facebook. Enviamos mensajes. Sí, sí, sí... O que uno se recomienda a otro. Es que hay mucho miedo, mucho miedo...

- [A] Vale.
- [B] Creen que les van a deportar. Si, si, si... El miedo viene por desconocimiento. Por qué, ordenes de expulsión hay cientos de miles, doscientas mil, nadie sabe cuantas ordenes de expulsión, pero se ejecutan poquitas. Pocas, por qué? Oye, la gente viene aquí para ganarse la vida, no a robar ni... Y habría que estarnos agradecidos porque realmente hace una función o sea yo lo que les digo a las chicas cuando vienen , les explico que legalmente, o sea, la ley dice que al cabo de tres años con un contrato puedes conseguir los papeles. Entonces, la primera experiencia que viven cuando llegan, a veces llegan por Roma y algunas por París, hacen verdaderos episodios a veces parecen películas, esto es seguro! Sí, sí, sí... Porque me explican las chicas que algunas pues desde Honduras se va a México, o Panama, de ahí se va a París, y de París intentan entrar. Sí, sí, sí... Y yo tengo varias clientas que las detuvieron en París. Y las quisieran, oye las tenían quince días en el en aeropuerto y les insistían para que no, que se vuelvan a su país. Y ellas diciendo, pensando, "yo quiero llegar a España". Así que tenían que contratar a un abogado allá, un francés, y entonces pudieron entrar a España.
- [A] Wow... Y la gente, hablas de Honduras, de Paraguay, pero vienen más de nada de países suramericanos?
- [B] Sí, y Pakistani, y de la India.
- [A] Pero gente de China—?
- [B] China tiene otro circuito.
- [A] Sí? Es que yo en este barrio veo a bastantes Chinos? No sé si está reconocido así...
- [B] No, no aquí hay dominicanos, bolivianos, colombianos, ecuatorianos, pero para el colectivo china, tienes que ir a Santa Coloma.
- [A] Qué hay allí?

[B] Allí hay un barrio que es prácticamente todo chinos. El barrio del Fondo, donde hay la Plaza del Reloj.

[A] Sí, estuve allí el lunes.

[B] Pues allí, hay muchísimos y muchísimos chinos. Lo que pasa es que con los chinos es un colectivo muy cerrado. Ya muy cerrado vienen dirigidos, y desde allá yo creo que hay bastantes corrupción y bastante explotación, pero es un colectivo que yo no he tenido ningún cliente chino. Demandas contra chinos he tenido dos o tres demandas contra chinos. Que era gente sin papeles.

[A] Puede ser por palabra, boca a boca o que la gente más de America del Sur habla entre ellos...

[B] Al nivel de los latinos, para abrir... Sí, sí, la política siempre es la misma. A un chico sea boliviano o una chica hondureña, paraguaya viene aquí y yo les informo de sus derechos. Gratis, todas las informaciones para la gente sin papeles es gratis. La otra cobra como diez euros, imagina, para un cuarto de hora o veinte minutos— Diez euros no te sale a cuenta, pero puede informar a la gente. Entonces vienen aquí y les informo de sus derechos. Todos tienen derecho a treinta días de vacaciones, tienes derecho incluso en las... Ahora he hecho [unos folletos] para que la gente se va de (concienciar). Sí...

[PAUSE— *Shows me the pamphlets and cards with the basic rights of undocumented persons in Spain*]

[B] Todos tienen derechos a esto. Pero tienen mucho miedo, mucho miedo. Entonces que pasa? Viene una amiga, una chica le consiguió los papeles y es como, "ay! " y trae otra amiga. *Laughs* Pero es así, hasta que uno no consigue a los papeles no trae otra amiga.

[A] Sí, es verdad. Y entre el tiempo que vienen aquí hasta que tengan los papeles... Cuánto tiempo? Ya sé que cada caso es diferente...

[B] Claro, cada caso es diferente, pero puede tardar seis, siete, ocho meses.

[PAUSE]

[A] Y cuantos sois aquí en la oficina? Cuántos abogados?

[B] Hay otra abogada que se trata más en temas más bien de extranjería, estoy yo, hay un par de secretarias, pero ya... Tres o cuatro. Yo pondría que como tres o cuatro.

[A] Y todos trabajáis en temas diferentes? Pues Ud. hace lo de laboral , alguien más hace—

[B] Sí, realmente somos dos abogados. Y un par o tres de colaboradores. Y fundamentalmente, es laboral, laboral, laboral. Y luego derivan a extranjería. O sea yo hago el laboral que luego se deriva a lo del extranjería. Porque hay varias maneras conseguir unos los papeles, si hablando sobre los papeles, por "arraigo social" que te exige tres años en España y un contrato y por "arraigo laboral" que te exige dos años en España y una sentencia judicial o un informe de la expedición diciendo que ibas trabajando para una empresa más seis meses.

[A] Más de seis meses... Okay.

[B] Estos son los dos caminos habitualmente que se llega para acceder a pedir permiso de residencia y de trabajo.

[A] Y cuánta gente pasa por aquí en un mes? Por esta oficina?

[B] Depende. 15, 20...30, 40. La gente se informa mucho. O sea podían llamar de Bilbao, ahora tengo que llamar a una chica de Bilbao que le han despedido. Y mi secretaria filtra mucho, porque si no, a veces he tenido cinco visitas en una tarde, veinte minutos convenciendo tal tal. Y filtra mucho a veces, y bueno llaman de Madrid de Badajoz, porque enviamos por Facebook mensajes, "Oyes, tienes papeles? Conoces tus derechos? Tal, tal, tal..." No cobramos nada si no se consigue nada. Si consigues resultados...Si tengo que ir al juicio, yo no me pido ningún (). Luego si ellos resulta que ellos han conseguido los papeles si que cobramos algo, pero depende del caso, depende del circunstancia de cada caso. Pero no.. La ventaja es que ellos no no no depositan nada. No pagan nada.

- [A] Aquí en Cataluña hay unas leyes o unas normas diferentes que por ejemplo en otras partes de España que en Cataluña hay unos, en País Vasco hay otros, Madrid...
- [B] No, no. Esto, la ley es federal. La Ley de Extranjería es federal. Pero luego hay matices por ejemplo, ahora en Cataluña piden 45 horas de Catalan. Se dice que la van a subir a 90, pero 45. Entonces hay una entidad que es el consorcio de normalización lingüística que dan clases de catalan. Aquí había una asociación pero luego le ofrecieron un local gratis del Ayuntamiento y se han marchado, y la dan aquí antes las clases de catalan. Hay que acreditar 45 horas de reconocimiento catalan. Claro, esto no pasa en Albacete.
Laughs En Euskadi, no se como es... Yo entiendo que también hay que forzarlo un poquito la gente para que conozcan la lengua del país.
- [A] Y por ejemplo, esa gente que viene de Pakistan, exigen algo de español también? O sólo de catalan? Como, igual vienen ni saber ni uno o la otra.
- [B] La gente de Pakistan, o sea que tienen el catalan en el arraigo social. Arraigo social, pero en arraigo laboral no te piden el idioma. Entonces que pasa, yo cuando voy a los juicios y a lo mejor les están hablando con alguien que no sabe casi nada de español, porque ha empezado de trabajar en una tienda Pakistani, 14 horas diarias siete días de la semana, por 300 euros al mes, que tienen estos casos de chicos que van trabajando en un restaurante por la comida y la habitación y 100 euros al mes. El tema de los Pakistanis, Nepali, y el otro día fui a un juicio de un chico nepali, y entonces están muy explotados. Es la base más explotado que hay. Por sus propios paisanos.
- [A] Y en estas empresas que explotan a esa gente, pasa algo si la denuncia llega al juicio?
- [B] No, se le condena, se levanta de inspección. Le ponen una multa de más de 10.000 euros. Nunca la pagan. Nunca la pagan. Pues traspasan del negocio. Traspasan el negocio. Yo he tenido contra jefes Pakistanis, unos 50, más de 50 juicios. Entonces siempre cierran el negocio, lo traspasa lo pondrá en nombre de su mujer, bueno se aprovecha mucho mucho de las leyes españolas.
- [PAUSE]

[B] Pues si al final haces un artículo con el estudio, pon que es una labor sobretodo muy sacrificada. Que es la base base, que es casi un submundo. Es que es un submundo lo que hay allí. Entonces sabes lo que pasa con la tarjeta de esto de trabajo pasan al primer nivel. Ya aparecen, porque si no antes aparecía... Como socio-fantasmas. Y en la época de los brasileños () pues a mí me decían, "abogado trabajamos en casa, porque no te puede salir a la calle" por mucho que quieren. Hace un labor tremenda, las chicas internas o si puedes... No se valora realmente el trabajo que hacen. Con pacientes de ochenta y pico noventa años, a lo mejor tienen Alzheimer, que los hijos no los quieren cuidar porque nos hemos deshumanizado mucho. Hace un labor tremenda. A mí, de verdad, sinceramente, cuando otros dicen "es que han venido aquí los extranjeros sin derechos..." Me sale rabia...

[A] Ya, ni quieren saberlo, no?

[B] Porque realmente...

[A] Sí, y una pregunta más sobre esto, la gente que viene, entre que edades son?

[B] Normalmente, viene gente de 22, bueno en cuanto pueden. A partir de 20 hasta los 27, 28, es la más normal que viene.

[A] Y ahora más mujeres o más hombres?

[B] Ahora vienen más mujeres. Antes venían más hombres.

[A] Por qué?

[B] Por temas de construcción. Antes se estimuló, o sea cuando por las medidas políticas económicas que hicieron y tal, antes había una lista de profesiones que se podían traer ya directamente con contrato en origen. Había cerca de 200 profesiones, camarera, peluquera entonces se pedían un contrato, bueno se contrataba en origen. O sea, una chica dominicana que estaba trabajando en una pequeña peluquería decía "oiga, la jefa mira que tengo una prima mía que se interesa en trabajar, es peluquera de maravilla," y

así bueno pues la contratamos. Se enviaba allí y hicieron el contrato de origen. Ahora ya no.

[A] Y cuándo cambió todo esto?

[B] A partir de la crisis. 2007-2008, antes se podían traer a 200 profesiones diferentes. Luego bajó a 150, 100, y ahora se puede traer 4, por decir algo **Laughs** Por decir algo.

[A] Y estos trabajos de que son?

[B] No no, hay como frigorista de barco...

[A] Ah así súper especifica..

[B] **Laughing** Una cosa muy rara. Si si si está todo muy calculado. Y depende de las provincias, en un sitio te piden una cosa y en otro pides tal... Pero se han cerrado las posibilidades de que vengan con contrato de origen.

[A] No ves si esto está abriendo las puertas más ahora, que sale España un poquito de la crisis?

[B] La gente viene. La gente se espabila. Eso es como dices poner las puertas a lado del campo, no se puede poner. La gente viene y super orgulloso, huyendo de la inestabilidad en su país, de la violencia del país. He abierto un juicio con un chico hondureño. Qué pasa? No tiene papeles, su mujer no tiene papeles. Me encargo yo. Cuando me viene, lo procuro ir al juicio para una persona sin papeles demostrar la relación laboral es difícil, por qué? Porque no tiene contrato, no tiene nomina, entonces yo les puedo recomiendo es que consigan pruebas, fotografías con los yayos y con las yayas, videos con yayos y yayas, todo que nos permite defenderles en el juicio. Esa relación laboral, porque si no, entonces la gente poco a poco se va educando y también por ejemplo a muchas domesticas no les pagan lo subvenciones. Tuve un juicio en Huesca que ya me acuerdo que una chica que cuidaba a una yaya de noventa y siete años, por () del sobrino. Y entonces, pues le digo que vengan con lo que... que vengan con pruebas. Y el sobrino por una vez decía a la domestica, a mi clienta, decía, " a ver, Pepita, yo trabajo en

un sitio y tengo un horario de nueve a uno y de cuatro a ocho, pero tu no tienes un horario con la yaya. Tu no tienes un horario. Tú tienes que estar disponible los 24 horas al día 365 días al año!" Eso es imposible. Eso es imposible. Por qué? Porque a esa chica le dan un día de descanso cada 15 días. Cómo mentalmente va a acabar?

[B] A aguantar eso? Entonces lo que teníamos que hacer era decir, yo si tengo derechos. Soy trabajadora, tengo derechos. Tú, no tienes papeles, pero eso no ehh..eso no es. Esto es desconocer la ley, o si conoces la ley, pues mala fé. Diga lo que diga. Y muchísimas domésticas no les dan vacaciones, y si les dan vacaciones, lo tiene que cubrir una amiga de su trabajo. **Laughs** Es un mundo que a mi me apasiona, porque me da mucha satisfacción personal que la gente consigan los papeles. Porque cuando consiguen los papeles ya no aguantan de internas. Claro. Sola con una persona mayor de ochenta y pico años que significa, que están las 24 horas pendiente por la noche despierta la yaya, y es muy duro. Es muy duro. Nadie que tiene papeles trabaja de interna. Eso es una especie de condena. Como tres años aguantando, aguantando, aguantando y cuando tienen papeles, es como boom boom! Se marchan. Una señora, me acuerdo de una demanda que tuvimos, fuimos al juicio a una cliente— a una chica no le quería hacer los papeles. Pero que claro, estaba de interna y le pagaba menos del salario mínimo, 600 euros. "Oye abogado, ves que he tenido dos chicas que han conseguido los papeles y marcharon." Y yo le dije, pues pagarlas un poco más! **Laughs** Paga un poco más! Cuídela. A ver son gente, gente, la mayor parte, también hay chicas que, bueno fin. Pero para mí, la mayoría son gente encantadora, o 99% les dan cariño a la yaya o yayo le dan calor humano, le dan atención . Les cuidan muchísimo. De verdad. Es algo, como aquí hace setenta o sesenta años. Humanizado. Y no se valora. A veces decimos, bahh... La sociedad estamos yendo tan rápidos, pero para mí están haciendo un grandísimo labor.

[A] Por decir un número, cuánta porcentaje de gente inmigrante crees que aquí hay en Barcelona viviendo sin papeles?

[B] Eso es imposible. No lo sé en Barcelona, ni idea. Es muy difícil tener estadísticas de esto. Solamente tiene algo parecido el Ayuntamiento. La Ley de Protección de Datos no permite meterse en esto. Solo los sabe el Ayuntamiento. Todo el mundo se empadrona en

Barcelona, se aporta como identificación pasaportes, es que no tienen papeles. Pero solo, lo tiene el ayuntamiento.

[PAUSE—*Hablamos un segundo sobre como se llama la Ley de 2000*]

[B] Me gustaría tener una copia de tu trabajo cuando te lo acabes!

[A] Sí, claro, sin problema.

[A] Tardaré un poquito, porque he acabado con los entrevistas de los ONGs, pero me faltan todas la entrevistas con gente extranjera. Ojalá...

END OF INTERVIEW.

Interviewees: Sahir & Saad

Ages: Sahir, 39 & Saad, 40

Country of Origin: Pakistan

Have been living in Barcelona for: Sahir, 7 years & Saad, 8 years

Interviewer: Kate Mattingly

Date of Interview: October 20, 2016

Time: 16:00 (CEST)

[A] Interviewer

[B] Saad

[C] Sahir

[A] Yea so I was saying that I was doing my Master's in Global Studies. It's quite general, so its umm a little bit of politics and culture and its the movement of people and things and ideas, and so I am doing the movement of people. And so, umm, yea I lived in Spain for 2 years a few years ago, so I decided to come back because it is really nice to live here. **Laughs**

[B] Where are you from exactly?

[A] I'm from the US. In Nashville. Its in the south, in Tennessee.

[B] So that's near... I'm envious because we were writing and talking in Spanish and I never knew your accent.

[A] I don't have so much of an accent. I have a very neutral accent.

[B] Yea, we are always trying to speak proper English, but with our accent, it is an Asian accent. **Laughs**

- [B] So, you're name is Kate. Nice to meet you. So we are ready for you!
- [A] If you don't mind, how old are you?
- [B] I am 40 and he is 39.
- [A] And you said that you've been in Spain for 7 years, but in Barcelona also for years?
- [B] 7, yes.
- [A] And um... You said that before you were working in Dubai, but like why leave your job in Dubai to come to Spain. [Directed at Sahir]
- [B] His job is finished in Dubai.
- [A] Ok, the job in Dubai was finished?
- [C] Yes.
- [A] And then you came to Spain.. Why Spain?
- [C] I like Spain!
- [A] What did you know about Spain before coming? Did you have any thoughts? [Translated to friend in Pakistani language]
- [B] He said that he gets information from his friends, and that he has one friend living here in Spain so he told him 'OK, there in Dubai job and salary have like..yes, okay. You work hard and you speak Arabic..."
- [A] Ah you speak fluent Arabic?

- [B] And then uhh, his friend told him everything. You have humanity, security, lives are different and not like Arab countries and we have different laws. So he says, OK. I will come to Spain to stay and then I will make the decision on what company in Spain.
- [A] And so you have some friends in Spain before?
- [C] Yea.
- [A] And what do they do in Spain as well? [Directed at Sahir]
- [B] They have one friend working in one factory, a chicken factory. And another friend works in a restaurant.
- [A] So you came here because friends told you that it was a nice place to work and live?
- [B] And he didn't have any problem arriving because his friends came to the airport to see him.
- [A] And have your friends come after you came here?
- [B] [Translated] *Head shake no*
- [A] So none of your friends back in Pakistan have followed you here?
- [B] Because 3 years here and then he says, "Stop." Here we have a different story about this. Yes he came before.
- [A] And how long have you been here? [To Saad]
- [B] I'm living here about 8 years.
- [A] 8 years. So you came here a year before Sahir more or less. And when you arrived, what was your first impression of the people in Spain?

- [B] For me when I came here alone, I landed in Madrid and took a bus to Barcelona and I lived with my one friend, and I thought the people... Not many people speak English. It was a problem, the language for me. But, generally they are good people, educated, good behavior, helpful people and....
- [A] But you said their English is not good here in Spain?
- [B] Well, young people speak English very well now. But before, yea 8 years ago, of course it was different. But now I get information here and in school, colleges have courses one hour, two hour lessons for English. But before, there weren't these lessons.
- [C] While you are talking can I take this one picture?
- [A] Yes. Yea, sure.
- [B] Before I got doing this work now, there was this one association, a big association, there I was teaching English and two year experience there.
- [A] So, you are teaching English now?
- [B] *Nods head*
- [A] Ah, where do you teach?
- [B] Before I taught in Calle Sant Pau, they have one association there.
- [A] Its an Academy?
- [B] No, its a private association. I teach English and also the job there... There was two jobs there, and unfortunately I left and came back, but I still had some contacts so I stopped [classes] now. No I am privately, I get some students [for English] and also I am teaching driving lessons to..*Laughs* its a little bit tough, but its okay *Laughs*.
- [A] In Barcelona teaching driving...

[B] Before six months, I got my license, I am very happy. And thank God I have my documents and everything is okay now. Because here people want and I get a lot of students from Middle East, oh sorry, from Libya, from Morocco, Algeria and Spain, and yea because this association is for immigrant people.

[A] What's the name of the organization?

[B] Its "IBN Battuta."

[A] Can you write that down for me?

[PAUSE]

[B] And I get a lot of experience there because we have a lot of friends there, Arab people and Spanish people working together. Some people from Holland.

[A] And your experience with the people in Barcelona, the people in Spain? [Directed at Sahir]

[B] Its okay. Good people. Nice.

[A] And at work as well? The employers?

[B] Yea yea, they're okay. Actually we have different stories. I don't know if you know somebody that comes from Asia or from Pakistan or from India to Spain, and we are illegal and we have no documents. And then we complete 3 years in Europe, then legally we get permission to stay.

[A] After 3 years right?

[B] Yes, after three years.

[A] So you both came through the same.. coming here without papers and after three years...

[B] And then after three years, and sometimes 4 years, 5 years it gets done with.

[A] Ah, right it takes even longer.

[B] Its a very different story. **Shy laugh**

[A] And in these 3 years can you go back to Pakistan?

[B] No, you have to stay inside for three years and then you are regularized and then you have the permission. If you go one or more months, then you are done and you cannot come. You're here, you have life. If you're not content here, you go back, then you cannot come back here.

[A] Right... And were you working in these first 3 years that you arrived?

[B] [Translated] We legally have no permission, so regularly we cannot get jobs. Sometimes yes of course, but not regular and not with the Spanish people. Because to work with the Spanish people we need documents, and we have no documents so sometimes like other people, we are working in restaurants getting a small salary and the system works like this.

[A] And to go through the "arraigo social," did you do this?

[B] Yes.

[A] And how was that process? Was it easy, difficult?

[B] Very difficult.

[A] Why?

- [B] The main problem is contract. Contract. Yes that is the problem.
- [A] So the main problem is getting a working contract?
- [B,C] YES. [Together]. This is the most difficult part.
- [B] For me its the same story.
- [C] Because here we have to pay.
- [B] Arraigo is a problem, but too much problem is the contract.
- [A] Why, because the company does not want to give you a contract? Or...because there is just no work?
- [B] Actually here, they have a process, if you are Spanish my boss, you need one person to employ. You give me a one year contract. So you sign and I sign, then I have to take this contract to the Ministry and then I get my permission to live here, my card. On the other hand, the people... Well, this is one process. Legally. If you have good luck, and you have a good relation with the Spanish people, this is free.
- [A] So you are saying, basically to do it the legal way, you have to have luck?
- [B] **Both laugh** Yes, its about the luck.
- [B] And the other hand, the people have to take, for example me, I paid 8,000EUR for my contract.
- [A] How much?
- [B] 8,000EUR. And now its 10,000EUR. Now, in this moment.
- [A] So 8,000EUR was in 2010...

[B] Now its 10,000 and this is the part that the Spanish people do not know about. They do not know about this. Because this is not legally, this is totally wrong, but I am partially.... For example, I do not speak Spanish, I have no contact with any Spanish person, how do I get... So then we have to talk with some person. This person is the middle-man. The middle-man take all the money and get the contract. And of course, we want our documents, we want to go back to see our families. This is not the Spanish system. I tell you because it is important, but the Spanish people do not know about this. This is only immigrant people, that we have a system like this. We have no other solution.

[A] I understand.

[B] We have no other solution then how to one person has to pay, and they have a job crisis here, how do we compete with that? But, unfortunately we have to pay.

[A] And the type of contracts that they are selling for what kinds of jobs are they?

[B] As a waiter, as a cleaner, supermarket, salesman, but majority are waiters and cleaners.

[A] And so apart from the contract, what else do they require in the arraigo social?

[B] They want that you have the three years complete here.

[A] So you need empadronamiento?

[B] Yes, empadronamiento for three years.

[A] And is that difficult to get?

[B] No, it is very easy. It's okay. First we have to send in our police certificate from our country and this can take three months, and then we have to get the contract. Then we need to show our school certificate, Spanish language, Catalan language.

[A] So in Barcelona you have to take Catalan?

[B] Yes, you have to take Catalan.

[A] So you both completed the course? And how is your Catalan? **All laughing**

[B] Its a beautiful language, but "mica a mica" [little by little, in Catalan].

[A] Do you find yourself speaking much more Spanish than Catalan?

[B] Yes.

[A] And in the job, as well?

[B] Spanish... Well, actually my job is in English. That's the reason my Spanish is so bad actually.

[A] So you prefer English to Spanish?

[B] Yea, Spanish is easy for us.

[A] And in your factory, where you work, they are speaking in Spanish? [Directed at Sahir]

[B] Well, where he works corporate is speaking in English but many of the workers are from Pakistan, and so...

[A] The majority of your co-workers are Spanish or they are also from other places?

[B] Its a mix.

[A] Do you know from where?

[B] Many from Morocco, Pakistan, from Spain, China...

[A] So you need the schooling...

- [B] After the language classes, you get one permission letter from the Ministry, they call it here the "informe of..."
- [B] A permission letter from the Ayuntamiento, then we pay the fee and get the appointment, submit our case and then they look for sometimes four weeks to 3 months, two months, like this and then they make a final assessment, final interview on the computer and then they decide. And then we are in life, we pass. **Laughing**
- [A] So it took you about 4-5 years to get everything from arriving to getting residency?
- [B] It depends on the contract. If you have a contract you can do everything in the first month! If your contract has a mishap or something then this is a three month wait, you know? Then again three months you have to reapply. If your contract is clean, great, if not you have to reapply for some more times until it is okay.
- [A] So, by far, the biggest problem is the contract?
- [B,C] YES. [Both at the same time.]
- [A] And as far as, do you have a group of or a community within the Spanish people? Do you interact a lot with Spanish people or is it more different people...?
- [B] They have a lot of associations working for this. Pakistani associations. But, unfortunately our story is totally different. We are far from Spanish people, we don't know culture we don't know Spanish, or the family system. Then what happened, we came here before a year ago, and we came with our friend in his house and we met the Pakistani community. We are not right in the Spanish people. And, I am spending my time with my friends in the "Rambla de Raval" [a well-known immigrant neighborhood in Barcelona]. There are all the immigrants and not just from Pakistan. We just went to school for one and a half hour a week for the Catalan and Spanish classes, and then we leave class and come back and speak our language so this is the big problem. That we do not really listen to the Spanish people. We live in Spain, but we do not know about Spain.

- [A] And how does that make you feel? I mean, is that okay? Like, do you mind?
- [B] For us, for me, its one thing that.. hmmm, how do i explain it to you? Its a very tough experience in my life. So, I am 40 years and you are living in one country and you do not know this country, and about culture and you know. Only living inside your own community. You must be able to go outside. Then I realize after two years, oh my God, no I have to go. Then I saw more of Barcelona, and I made a Spanish friend and he has his Spanish wife and she is like my sister, and she loves me too like a brother. And we are like a home. This is the family system here in Spain. They are good people inside. I needed to go outside also, into the village areas and its a totally different people too. Very kind.
- [A] So you are saying the people in Barcelona are different than the people living outside of the city?
- [B] Absolutely.
- [A] And your friends live in Barcelona or outside?
- [B] My friends are living outside of Barcelona. In Sant Celoni. Its one village close to Montserrat mountain. A beautiful mountain.
- [A] Ohh I was just at Montserrat on Sunday!
- [B] Wow, its very beautiful. I love to travel around. Last week I was in Alicante, Murcia. We have one friend group and after one or two months we make a plan and then I get my drivers license and I am free. **Big smile**
- [A] [Directed at Sahir] Do you have a group of people in Barcelona that you hang out with? Maybe outside of the Pakistani community?
- [B] Yes. One is very good friend. Actually Sahir and me, we had a lot of problems in the Pakistani community. Because we have documents and we have jobs and we... well before the people who came here uhh, people who were 40 years, 30 years 20 years

ago here, they have a totally different story. No young people come, like me and like him. We pass our time watching Barça and we use internet, we have totally different mentalities. We came here and we go find a job and talk to the people and this is unbelievable experience. How do I explain you? It was very painful, it's a painful experience to have no documents and living without "permission" and you need to survive, and other people will not give you a chance to get a job, and if the Spanish want to give you a job they need your documents. And then you go to the other places, but they okay you come here, you work here, but they only have the job for one month and we work 15 hours a day. It's very tough, but thank God we are here. I have my documents, I survived and I am very happy. For me Spain is the best. I love it. Twelve country I visited, Spain is... wow I love Spain!

[A] And you said the same before right? You love Spain?

[B,C] Yeahh!! *Everyone laughing*

[B] Because it depends on you. What do you want? If you want something bad, you will get it in your head. But, this country has a lot of opportunity and in the business field, you have opportunity. But you have to contact, you have to know, you have to learn Spanish and you make contacts and then you know the system and you have a lot of opportunities for business. In Spain, we have crisis, but on the other hand they have opportunity. It's the reality.

[A] Yes, I agree completely. And when you got your first contract, it was not in what you are working in now?

[B] No, for example my first contract was working as a cleaner. In one house, and he, he got his first contract working in a bar. And a store. And I bought contract before as a cleaner, and I did this contract for one year. I signed and did this, and then I worked in a restaurant and then I got the work at the school. Now I work for myself. Privately you teach English--this is the other hand. I am lucky. I get some student and I survived and I am finally... This story is different because we are working and then.... Then I found Rafael [Lawyer at Asociación Ayudantes]

- [A] Then you found Rafael?
- [B] Yes, Rafael made a talk with his boss and finally thank God he also gets the papers, two months after talking
- [A] Okay, and when did you change from the bar to the job now? How long have you been at your current job?
- [B] 2 years ago.
- [A] So in 2014 you started working for your current company?
- [B] Yes, yes.
- [A] And as far as maybe prejudice or any sort of racism that you see, or that you've experienced or that friends have experienced...?
- [B] In my eyes, I will tell my side, I see a lot of racism. From Asian people.
- [A] Say again? From Asian people?
- [B] Yes, mainly those people. This is something I saw with my eyes.
- [A] Not so much on the part of the Spanish people, but..?
- [B] I never have had any incident here from Spanish people, never! I don't know, my job is like this, our relation with people, I don't know, I never feel any, not even one single day. But other hand, from immigrants to immigrants we are always in conflict. I have no words to explain. We are living in the center of the city, it's a good... I love culture and food. I mean, it's amazing. Other hand, there are a lot of problems. A bunch of communities are living very close together, for example I am Pakistan and I have lived here for 8 years, and I live next to my neighbor who is from India, and you know Pakistan and India, and the other people are from Morocco, Ecuador... Immigrants to immigrants is a little bit tough. Its always like the same stories, like you know they

wanna apply here, but here the laws are a little strict, so they are applying to like (), I feel it. They don't accept you know doing the job also, here you see them doing some good behavior, but you have seen it in your own country. I feel it because I, I don't work here [in these areas]. So, that's the reason I say I succeed and I go outside. One job and then I go outside. Because mentally I am not such a... I wanna like uhhh, be the principal. I do my job for 8 hours and I just do it. But here it is different, here people you know need, and I am talking about immigrants, not about people from here. I experience a Spanish person one month ago, they are good. Respectful. And after 8 hours they "Goodbye! Go..." And, they pay me well and on time. And before I work only one job in Pakistan, they did not pay me and they are gonna have more hours of work and so...

[A] Why do you think that is? Why do you think there is such a difference?

[B] I think because now the young people are coming, wives and family from Pakistan. They are educated. They are different minded, mentality. And I'm just like the ones that came before. But their mind is only on one thing, the job. They have no social activities, they have no... even they do not go outside of Barcelona. I talk with a lot of people, "Ohh, you visited Madrid? Ohh, you visited Alicante? Ohh, you visited..." And they say to me, "no, no we are only working here to get a ticket back to Islamabad," and that's it. I think, oh my God, I can't believe that. You have to live your life man. It's not good unless you have the social activity, unless you go outside and you make a free day or a Sunday or you make a holiday. But the people here, some of them are just working, oh my God. It's very tough and the living standards, zero.

[A] The standard of living you think is very low?

[B] Before, one of my friends from Holland, Koko, she's a Holland national, and she came three years before to visit here and she took an interview from me and visited the immigrant people and she says everything is okay, but the living standards is not good. But, this is all we have. Because monthly income.. maybe someone has only 300EUR. What do you do? So they make, the people who have no documents, they make maybe 300-400EUR. And maybe it's like 8 or 9 people living in one house. They use one toilet, they also may have some sick brothers or illness. And things like this. When 8 persons use one toilet, can you imagine what happens. But the people, then they are living

together they need little money. Food money, for living they pay 100EUR each month, for food 50EUR, the eight people all together. But, this is good that they save the money, but on the other hand they have no life. 3 persons in one room, 3 persons in one room and 4 persons in the TV room, so living standard, I'm sorry not good.

[A] And your experience with like prejudice and racism is the same? That he said, it is more immigrant to immigrant?

[B] Generally, in general, I don't really see so much here. I hear stories from Paris in France, unfortunately that they have it happening there, and in Europe have got to change... Of course we are living in the European Union, Spain is part of Europe and uhh... generally you also feel a lot of pain for. I feel a lot of pain when I get some stories like that. Like Muslim are, especially in the Muslim but very very pain. I really don't like these stories. But here, Things gotta, I did not feel or I did not find like this and we are happy here.

[A] And umm, as far as the Catalan government, the Generalitat is trying integrate immigrants into the Spanish way of life, the Catalan way of life... Do you think that they are doing a good job or do you think that it is unnecessary?

[B] I think really its been...no. We are just not interested in politics, I'm sorry. I really hate this. Because I did not find any personally, good things I mean they are good politicians before its okay... They have some good politics... Not in my area in Asia. I'm talking now about myself in my country, we have very bad experiences with politics, and I hate it. I am totally... I know here it is a democratic system, its a good way of life, but we have no good experience. And if anybody ask me here about politics, I say, I hate it! **Laughs** Because we have had very bad experiences with democracy and politics, but I love the social work and I respect the culture and I respect this community. All the countries..

[A] So you have more respect for non-profit organizations than for what the government is trying to do now?

[B] Yea, in my eyes this is the better way. Working with and for the people. First of all, everyone wants to solve the problems of the other people. For the immigrants you hear a lot of NGOs, and a lot of Spanish people are working for this kind of stuff. They really

want to resolve the problems. But, same way the first problem is the language, the second is the contact with the Spanish people. Personally, we have no, we are afraid of...I will tell yo my story. I am two years, two years afraid like this, not going to the outside because people say that if you outside, the police will catch you and send you back like this. And you will not have any contact with no one.And two years, I was scared all the time.

[PAUSE]

[A] And umm, if you had to pick two or three words to describe how you identify yourself, how would you identify yourself?

[B] For me I am a man coming here. I am from Pakistan, I feel like this. I living here nearly 8 years like this. Sorry, sorry I was thinking in first, how other people call me. **Laughs**

[A] Oh sorry, no no how you feel about yourself..

[B] Yes, I understand. My English is not... sometimes I mix.

[A] No, no that's totally okay! Sometimes my Spanish and my English can get mixed up and the sentences come out funny. But you still strongly identify with the Pakistani culture?

[B] Yes, yes sure.

[A] And are either of you married or have children?

[B] He is married.

[A] To a Pakistani woman?

[B] Yes, to a Pakistani woman.

[A] Did you come over together?

- [B] No. His wife... well that is another story. [Look changes to more somber]
- [A] If you prefer not to talk about it, we can talk about something else.
- [B] No, no its okay! She is not in Barcelona.
- [A] And are you married as well?
- [B] Yes, yes. She is also in Pakistan. I am trying again here, but I did not find it.. **Laughs** I am searching like Google but cannot find anything. But here it is like a necessity marriage, its not... I am being serious here. One person 70 years old living in this country, and sometimes I am thinking if you are not married what do you do? Like in our cultural system you do not just have girlfriends, we just go and live with someone, but here now we are in Europe and its like we were married, a girlfriend is now like a different thing in our culture. Saying like this is my girlfriend, no. It would be like saying that she is my kids mom. **Laughs**
- [A] Okay... do yo notice a difference in culture between Pakistanis living outside of Pakistan and those who live in the country?
- [B] Totally different.
- [A] As in the mindset of someone that has left?
- [B] Because now the children who are born here, they study here in Spanish schools. They are Spanish, not Pakistanis. And this is reality. For example, my kids if I get married here and I get two or three kids and they are 20 years living here, and I impose my Pakistani culture.. no, this is totally wrong. They are not Pakistani. I know that a lot of people will disagree with me. I think many would disagree with my views, yes. I would feel that they are Spanish, their culture is Spanish culture okay, they are Muslim, they would do like Ramadan and other Muslim activities, but this is the other hand. But in general, they are Spanish and they are totally different.

[A] And amongst first generation immigrants, among not children born here, but people that have left Pakistan and come here versus people that are still in Pakistan?

[B] People are more open here in the Pakistani community. The ones who spend a long time living here and the ones who are studying here, yes they are open minded. Of course, it's in general yes. But sometimes you will find someone and be like, "Hey! You are Pakistani?" And they will be like, "No, I'm British!" **Laughs** Like, no I am British Muslim. And this is the reality. And if you force someone and you are like "You are Pakistani." They will be like excuse me, please... This is the reality. They live here, they study here, they have a different type of culture here, they... Perhaps they are born in a Muslim house, and they married a Muslim, but the reality is that they are different.

[A] Do you think that after living here 20 or 30 years, you would ever say, "Hey, I'm Spanish"?

[B] No. Look, I went back to Pakistan like a year and a half ago. I feel like I was foreigner there in Pakistan. **Laughs** This is true!

[A] You felt like...

[B] I felt like a foreigner, I felt like an immigrant. After seven years I go back to Pakistan, and I feel like Oh my God, I am an immigrant here. I said that to me. I left them a long time ago but the country is totally the same. Your house, even your wife **Laughs** Your kids, your mom, your dad, grandmother. All of their mentality is the same. Here we are immigrants. This is another story. Then we go back to Pakistan, we are immigrants there. We have no life. **Laughs** After ten years, you think wait am I Spanish? And then, no... I read one article from England, one professor there, it was about immigrants and places. I feel like the way he is writing is amazing! This is 100% suited myself. Immigrants have no place.

[CUT]

[B] I have my kids and my wife, because well for some years and then I went back to Pakistan and saw my kid. And it was very painful for me, but I did not feel like a father or

something. If I am not living there, I only give them my name. Only my name, I do not take my children to school, I do not... My God, this is very painful. As a father, and to never take your daughter to school, or to really play with my daughter and my son and unfortunately I lost it, well I feel like I lost everything. I lost the best years of my life, but on the other hand I have a life here and I get something good.

[Interviewee was getting emotional so we switched topics— PAUSE]

[A] And here can you vote?

[B] No, still not. We cannot vote until we have nationality.

[A] Can you vote in Pakistan?

[B] No. From here no. When I was back in Pakistan I voted **Laughs**, but from here no.

[A] And do you plan on going back to Pakistan soon? Just to visit maybe...

[B] It depends on your... Maybe from here it will be a long time that I will not go. [Other interviewee laughing on the side]. Because I feel better here. Some domestic and family problems back in Pakistan. Every person has a different problem so I feel better here. I feel secure. I feel good. I am trying to survive, no I am just starting a business here, and I talk with my Spanish family I get some sources and some good sources. I love my work. Because I like having my own business here.

[C] I have to go to work now. Its time.

[A] Thank you guys so much, I have lot of good things to say. This has been fantastic! It was really wonderful.

[B] Maybe sometime we can all meet again if you have more time.

[A] Yes, of course, you have my number.

END OF INTERVIEW.

Interviewee: Griselda Asain

Age: 28

Country of Origin: Argentina

Have been living in Barcelona for: 10 months

Interviewer: Kate Mattingly

Date of Interview: January 21, 2017

Time: 19:00 (CEST)

[A] Interviewer

[B] Interviewee

[A] Vale bueno tú ya lo sabes no? De lo que hago la tesis. Si quieres leer todo esto... A ver... Empiezo, así como... Porqué te mudaste aquí?

[B] Eh.. Bueno, me mudé aquí porqué en mi país no tenía una situación muy cómoda, tenía ganas de... A ver, estuve mucho tiempo buscando trabajo de lo mío y es una ciudad difícil en la que vivía...

[A] En qué ciudad vivías?

[B] Vivía en una ciudad que se llama Mar del Plata, que es donde estudié. Y es una gran ciudad que... Bueno tiene industria y tiene puerto. Si a mi me gusta la parte de la selección de personal, pero realmente no había posibilidades profesionales. Estuve un año intentando reinsertarme, trabajando como freelance. Realmente no había muchas posibilidades. Una posibilidad de mudarme a Buenos Aires, que es la ciudad más grande de Argentina, pero tiene como contras que es una ciudad a la vez muy insegura, que hay... El mercado está bastante explotado, es decir que hay mucha gente en situación... Buscando trabajo últimamente. No iba a tener tantas posibilidades, y España, por familia, por lenguaje...

[A] Es verdad que tienes familia aquí, no?

[B] Sí, mi familia vive en Navarra. Eh... Y tenemos... Ellos viven aquí, pero sí que mi abuelo era español, mi bisabuelo en realidad, y siempre tuvimos contacto con ellos, y ellos han venido en Argentina, yo hace dos años atrás estuve con ellos aquí en Navarra y... Y bueno, siempre tener un contacto aquí es más fácil, eh... Pero bueno, tampoco me quise ir a vivir a Navarra porque...

[A] Te iba a preguntar porqué, porque tienes familia allí y tal igual es más fácil, no?

[B] Sí, hubiese sido más fácil porque tenía casa, tenía contactos, pero no era una ciudad en la que realmente me veía. Yo crecí al lado del mar, quería una ciudad que tenga mar. Y sí que Madrid me encanta, y también era una posibilidad pero realmente cuando me planteé mi día a día... Era vivir lejos del mar y tal y no era una posibilidad.

[A] Ya claro...

[B] Entonces, para mí siempre... Bueno fue la opción Barcelona, conocía la ciudad, y bueno dije... Es una ciudad que tiene aparentemente vida y hay posibilidades....

[A] Y cuanto tiempo... Cuando tu estabas en Argentina, cuanto tiempo pasabas pensando "que voy a Barcelona"? Tardaste un año pensando, bueno...

[B] Sí, bueno... Siempre lo tuve el deseo de mudarme de país. Siempre sentí que tenía que vivir afuera. Un tiempo o toda la vida, no lo sé. Pero me acuerdo que yo al principio... Yo quería, pero claro, yo no tengo nacionalidad. Mi padre tiene nacionalidad española, por la ley de memoria histórica, por ser nieto de españoles. Y yo no la tenía, mis hermanos sí, porque la ley en ese punto restringió un poco. Yo por ser mayor de edad en ese momento no pude optar, mis hermanos sí, tienen la nacionalidad. Entonces... En ese momento, digamos que para mí era un impedimento no tener papeles... No era una posibilidad para mí venirme de una manera ilegal, porque no me gusta... Y tampoco iba a tener posibilidades. Entonces me puse sí que a investigar a ver si había alguna posibilidad porque siendo mi padre español tendría que haber algún recurso. Entonces

fue mirar muchos blogs, mucha gente de Sudamérica que se viene aquí, y que tiene un poco la misma historia, no? De abuelos inmigrantes... Y bueno, salió una posibilidad de venir, eh... Pero claro, lo pensé... Empecé en agosto, me acuerdo, a plantearme la idea real, y me vine en abril. Eh...

[A] Ah, del año siguiente.

[B] Del año siguiente, o sea que fueron... Bueno ocho meses, ocho meses. Ocho meses que... De ya como cosas concretas, como bueno... Puedo ir y solicitar mi permiso de arraigo familiar, por un año.

[A] Ah sí, tu lo hiciste a través del arraigo familiar.

[B] Claro, yo llegué como turista. Tuve que entrar como turista, con todos los requisitos como turista. Eh... Seguro médico, dinero, bueno... El pasaje de vuelta, todo. Y pedí—

[A] Ah, de vuelta también tenías que...?

[B] Sí. Sí o sí pasaje de vuelta, porque a ver a mí no me pidieron nada cuando entré, pero te pueden exigir el pasaje de vuelta cuando entras como turista, generalmente pasa. También hay muchos argentinos que en el aeropuerto les mandaron de vuelta por no tener requisitos. Entonces, bueno... Me cumplí todos los requisitos, llegue, y pedí cita en el ayuntamiento, y pedí el arraigo familiar - que es un permiso que te da un año de residencia legal con permiso de trabajo. Y al año de residencial legal y continuada yo puedo acceder a la nacionalidad.

[A] Ah, Ok.

[B] Para acceder a la nacionalidad tengo que rendir en un examen de cultura general, para ver si me adapto al sistema español y el de idiomas no porque en este caso tenemos el mismo idioma. Pero si que también hay muchos extranjeros que tienen que pedir... Que requieren un B2.

- [A] Sí, sí, sí. Y tu te enteraste de ese programa... Eh bueno del arraigo familiar en Argentina?
- [B] Si.
- [A] Tu tenias todo planeado?
- [B] Todo... Si. Yo ya vine con todo. De hecho tuve que conseguir los papeles de la partida de nacimiento de mi padre, la partida de nacimiento española... Mis partidas de nacimiento, un montón de documentación que me enteré en realidad porque tenia ganas de enterarme... En el sentido que busqué en muchos blogs, me leí toda la ley de inmigración, o sea, quería, porque realmente quería. Entonces fue... Bueno, tengo que encontrar un recurso legal para poder estar aquí. Fue éste... Bueno, fue porque lo busqué, eh... Activamente.
- [A] Claro.
- [B] Y me vine con todos los papeles, pero nunca se sabe si te los pueden otorgar o no, sabes? Es un poco la incertidumbre... Normalmente deberían, pero bueno también siento que por ejemplo ahora que falta... Voy a cumplir casi el año, tengo que renovar por un lado mi permiso de arraigo, renovarlo un año más, y una vez que tenga ese p permiso aprobado, puedo iniciar el proceso para solicitar la nacionalidad. Eh... que no implica ni que me den la nacionalidad, ni que me den el arraigo. Para que me den el arraigo, normalmente por lo que justo hoy leí porque tengo que empezar a juntar los papeles. Tienes que haber cotizado varios meses.
- [A] Ya...
- [B] Tienes que haber tenido durante este año haber hecho algo bueno. **Laughs** Claro, porque si no, no te lo dan. Y si no me lo dan, tengo que volver. Yo creo que si, que por la opción de arraigo laboral, tener un contrato también—
- [A] Pero tú también podrías ir a través de esta vía también?

- [B] Pero era imposible, de ir... Porque para venir con contrato, el contrato te lo tienen que hacer.. Pues lo tengo que pedir en Argentina.
- [A] Ah, el arraigo laboral es que si tienes el contrato antes de venir?
- [B] El arraigo laboral en realidad aquí es si tu ya estás trabajando, por ejemplo, hay muchos senegaleses que están trabajando, pero no les hacen un contrato. Cuando les hacen el contrato, piden al arraigo laboral. Pero tienes que tener como dos años trabajando o algo así.
- [A] Ya, yo también he hablado con alguien que me dijo algo parecido.
- [B] No, es que puedes así como yo ahora tengo un contrato... Ahí son muchos más condicionales. Entonces hay muchos blogs de extranjería, que lo leí, que lo que me conviene, volver a solicitar, a ver renovar el permiso de arraigo familiar, que a mi me lo dieron en seguida. Fueron a los tres días lo tenía aprobado y al mes me llegó la carta de aceptación. Entonces era bastante ágil. Yo ahora, una vez que me lo den, renuevo mi tarjeta de identidad de extranjera y con eso puedo iniciar el tramite de nacionalidad.
- [A] Entonces, quieres hacer la nacionalidad?
- [B] Sí, yo sí quiero acceder la nacionalidad.
- [A] Qué diferencia hay entre el permiso de residencia y la nacionalidad?
- [B] Es que mi permiso me permite vivir y trabajar, aquí... Solo aquí. Solo en España.
- [A] Y si tu tienes nacionalidad, puedes moverte por todo Europa?
- [B] Si tengo la nacionalidad Española puedo trabajar en cualquier país de Europa. Pidiendo un NIE que es un número de identidad extranjero...
- [A] Hay dual nacionalidad entre España y Argentina?

- [B] Si, hay doble. Sí, puedo tener dos. Puedo ser Argentina y ser Española al mismo tiempo.
- [A] Y a ti te conviene eso?
- [B] A mi sí, me conviene tenerlo porque para mi sería una tranquilidad en el sentido de no pensar... Tener un DNI, no tener que estar renovando todos los papeles cada año. Porque aparte te vuelven a pedir los mismo papeles. A mi me van a pedir los mismos papeles certificados que me pidieron hace un año atrás. Para pedir todo esto a distancia, se hace todo mucho más largo. porque todo va certificado por todas las vías diplomáticas, y siento que hay un sitio web en mi país que permite hacer tramites pero duran dos o tres meses. De hecho, yo ya tengo que empezar a tramitarlo para Marzo. Si no lo hago o si me duermo, me quedo sin permiso. Y si me queden sin permiso, es ciao contrato, y vuelta a casa **Laughs**
- [A] Yea, yea... Wow.
- [B] Es un poco difícil pero tienes que tener un rol muy activo, tienes que estar muy pendiente quiero decir.
- [A] Pues, tú llegaste, no tenías trabajo, estabas buscando trabajo, pero tenías tres meses para encontrar trabajo... Si no encuentras en tres meses qué pasa?
- [B] No, no es así. Si yo no tenía permiso... Si venía de turista, tenía tres meses para vivir de turistas, sin que nadie me digan nada.
- [A] Pero, con familiar no... No es lo mismo?
- [B] Yo no tenía ningún beneficio, solo de turista. Cuando me dieron el permiso de residencia, yo puedo estar un año y en este año voy a estar de manera legal y voy a tener permiso de trabajo. Pero no significa que, que pasa... Si yo durante este año, durante este año no hubiese encontrado trabajo, no hubiese cotizado... ahora sería muy difícil renovarlo. Porque no me lo darían, porque me van a decir "llevas aquí un año y no has conseguido trabajo? Qué te pasa?" Entonces es importante para renovarlo, haber

trabajado. Esos primeros... Estuve un mes, desde que llegué haciendo los trámites hasta que conseguí mi tarjeta. Una vez que tienes la tarjeta, tienes el número, ya es todo más fácil. Vas a la seguridad social y te dan un número, y puedes buscar trabajo. Y realmente, yo empecé de buscar trabajo y el otro día tenía la primera entrevista del trabajo...

[A] Te iba preguntar, cómo de fácil era de conseguir— ?

[B] A mi me fue fácil. Yo tuve suerte y también tienes que estar activamente todo el tiempo buscando. Al principio pensé de buscar trabajo de cualquier cosa como era verano y digo trabajo de camarera, atención al público hasta que empiece a insertar un poco, no? Y ver qué tal... Y después busco de lo mío, que era la parte de recursos humanos, pero a la vez me iba apuntando a todo. Me vino una oferta de recursos humanos y salió el trabajo, el primer trabajo de Hays. Entonces fue relativamente corto, empecé en junio... dos meses justo después de haber aterrizado, ya estaba trabajando.

[A] Tienes amigos que han pasado igual la situación?

[B] Sí, sí, muchos. Yo me mudé al piso de dos amigos, con los que viví, un amigo ed mi compañero de piso y ellos si tenían la ventaja de que tenían nacionalidad italiana y española. Entonces, en este caso, para ellos no fue difícil, que normalmente insertarse en el mercado laboral es un tiempo pero han conseguido. Y después, si que estoy muy () grupos de argentinos en Barcelona, hay gentes en situaciones más difíciles, o que no tienen directamente, la nacionalidad directamente. Pero si que la gente que yo conozco, que ha venido, por más que tengan la doble nacionalidad le ha resultado relativamente sencillo en encontrar trabajo. A ver, en algunos casos, amigos han encontrado de cualquier cosa, en el sentido de no es lo suyo, pero luego al tiempo se han podido incorporar al nivel digamos sus expectativas profesionales. Pero, no tengo ni un amigo que ha pasado exactamente con la misma situación que yo— del arraigo, y llegar aquí sin saber si vas a poder quedar.

[A] Yea, yea,...

- [B] Que eso también es un poco, que los primeros días fueron duros porque estás esperando todo el tiempo ya que te aprueben permiso pero es que depende del proyecto profesional. Y me lo dieron, por suerte, súper rápido. Entonces, si es rápido es cómo, para mí fue una tranquilidad. Entonces ya a los dos meses, yo estaba instalada y estaba bien y nada, fue como muy tranquilo.
- [A] Y tus amigos aquí en Barcelona, la mayoría son de Argentina o fuera de Europa...?
- [B] Sí, que tengo un grupo de Argentinos que son mis, bueno las primeras personas con las que viví, después una amiga que se vino aquí, su pareja también, pero también tengo amigos de todos los lados en realidad. No me fue difícil eso.
- [A] Y Catalanes?
- [B] Tengo un amigo también de Valladolid. Tengo amigos Catalanes sí. Realmente muy bien. Al principio no sabía porque te dicen, “no mira que los catalanes son bastante especiales y tienen un otro idioma y tal,” pero no realmente, no el mismo en el trabajo como en mi trabajo actual como con la gente que me he tomado, o sea poco problema conmigo, súper abierta y nunca tenía ningún problema. Ni siquiera una dificultad idiomática, que a veces puede ser un freno, eh.... Mi trabajo por ejemplo hablan... Yo por ahora y suerte que entiendo catalan, no lo hablo porque no lo he estudiado todavía. Me gustaría, pero sí que a veces se dan cuentas de que están hablando en catalan y como yo también trabajo con muchos extranjeros, no son solo españoles, también cambian al español. Pero no es que...
- [A] Ellos se adaptan a ti?
- [B] Sí, no tiene problema. Y a veces si están hablando en catalan me dicen, "te importa si usamos el catalan?" Y yo les digo que no. Yo entiendo y si no entiendo una parte, yo les preguntaré.
- [A] Y los otros compañeros de piso, la mayoría son de aquí, o de otras partes?

- [B] Bueno, ahora sí. Tengo dos de aquí y un francés, pero bueno son europeos así que es diferente para mi.
- [A] Que no son fuera de la Union Europea?
- [B] No, no son... Si los anteriores fueron Argentinos, entonces, pero bueno ya tenían, son Argentinos pero a la vez tienen la nacionalidad europea. Entonces tienen los mismos derechos y viven como tales, entonces no pasaron por ahí el mismo proceso que viví yo, el incertidumbre sobre todo. Eso es lo más duro al principio...
- [A] Yo estaba hablando con algunos que venían aquí sin papeles, y me hablaban de aún así cuando tenían contrato era cómo no sabían exactamente a quien hablar y—
- [B] Yo creo que eso es sobretodo, o bueno a mi, de mi parte venir sin ningún tipo de papel que me avalen, no no era una posibilidad porque no. La verdad que no me gusta.
- [A] Yea, yea... Y bueno tú, te sientes integrada aquí en Barcelona?
- [B] Sí.
- [A] Y hay alguna diferencia entre la vida que vivías en Mar de Plata y aquí lo notas cómo esto me resulta raro?
- [B] Bueno, hay cosas pero son mínimas. Yo siento que muy parecida a mi cultura, porque en mi país hay mucha inmigración española y italiana, y compartimos muchas cosas al nivel cultural y tal. Ehm... Si que yo veo ventajas en cuanto que España es un país mucho más seguro, que es más accesible para todos. Creo que es más equitativo de cierto modo que mi anterior realidad. Ehm... La cuestión de diferencia de conducta no sé, de estilos, de formas de ser, que un poco extraño en mi país pero que tampoco en lo que veo ahora me parece tan malo, no sé. Como formas de la vida cotidiana, o de solidaridad siento que en algunas cosas a mi me gusta mucho de mi país. Valoro un montón, de ciertas actitudes de colaboración y preocupación por el otro que creo que aquí es así pero no tanto, y la gente está más ensimismada. Yo creo que piensan mucho más en uno. No hay un pensamiento tan colectivo. Tal vez. Eso sí lo noto.

- [A] Eso solo en el trabajo o también en la calle?
- [B] Sí en el trabajo, pero también en general. Para mí, son más individualistas. No son...Yo creo que o por lo menos tenemos un pensamiento más colectiva de todo. Y a veces, te digo que aquí priorizan un poco más lo personal que el pensamiento colectivo, no? Eso sí lo noto por ejemplo. Pero después no, en general creo que la vida es casi o prácticamente igual. Tendrá alguna costumbre diferente, pero para mi también tengo que adaptarme a su cultura también, en cierto modo. Porque estoy viviendo en su sitio, a ver...
- [A] Pero igual viniendo de una ciudad bastante "europea"... Barcelona no es tan tan diferente. He hablado con unos Pakistanis el otro día y me decían que aquí era totalmente otro mundo. Que llevan aquí ocho años y aún así están intentando... Sabes?
- [B] Claro, en mi caso no. Nosotros tenemos muchas costumbres que son españolas o italianas y eso te hacen muy cercano. No hay nada que diga que es radicalmente opuesto.
- [A] Yea, yea, yea...
- [B] No, en realidad es todo, de hecho no sé por ejemplo tomo Maté, yo y es algo muy típico de Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, pero aquí voy a cualquier supermercado y hay mucho.
- [A] Sí, quería preguntarte si hay productos argentinos..?
- [B] Si, si... Un montón.
- [A] En todos los sitios, no?
- [B] Sí, en todos los sitios, no tengo dificultad, por ejemplo para eso que podría ser, "Ehh tomamos Maté?" Aquí, quien va...? Hay muchos argentinos viviendo aquí entonces hay muchos sitios y por suerte hace que sea más fácil.

- [A] Sí, estaba hablando con un senegalés que también me comentó que él conoce dos o tres sitios que venden comida senegalesa tal como restaurantes que en tiendas. Él era como, "Ahh es como que estoy en casa..." Esto se afecta no?
- [B] Sí, claro.
- [A] Tener cosas de casa.
- [B] No a veces va pensando que extrañase ciertas comidas y tal, pero se puede encontrarlas, y siempre está bueno porque extrañas un poco menos. Entonces para mí en eso, no creo que me ha costado mucho. Pero eso depende de uno en uno, no? Las ganas que le ponga. Si uno no está dispuesto a abrirse o adaptarse a la cultura del otro, es muy difícil.
- [A] Sí, sí... Pero tú lo ves a Barcelona como muy multicultural?
- [B] Sí. Sí.
- [A] Y abiertos?
- [B] Yo creo que sí, a mí nunca me han hecho sentir que no. Al contrario. Y creo que yo mismo hablando de esto con una compañera que es de aquí de Barcelona, y ella me decía "A ver Barcelona es una ciudad que vive gente de todo el mundo. Ya no podemos pensar que solo son catalanes y ya." Es una ciudad abierta, entonces creo que eso hace que... Bueno, tú vas caminando y ves gente de todo el mundo, es imposible pensar que estás... A veces no te cuenta de ni que estás en España.
- [A] Yea, ya...
- [B] Entonces yo creo eso también lo hace más fácil. Porque un poco, uno puede conservar su tradición porque como a ver gente todo el mundo también hay acceso a cosas de todo el mundo, entonces de repente quiero comer algo típico de mi país y puedo encontrar un restaurante donde ir a comer. O ver una película...

- [A] Pero, a ti nunca te ha pasado que una person te ha enfadado porque no hablas catalan? Mi compañera de piso es italiana, y trabaja en Tiger, el me contó el otro día que entró a una mujer de setenta años o así, y como mi compañera de piso no habla catalan la mujer se puso un poco enfadado o mejor dicho, molestado porque trabajando aquí ella no hablaba catalan. Y eso es como la primera vez que oigo algo así...
- [B] No, a mi no. Eso nunca me pasó. De hecho el otro día hubo un cliente, mi jefa también pues habla catalan y están hablando y mi jefa pregunta al cliente, y le dice, "Le importa hablar en español?" Porque bueno Griselda es de Argentina. [Y él dijo] "No, no sin problema". Y empezaron a ver, y a veces se le va porque no controlan, pero sin problema. De hecho hoy le envié un correo en español y me respondió en español. A veces, si me pasa que escribo en español a clientes y me contestan en catalan. Que a mi me da igual porque entiendo y si no entiendo, pregunto. Pero nunca he tenido ninguna atreva a decir, que "no hablas catalan..." De hecho por ejemplo, CaixaBank, es un banco super catalan y la gente los toman empleados que son catalanes que tienen que hablar catalan, en general, y a mi me dieron como cliente. O sea tampoco en el t trabajo me dan solo clientes que son internacionales. Y hablo con ellos, que también me ha pasado de hablar... Empiezan en catalan, yo les hablo en español y se an cuenta y cambian al español, y nada. No, nunca he tenido ningún problema.
- [A] Bueno y si, por una última cosa, si tú, mientras que tu estabas solicitando la residencia habrá algo que cambiarías del proceso, o una cosa que te ha hecho más difícil?
- [B] Sí, a mi lo que me parece un poco... Es un poco lento todo. Por ejemplo, para pedir cita para el arraigo, solo te daban, como el día martes y tienes que entrar como a las ocho de la mañana porque hay pocas citas al día entonces a lo mejor me levanté a las seis con el ordenador allí esperando, si es muy largo eso, y saqué cita, y me dieron para tres semanas. Entonces era como, uyy un obstáculo...Que tengo tres meses, me dieron tres meses porque mi visado de turista era esto. Tenía que estar... Se hace todo muy largo y entonces qué me pasó, en el momento fue al extranjería y hice muy rápido el trámite, está todo online, entonces pude ver que estaba aprobado rápidamente. Pero por la segunda etapa, que era sacar la tarjeta de identidad, también para sacar cita de aquí a un mes. Y se llevan todos los plazos. Ehh y además para trabajar, te pedían ya la tarjeta

entonces si que allí tuve que sacar cita como urgente me tuve que ir a Casteldefells (a 45 minutos de Barcelona), por ejemplo. Era por verificar el sitio, cual era la más rápido. Como en este sentido uno tiene que estar muy activo, pero a mí en esto fui muy rápido y lo que sí es el tema de las citas, no hay tanta disponibilidad. Entonces o empadronarte de eso... Como es todo muy lento entonces.

[A] Te dan poco plazas para solicitarlo y luego....

[CUT]

[A] Pero en general, no te ponen dificultades para solicitarlo?

[B] Para mí, no. Para mí, de hecho yo tenía ya todo impreso y lo leí veinte mil veces la ley para que no me falte nada. Entonces fue con todo, y fue como le doy todo y ya está. También te dicen que te puede pasar que, y que ya ha pasado a gente que se olvidó un papel o no está sellado, o lo que sea... Entonces allí sí puede ser que es un problema. Me tomé mucho tiempo, ocho meses para venir entonces tardé poco en tener todo y no me pusieron problemas.

[CUT]

[B] Es que hay un montón de blogs que tienen un montón de información.

[A] Pero los blogs no son hechos del gobierno?

[B] Del gobierno, no. Son de la gente...Son blogs de la gente no solo España sino Estados Unidos, Nueva Zelanda, Australia, y allí pone Canadá y son como grupos de donde la gente publica preguntas y como se hace el trámite, y te responde, etc... Aquí es donde se ve las realidades, sabes?

[CUT]

[B] Realmente, los blogs me ayudaron muchísimo. Sin haber leído el blog, no me hubiese enterado del arraigo porque no es algo que sea una posibilidad sin prevista.... Si tienes

ganas, lo buscas la información, lo haces y ya. Pero bueno, a la vez yo lo hice pero creo que es un poco injusto porque, creo que la ley no es justa en el sentido de que yo tengo un padre y una madre y somos tres hermanos del mismo matrimonio, y mis hermanos son españoles. Mi padre es español y yo no, y nacimos del mismo pareja. No? Me suena raro. Es un poco raro y injusto que no tiene nada que ver el hecho de ser mayor de edad, con el derecho de adquirir una nacionalidad. Me parece... Es un poco arbitrario.

[PAUSE]

[B] Pero bueno, ya a mi no me importa hacer todo esto, pero no fue todo súper fácil. También tienes que tener las medias para... Sabes... No cualquiera puede venirse. Porque esta dinero, calcular unos meses sin trabajar y tienes que tener un pasaje de vuelta y sabes es como que también se necesita otras medias. Que no es fácil cambiar de un país a otro. Como mínimo se necesita el dinero, puede costarte mucho tiempo. Y después, pues estás con el incertidumbre. Cuando todo se va acumulando, te estresa, pero luego todo tranquilo... Bueno you estoy tranquila, pero ya sé que tengo que renovar y esto es como bueno...

[A] Y cuando sacas la nacionalidad, vas a poder votar?

[B] Yo entiendo que sí. Por más que tenga... Bueno sí que yo nací en Argentina, y incluso cuando revisen un examen, hacen preguntas sobre historia, de política...

[A] Pero de momento no puedes?

[B] No, de momento no. Yo soy extranjera, entonces yo no tengo ningún derecho. No, solamente, tengo más obligaciones que derechos. Tengo, obviamente tengo el derecho al sistema sanitaria y estas cosas, las sociales y tal tengo, porque estoy resiendo aquí, pero hay un montón de obligaciones ciudadanos que no las tengo. Y tampoco de momento realmente me siento tan inmersa en ese aspecto para poder decidir, no? Tener... No soy tan consciente de la realidad política de aquí. Como lo soy en Argentina, Pero bueno...

[A] Tú sí sigues la política Argentina?

[B] Sí, ahora sí. Realmente, sí. Pero porque me preocupa mucho mi país por la realidad que están viviendo, y porque tuvimos un cambio de gobierno. Para mi, estoy muy atenta de esto, y porque mi familia está allí. Es inevitable hablarlo, pero si que también soy comprometida y si el día en el futuro me quedo aquí, tengo mi nacionalidad, también me voy a interesarlo, y no voy a hacer de una manera inconsciente, no? Le doy..., el valor de que se merece para mi el voto entonces, ahora no, como no tengo el derecho, no siento todavía la obligación de... pero es normal que me siento que en un plan de quedarme aquí y tal, si me tengo que comprometer, como ciudadana. Más pensándolo en el futuro. Sí, ahora no, de momento, no...Estoy muy lejana todavía. Faltan años para poder plantearme en eso, sí realmente sí. Pero también me siento que cuanto más vas viendo, más te vas empapando de la realidad, pero si que lo noto que últimamente estuve muy pendiente de mi país, sí..

[A] Yo también... **Laughs**

[B] Si tu no estás pendiente.... O sea, en realidad estamos todos pendiente de tu país! No sé si tú lo sabes pero en todos lados se habla, bueno mis compañeras son extranjeras, una mexicana y otra rusa y se habla mucho de la política en los EEUU....

[A] **Laughing** Creo que con este punto ya terminamos no? **Laughing**

[A] Gracias Gris!

[B] De nada.

END OF INTERVIEW.

Interviewee: Giselle Escalante

Age: 34

Country of Origin: Peru

Have been living in Barcelona for: 1 year

Interviewer: Kate Mattingly

Date of Interview: January 25, 2017

Time: 13:30 (CEST)

[A] Interviewer

[B] Interviewee

[A] Entonces, tú llegaste aquí... Bueno por qué Barcelona? Por qué decidiste de venir aquí?

[B] Bueno porque yo había venido antes, hace varios años y la ciudad me había gustado mucho y en segundo lugar porque cuando busqué maestría, era la única mención en literatura española y latinoamericana juntos.

[A] Estabas buscando solo en España o en todo Europa o--?

[B] Bueno, como es literatura en españ-- en castellano, no, entonces, claro, las opciones se reducen a España y Estado Unidos.

[A] Sí, sí, sí...

[B] Entonces, y en España la única que tenía una mención en literatura hispanoamericana era este Master.

[A] Ahh.. okay. Y las clases te dan en...castellano, no?

[B] En castellano.

- [A] Pregunto porque a veces en la Universidad de Barcelona dan las clases en catalan.
- [B] No, eso nunca me ha pasado. Me mencionaron que habían algunos Masters que sí, te dicen que es todo en castellano y después de pronto te encuentras en una clase catalan, pero a mi no me ha pasado. Como es literatura hispánica, pues es todo castellano.
- [A] Y, los de la clase la mayoría son españoles, catalanes o vienen de todas partes? O bueno supongo que todos tienen un nivel muy bueno de castellano?
- [B] Sí, todos hablan castellano, y bueno a ver... hay un hipermedio de veintitantas personas en la clase de las cuales una tercera parte serán españoles, y quizás una quinta parte chinos...
- [A] A sí, es verdad que me comentaste que había un grupo de chinos en la clase.
- [B] Sí, hay bastantes chinos.
- [A] Y ellos también hablan bien el castellano?
- [B] Ehh.. hay varios niveles. Hay unos que hablan muy bien y otros que es... O sea hay un grupo que por ejemplo ya se han ido a México antes de venir acá. Hacían una pasantía. No? Entonces ya tienen una experiencia en una ciudad de este... de la lengua castellana. Pero, hay otros que es su primera vez entonces son estos que hablan menos. Y después, hay una parte que serán una tercera parte de hispanos, de latinoamericanos y hay una parte que ya eso hay grupitos de italianos, alemanes, gente de Erasmus digamos.
- [A] Tú sueles salir con esa gente de la clase?
- [B] Yo a ver... Mmm, es que tenemos un grupo de latinoamericanos. O sea tenemos dos grupos de Whatsapp. Uno de todos y yo tengo, o sea participo en uno que es de solo latinoamericanos, nada más. Y después cuando salimos con un grupo de latinoamericanos y un grupo de españoles.

[A] Pero dices que no soléis mezclar grupos o cómo?

[B] Sí..., o sea tengo unos amigos que son de acá, y buenos amigos que son digamos yo, como soy grande, me he esforzado en que eso ocurra. Porque lo más chicos, eh, suelen involucrarse solo con, o sea de... están un poco más cómodos con solo latinoamericanos, no? Por ejemplo, me pasó que en un curso, eh, llegué tarde y la profesora me puso en un grupo. Y era un grupo justo con una chilena y un colombiano. Yo les conozco bien, entonces... pero, para mí no tenía mucho sentido, o sea estar acá y ser un grupo-- y tenía la opción que eran con catalanes, y un chino. Entonces qué pasa? Yo elegí la otra. También porque la novela era más corta **Laughs** pero también eran unas posibilidades de estar con gente distinta. Y de hecho ellos ahora son unos amigos míos que los que los latinoamericanos. Sí, sí... me llevo muy bien con ellos. Hay mucha onda, así. Creo que también depende de... claro de cómo tú te enfrentas a estar en una situación nueva, que al principio y de repente no sé, pues no sé, puede ser que es mucho más efusivos así y tal, pero no sabes de lo que hay detrás, entonces de repente terminas llevándote mejor con gente es de acá. O sea que es tan de verdad (). Y que al principio no éramos muy efusivos, depende no?

[A] Sí...

[B] Uno se acoja afinidades a través del tiempo. Y en este sentido sí... Ayer me crucé por ejemplo con una chica que es de acá que es linda entonces, y empezamos de crear toda una historia en la calle y sí, nos morimos de la risa. Sí, hay mucha química, y este... nada o sea-- Pero sí, lo que es claro, ellos son un poco más o sea... cómo tienen otra manera, entonces creo que con el tiempo nos va descubriendo otra... que no son tan efusivos.

[A] Pero, tú notas una diferencia entre la gente--

[B] Latinoamericana?

[A] Y sí, bueno...

- [B] Sí, claro. Diferencias en intensidad en algunas cosas.
- [A] Bueno, cómo por ejemplo?
- [B] Sí, o sea este-- Por ejemplo, las amigas latinoamericanas que tengo son...
- [A] Las que viven aquí?
- [B] Sí, sí viven acá. Que son muy de, "Ay! Amor! Cariño!" No? Así... de frente, así de frente. Sin conocerte mucho. Y las españolas no pueden, no... Son un poco más [PAUSE]
- [A] Cerradas?
- [B] Sí, pero no significa nada en realidad, eso, no?
- [A] Y cuándo llegaste aquí a Barcelona, tenías amigos ya aquí? O conociste a alguien en la ciudad?
- [B] Sí, tenía amigos acá. Peruanos.
- [A] Y por lo que sepas, hay una comunidad bastante grande de peruanos en Barcelona?
- [B] Sí, sí. Es bien curioso porque los peruanos que los que he conocido me han dicho que no les interesa mucho vincularse con peruanos acá.
- [A] A sí? Por?
- [B] Que no les interesa que () entonces, pero claro. Siempre cae alguien igual de tu ciudad y lo terminas acogiendo. Pero claro, también hacen un esfuerzo por, claro, por no hacer este...
- [A] Encerrarte en un grupo, no?
- [B] Exacto. En tu cultura.

- [A] Yo he hablado con gente en varios sitios no, como en Alemania como.... bueno, que muchos me dicen lo mismo, que lo que ellos quieren salir de su "grupo". Sería, como yo soy americana, intento no reunirme con otros americanos en Barcelona...
- [B] Pero, es tu cultura! No? O sea, yo por lo menos me siento súper cómoda, o sea tengo un grupo de peruanos, bueno no solo peruanos, no? Pero donde hay una cantidad de peruanos importante, me siento súper cómodo porque son los mismos códigos.
- [A] Pero en temas del tiempo, igual tú conoces a la gente peruana aquí en Barcelona tanto como un español o un catalan, no? No es que son amigos de antes que llegaras a Barcelona?
- [B] No, conocí a todos en el mismo época. Como poco tiempo... Sí, sí... Que es todo bien relativo, porque a lo mejor estos, no sé, nos acercamos bastante. No? O sea, es como-- Pero claro, hay cosas que comparto con esta gente de Peru que los otros no entienden, pero eso es obvio no? Hay un código compartido. Pero no te diría que necesariamente porque son de Peru que van a ser mejores amigos.
- [A] Y tú ves la gente en Barcelona, la sociedad en Barcelona bastante abierta, o cómo lo ves? Con temas de inmigración, temas de los extranjeros, cuándo tú sales a la calle... Pero, tú--
- [B] Mmm... [PAUSE] O sea, creo que sí, que es una ciudad que acoge un montón de... A ver tiene cosas que sí, que a mi me sorprendió cuando llegué a la biblioteca y solamente con mi pasaporte me daban un carnet a la biblioteca donde podía sacar libros, películas, eso me parece fabuloso porque en mi país no existe es tipo de cosas. Entonces, estas cosas, sí. También al centro deportivo público yo también voy pagando una cuota igual que el resto, y en este sentido-- Es subvencionado, es bien cómodo. Mmm... Después, al nivel, bueno en mi universidad conozco universitarios, y yo pago el doble casi que los que están acá. Allí sí hay un diferencia, digamos... pero bueno, es así. Lo entiendo también porque la universidad es pública, entonces, pero... Y ahora, y después con temas de la vida social, mm.... A ver es difícil saberlo porque sí es verdad,

o que me han dicho que este en Madrid por ejemplo, son gente mucha más abierta. Y bueno, sí que he notado que son poco más reservados acá.

[A] Sí?

[B] Sí, son reservados.

[A] Y tú has tenido que adaptarse de alguna manera a la vida aquí? Qué tu lo has notado que tenías que cambiar en plan, piensas de un manera diferente, o cosas que te parecen curiosas, algo que te llama la atención?

[B] O sea, de hecho sí. He conversado con unos amigos, no? Que son peruanos, que nosotros, nuestra ciudad, somos parte de la clase media, que más o menos le va bien, clase media, no sé.. Que vas a la universidad, que tienes trabajo, vive en una buena zona. Entonces, nosotros por ejemplo no sentimos ningún tipo de discriminación en nuestra ciudad. La gente discriminada es la gente del interior. Acá sí que estás discriminada por ser latino, de alguna manera tiene una connotación que para nosotros es como una carga. No? Porque hay mucha inmigración acá de tipo de este que... No sé, de limpiar baños o no sé, mano de obras, mucha digamos construcción. Entonces, ya en este sentido claro, dices que eres latino y la gente puede pensar que tu trabajo es limpiar baños, no? Pero, de eso puede-- te pone en otra posición distinta que tú entiendes en tu país. No?

[A] Sí...

[B] Pero es interesante también, porque estás en el otro lado. Entonces ya, te das cuenta de todos los prejuicios que manejamos.

[A] Pero tú has tenido alguna experiencia tú?

[B] Sí, pero porque en el sentido de que me ha tocado este Mossos muy mal criados, no? Esa gente es muy descortés. Yo creo, no sé si sería siempre así o sean esas licencias porque no sé-- Pero eso pasa más con la gente de menos instrucción. O sea, no pasa con mis colegas en la universidad. [PAUSE] Bueno.. a mi no, pero tengo que decir que

también pasó algo muy fuerte hace dos meses o así con los compañeros chinos que tenemos en la clase. Nos pareció tan fea la cosa, que comentamos entre el grupo de mis amigos latinos de la clase... Fue que la profesora, qué tendrá? ... Unos sesenta y picos años, bueno.. que ella hizo un comentario diciendo que los chinos de la clase no hacían falta que hicieran las presentaciones en frente de toda la clase porque ellos eran demasiado difícil de entender por su acento y nivel bajo de castellano. Buahh! Nosotros.... no sé. Era increíble que lo dijera. Pero puede ser que, y ojalá que no sea siempre así, no sé que la gente con más instrucción, se comportasen mejor que esa profesora... Eso pasa con los Mossos, gente que te atiende en el supermercado, no... Entonces... son cosas que te pueden pasar..

[A] Sí, sí.

[B] Le das importancia, pero claro este eh... sí, eso no? No puedes evitar las condiciones históricas **Laughs**

[A] Hay una carga igual...

[B] Sí, sí.

[A] Gracias Giselle. Muy bien. Muchas gracias.

END OF INTERVIEW.