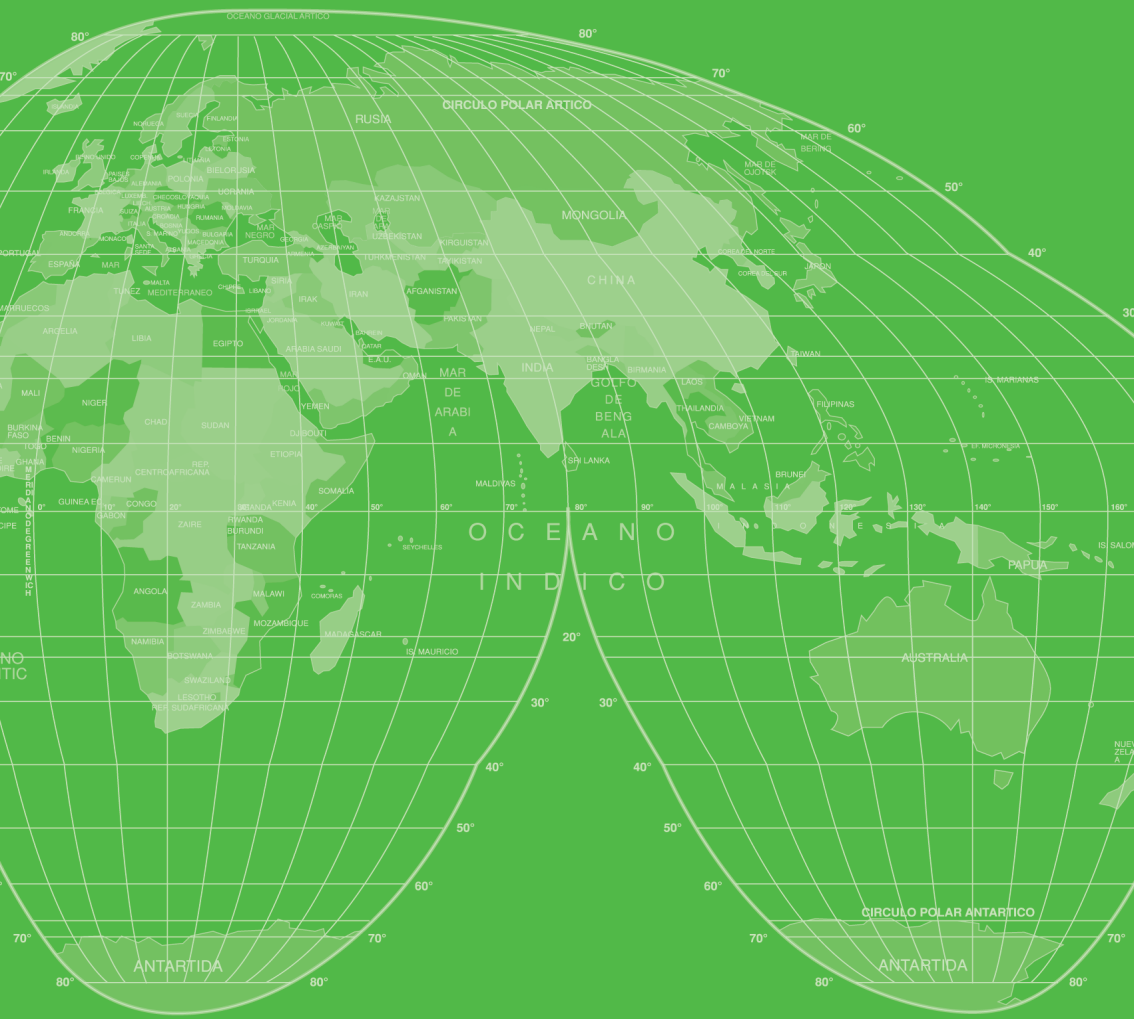
María Luisa Setién and Trinidad L. Vicente (eds.)

# Cross-disciplinary views on migration diversity




University of Deusto

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María Luisa Setién and Trinidad L. Vicente
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## Contents

# Prologue

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At the moment, the topic of international migrations constitutes one of the challenges and concerns in western societies, and Spain especially. The spectacular growth in the presence of foreigners in our environment, fundamentally during the last five years, implies the need to develop knowledge, reflection, and the creation of models of intervention and policies to deal with this phenomenon correctly. At the same time, we are dealing with a complex phenomenon:

- It relates to a great diversity of topics, such as labour, law, politics, culture, language and family, to name but a few;
- It has diverse protagonists, due to the varied origin of the migrants, the multiple ethnic groups that are involved, the different age groups that migrate, gender differences that can be seen and because the phenomenon of immigration also involves and questions the local population of the host countries;
- It has impact on different contexts relating to the host societies and also the societies of origin. The latter lose population of productive and reproductive age, placing in question their family structures with the absence of one or both progenitors who emigrate leaving the children in their communities of origin, often in the care of grandparents or other relatives. In parallel, the societies of origin see their income increase through remittances from emigrants who periodically send part of their wages to build the family house, to pay the debts they left behind, to take care of the family or pay for the subsistence and education of their children, for whom they want a better and more comfortable life than their own.

— It creates new transnational spaces, thanks to affordable means of transport and technologies that allow instantaneous and affordable communication.
— It also modifies urban contexts, due to the trend towards the grouping of migrants by nationality in certain neighborhoods of cities: spatial settlements that end up reflected in the streets, the trades of the area and the life of the neighborhoods.

The series of which this book forms a part aims to reflect this diversity and also to share different perspectives on immigration in Europe. The topic of immigration and ethnic minorities is a common reality with a European dimension, but at the same time, different countries have different concerns and research interests, given their history, their tradition and their current situation. The different contributions in this book seek to reflect the multidisciplinary reality from which we can and must approach immigration. They are texts prepared by different members of the Research Team on International Migrations of the University of Deusto, who are also part of the European Network of Excellence IMISCOE (International Migration, Social Integration and Cohesion in Europe). The book groups sociological, anthropological, educational, economic, political and legal perspectives. It also deals with different protagonists, such as women, children and young people, and immigrant workers. It also deals with aspects related to migratory processes, transnational spaces, policies of immigration, the educational system and the labour market.

What we seek is to reveal different situations that make the migratory phenomenon more comprehensible and which also contribute ideas for a reflection on modes of social integration of immigrant communities in host societies. The question of the social integration of the local and immigrant populations, with the goal of achieving a cohesion that allows peaceful and harmonious coexistence, is vital for the future development of the countries which —as Spain today— are protagonists of a very rapid quantitative and qualitative change in the composition of their population. Nevertheless, the achievement of integration raises doubts and questions about respect for the cultures of origin and their relations with the host culture. In fact the question raised in the different European countries is what consideration is granted to immigrants who settle in the national territory. The most frequent is to find, as in Spain, the recognition of the right of foreigners to family reunification, to obtain a residence permit after a certain time and to enjoy some public services such as sanitary, educational and certain social services, among them a basic income. Ne-

vertheless, the same foreigners have neither the right to political decision-making, nor to free travel which the natives of the European states enjoy. Normally, the residence permit does not confer the right to a work permit and this fact condemns many immigrant women to eternally continue the role of wife/housewife/mother with which they arrived in Europe, since their administrative status does not allow them to work legally. These situations, among others —such as the fact that immigrants are those who suffer the most precarious employment situations— place many of them among the groups at risk of social exclusion. The present volume reflects in its contents some of the questions that can help us to better understand this complex reality and, therefore, to explore different alternatives in order to improve the aforementioned situation.

The structure of the work transmits the diversity of migration and, therefore, of its treatment. The first three articles centre on the migratory processes of different types of protagonists. The article on *Female migratory models* contains a sociological treatment derived from the study of how women, the protagonist group of this article, reflect increasingly diversified behaviors in their modes of migration. The second article, *The Mamadu Case,* constitutes a case study, from an anthropological perspective, which allows us to penetrate the mechanisms that enter into the decision and modes of migrating of individuals, in this case young Africans. The third article, *Unaccompanied foreign minors: mobility of young people with adult expectations*, explores the motives that lead minors to leave their families, tackling alone an uncertain adventure towards a Europe that they perceive as a flood of wealth and opportunities for life and work.

The second part of this publication is dedicated to policies related to immigration. The article *Transnational migratory spaces: the emergence of a new context for public policies* develops the importance of considering the existence of the transnational spaces in which many migrants live, when designing and implementing public policies aimed at this group. An specific proposal to orientate migratory politics appears in the article *Immigration policies and linguistic diversity,* which, starting from an approach based on human rights and social multiculturality, looks at linguistic policy in order to respect the plural cultural identity of immigrant groups. The third and last article of this section, entitled *Co-Development and migration: conceptualising policies as outlined in the Basque Immigration Plan 2003-2005*, considers immigrants as agents of development, both in the society of origin and the host society. It examines and analyzes the

priorities of the Basque government as regards immigration, as well as the practical initiatives of projects of co-development.

The last part of the book deals with two specific institutional areas: the economy via the labour market and education via the formal educational system. From the point of view of education, the article *The condition of immigrants and ethnic minorities in school drop-out*, analyzes the phenomenon of school drop-out and the reasons for it. Through a qualitative investigation in the city of Bilbao, it shows the motives for school drop-out among pupils from ethnic minorities and establishes strategies to deal with it. Also the text *Representing the cultural other in primary-school readers: A comparative study* deals with the importance of the texts used by the school system at primary level to help the students of different cultures avoid school failure and successfully pass their educational stages. Immigrants and the labour market constitute the subject of the article *Immigration and labour market in the Basque Autonomous Community. Entrepreneurship: Route to integration in the host society?* Starting with a diagnosis of the labour situation of foreign workers, it analyzes the factors that can influence the success of companies created by immigrants and their possible relation with the social integration of these individuals.

Part I

# Migratory processes and their protagonists

# 1.

# Female migratory models

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## Introduction: Europe, zone of immigration

Every year thousands of people come to the European Union from foreign countries. Nevertheless, Europe is not the globally favoured destination of immigrants; North America, southeast Asia and the Middle Eastern countries receive many more immigrants annually. In comparison, the percentage of immigrants in Europe is small in relation with its total population. However, according to Eurostat, in 1999 the total number of registered non-EU citizens living within European borders was approximately 13 million, and if we consider clandestine immigrants —who by their nature can not be registered— we might reach a total of some 16 million. This is not a negligible amount, and since in 2001 Eurostat gave the population of the European Union as 377 million, foreign immigrants represented 4.2 % of the total.

Migratory flows into the European Union come from the poor countries of Africa, Latin America and Asia, and also from Central and Eastern Europe. Specifically, the countries that have contributed the most immigrants to the EU are Morocco, Turkey and the former Yugoslavia. These are followed in number by immigrants from Poland, Romania, Hungary and Russia, followed by those from Asian countries such as India, Pakistan and China, Latin America, and finally, the countries of sub-Saharan Africa.

These movements of people from poor to rich areas, from south to north or, as has also been said, from the periphery towards the centre,

have been increasing since the 1980s. The repercussions of the 1970s economic crisis have left the countries of the Third World increasingly poverty-stricken, with external debts that their economies cannot support and with economic impositions from the creditor organisations that have enormously reduced the standards of living of the native populations. In the 1990s, the dismantling of the socialist economies of Eastern Europe and subsequent wars provoked an increase in the economic precariousness of millions, thus generating a constant migratory flow of people towards Western Europe. Furthermore, economic globalisation has contributed to a greater concentration of wealth in the western countries, through advantages in trade, decrease in the prices of primary materials and important benefits due to the transfer of some production to the countries of the South, in search of low wages and non-existent social legislation that allow payment of low taxes and obtain substantial benefits when production is sold on Western markets. As result, the poorest 20 % of the world's population, which in 1960 was earning 2.3 % of global income, by the year 2000 did not exceed 1 % of this income. In parallel, the richest 20 % of the population had gone from receiving 70 % of global revenue in 1960 to 90 % in the year 2000. The world of today has been converted into a dangerously unequal place, in which the poverty of the majority is acute, while the concentration of wealth becomes scandalous.

These situations have contributed to the increase of migratory flows of those fleeing poverty, wars, persecution and hopelessness, seeking a better life elsewhere for themselves and their kin.

And they come to Europe, especially to Germany, which until the mid-1990s was the country that received the greatest number of migrants. Since then, other member states, such as the United Kingdom, have strongly increased their migratory balance. The countries of southern Europe —Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece— have experienced a radical change in their situation with regard to migratory flows. From being sources of emigrants, they have gone to receiving immigrants especially from the north of Africa. In Spain, though the phenomenon is recent, the presence of immigrants is increasing; in 2001 it was the EU Member State that received the most immigrants. According to Eurostat, 24 % of net immigration to the EU was to Spanish territory. Moroccans constitute the most numerous group of non-EU foreigners, though the number of natives of Latin American countries shows a very marked rising trend. Thus, in 2003 the non-EU countries with the greatest number of residents in Spain are as follows, in order: Morocco, Ecuador, Colombia, Peru, China and Romania. And there is an important female presence among migrants; immigration is being feminised.

## 1. **The prominence of women in the phenomenon of migration**

Migratory movements do not represent a new phenomenon, although the principal features that characterize them at present are, indeed, new. In this respect, following Castles and Miller (1993), we can emphasize their increasing globalisation (ever more countries are affected by these flows of population, whether as sources, destinations or both at the same time), their acceleration (migrations are increasing in volume in all the principal zones affected), their diversification (reasons to emigrate are ever more varied: economic, political, studies, retirement, etc., so that every destination country tends to have different types of immigrants) or their increasing politicisation (since the control of international migratory flows is beginning to form a part of national political and security agendas, of many bilateral agreements between diverse countries, and of regional policies, as in the framework of the European Union).

Finally, these authors indicate the increasing feminisation of migratory movements as a novel feature, the feature to which we will dedicate most attention in this article.

Nowadays, women comprise almost half of the global migrant population, 48.8 per cent to be precise, according to information from the year 2000 (United Nations, 2002), which confirms the relevance of women in the recent migratory flows. Even so, the participation of women in population movements is not a new phenomenon. At the end of the 19th century one of the first researchers of international migrations, Ravenstein (1885), drew attention to women's migration, as well as their different behaviour and settlement with regards to male migrants. Later, different studies emphasized the greater proportion of women in the composition of the immigrant population of some countries, such as the USA, where the total number of female immigrants exceeded the number of males from 1930 until 1980, since when the number of male immigrants is greater, though by a small margin. Despite this, the greater prominence of women in migratory movements began in the seventies, concretely since the oil crisis of 1973, at which point the developed countries began policies of closing their borders to foreign workers, a situation which continues up to the present day. Since then, one can speak more generally of the feminisation of migratory phenomena, as result of the definitive establishment and family reunification of many foreign workers in the host society.

The increasing development of restrictive immigration policies, both at state and inter-state level, seeks to prevent the arrival of new

immigrants, but cannot to the same extent prevent the entry of close relatives of immigrants already established in the host country, as a means of favouring social integration of these foreigners in the host society and avoiding social conflict. In this way, immigrant women, through family regrouping, will become more visible, although they will continue to be considered primarily as passive and dependent subjects of the male who reunifies his family, leading in most cases to depreciation of their role as economic migrants, their dynamics of movement, their patterns of settlement; definitively, their migratory project and the consequences that stem from it for them and for their family and social environment.

At present, women take part in migratory processes almost to the same extent as men. In fact, men constitute the majority of migrants towards developing countries, whereas the majority of migrants towards developed countries in recent decades have been women. On the other hand, according to Zlotnik (1995: 231), women predominate in migratory flows towards countries that favour permanent settlement, while men are a majority in flows towards countries that favour labour immigration. Likewise, the data reflect important regional differences in the participation of women in international migrations. In the majority of countries of Asia, Africa and Oceania, male emigrants predominate over women, whereas in the American countries women make up at least the half the emigrant population, which is also the case in approximately sixty per cent of the European countries for which we have information (United Nations, 1994).

In recent years female migrations constitute almost fifty per cent of international migratory flows and stocks[1] in the majority of recipient countries (Kelson and DeLaet, 1999: 2), but the factors relating to male migration are much better known than those relevant to female migration, due to the greater invisibility that immigrant women have experienced throughout history, and in migratory theory specifically, as we will now see.

[1] It is crucial not to confuse migratory flows and stocks. Flows of migrants refer to the number of foreign persons that enter a country during a certain period, whereas the stock of migrants indicates the number that live in a country at a given moment. Migratory flows do not provide any evidence about net migration, since they do not incorporate information on those foreign persons who leave the country during the period considered, so stocks give us a better view of permanent migrations.

## 2. **Women in migratory theory**

The image of the international migrant as a male who migrates for work motives still persists, both among the population as a whole and in academia, in spite of the importance of the number of women that take part in migratory movements at present and the differences between female and male migrations. Research on migration has until very recently taken it for granted that when women migrate they do so following their husbands or parents, thus becoming dependent persons that hardly influence the decision and, therefore, are irrelevant in understanding why these population movements take place. Nevertheless, Ravenstein, one of the first researchers on international migrations, in 1885 already identified differences in the migratory behaviour of men and women. His study showed that women were not only dependent subjects, but that they also migrated on their own account and, in addition, that they did so for diverse reasons[2]. Nevertheless, during most of the historical development of the study of international migrations, there has been a tendency to ignore gender as a relevant variable for analysis. This is what, for example, the neoclassical theoreticians did, who throughout the sixties and seventies presented migration as the consequence of an individual decision taken rationally for purely economic ends. This approach was rejected by sociologists and geographers, among others, for being too reductionist, because it did not consider that migration is not always voluntary, but that many people are driven or forced to migrate due to conditions in their place of origin. This initial approach was modified by «push-pull» theories, considering that migratory movements are induced by different factors (not only economic) in both destination areas and places of origin. In any case, this theoretical approach continued to assume that men and women migrate for the same reasons, in a process of individual, rational decision-making, and principally in search of economic improvement.

Later, authors like Mincer showed the need to consider that this decision is often not taken individually by the migrant, but that it can

[2] In Ravenstein's words (1885: 196): «Woman is a greater migrant than man. This may surprise those who associate women with domestic life, but the figures of the census clearly prove it. Nor do women migrate merely from rural districts into the town in search of domestic service, for they migrate quite as frequently into certain manufacturing districts, and the workshop is a formidable rival of the kitchen and scullery». Ravenstein, in his well-known laws of migration, also pointed out that women migrants prefer to travel shorter distances than men, though present-day trends do not confirm this.

also be determined by aspirations and the allotment of roles within the family. So that bit by bit the research on the determining factors of migrations recognized the importance of considering not only the individual characteristics of migrants (such as sex, age, marital status, level of education, employment, etc.) but also their family characteristics (size and composition of the family, status of each of its members, properties, etc.) (United Nations, 1994).

The consideration that the decision to emigrate can be taken not by the migrant person but by the family, as a strategy for optimisation of economic resources, has likewise raised the need to study in detail the interaction between the family member or members who emigrate and those who remain in the country of origin. With this, the study of migratory movements has acquired a trans-national dimension, in which the concept of migratory network —understood as the set of kinship, friendship or neighbourhood contacts through which flow information, resources and all kinds of material and intangible goods and services, leading to migration— is gaining ever greater importance (Gregorio, 1998: 34-37).

The discourse on the feminisation of migration is explained, therefore, as Oso (1998:39-58) correctly indicates, not only by a real increase in feminine participation in population movements, but also by a conceptual opening to the figure of the immigrant woman. Her presence can already not be denied and she inevitably appears in the limelight, albeit upstaged by the figure of the regrouped woman migrant to such a degree that it is not considered necessary to study her in depth; and, when it is occasionally admitted that she emigrates on her own account, her reasons for leaving are considered to be the same as for men.

In this way, female participation in population movements has constituted a marginal topic of investigation in the field of social sciences, the factors related to male immigration being still much better known today than those for women. Even so, there is increasing interest in the academic world in this topic, principally since the beginning of the eighties, with diverse studies that try to heighten the visibility of women in contemporary migratory movements, as well as their active and autonomous role in many of these processes and the different reasons why they take part in them. In this line, worldwide, we can emphasize the work of Morokvasic (1984), Tienda and Booth K. (1991), Grasmuck and Pessar (1991), Buijs (1993), Simon (1993 and 2001), United Nations (1994 and 1995), Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994), Zlotnik (1995), Phizacklea (1996 and 2000), Boyle and Halfacree (1999), Kelson and DeLaet (1999), Kofman (1999 and 2001), Willis and Yeoh (2000), Andall (2000), Harzig (2001), Pedraza (2001), Lutz (2002), Boyd and

Griego (2003), among others. In Spain, this type of studies has been developed later, principally in the second half of the nineties, though we can already find a considerable number of investigations by authors such as Solé (1994), Sipi (1997), Gregorio (1998), Oso (1998), Aparicio (1998), Ariño (1998), Ramirez (1998), Ribas (1999), Juliano (2000), Roque (2000), Escrivá (2000), Mestre (2001), Colectivo Ioé (2002 and 2001), García-Mina and Carrasco (2002), Setién (2002 and 2003), Vicente (2002 and 2003) and Yago (2002).

A great deal of research remains to be developed, but the different studies carried out over the last two decades have already made clear that women migrate for a great variety of reasons, including economic incentives, the family reunification, the achievement of better opportunities for children, the search for greater freedom and personal and social independence, flight from situations of domestic violence, political violence or persecution for gender reasons. In the same way, these investigations have emphasized the important influence on the decision to emigrate of these women's situation in the society of origin, as well as the influence, not at all negligible, of the internal dynamics of the destination societies, which affect men and women differently.

Thus, we can conclude that although international migrations have historically been seen as male displacements from one country to another in search of a more prosperous future, without requiring any reference to composition according to the gender variable, recently the feminine presence in these processes has begun to be recognised, with, at least in this case, specific reference being necessary to «the woman migrant», who appears as a unique subject submitted to the same situation. But a unique model of the woman migrant does not exist. Women who emigrate present a great diversity of origins and identities, their migratory paths are as varied as their situations in the host society and their links with the society of origin. These women do not constitute a homogeneous group, so that it seems more opportune to refer to them in the plural, as «women migrants», in order to reflect this diversity of origins, paths, situations and migratory experiences. It is to these «women migrants» resident in Spanish territory that we will dedicate the following section.

## 3. **Female immigration in Spain**

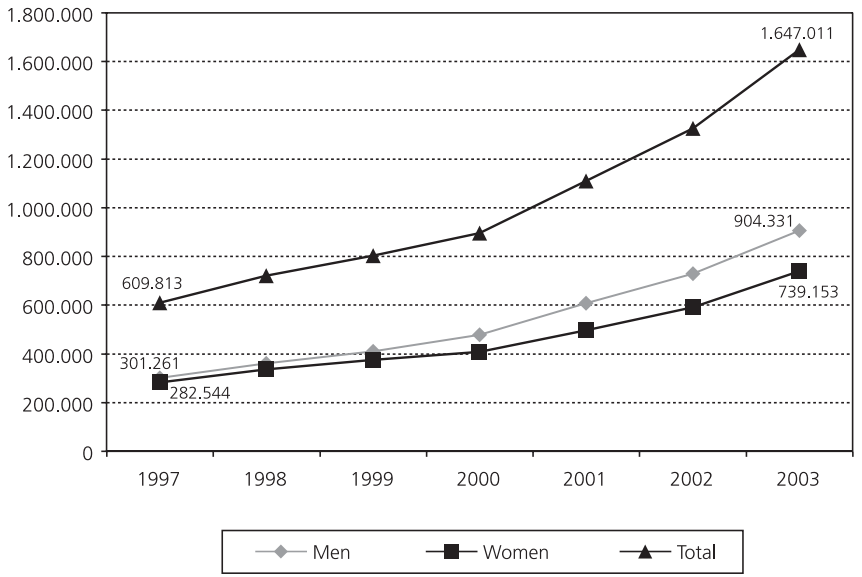
The arrival of the immigrant population to Spain has acquired an unusual importance during the last two decades and especially in the last five years, both due to its increasing volume, and its diversified

origin. The relative proportion of foreigners of European origin is yielding ground in favour of those originating from other places, fundamentally Latin America and North Africa. During recent years, also, the debate on the integration of immigrants has become more prominent in the political and social life of the Spanish, based on the fundamental stereotype of males who come to our country for economic reasons and who, some time later, try to bring their wives and children in order to become definitively established among us. In this way, and as we will later show, the presence of foreign women becomes more visible, as has happened on the European stage.

The important presence of women in international migratory flows towards Spain is notable: of every 100 foreign persons who are resident in Spain, that is, with a card or residence permit in effect, approximately 45 are women, which indicates that their presence is not marginal (graph 1). This female group has grown by some 162 per cent

**Graph 1**

Development of the foreign population in Spain, total and by sex (1997-2003)



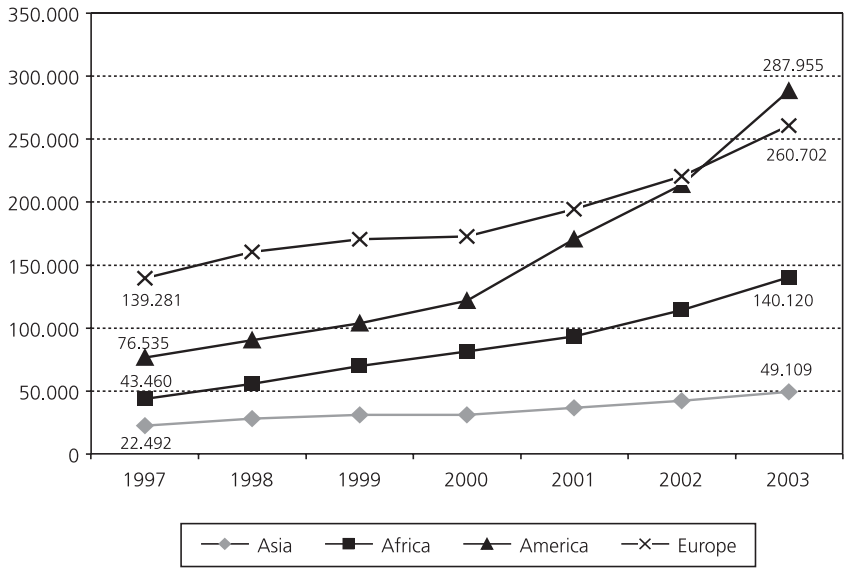

*Source:* Prepared by the authors from data collected by the Ministry of Social Affairs and the Inter-ministerial Commission for Foreigners, Ministry of Home Affairs.

between 1997 and 2003, from 282,544 individuals to 739,153. This is by no means a negligible level of growth, but less than that in the same period for male migrants. They have grown 200 per cent, from 301,261 to 904,331; so that in Spain as a whole we observe an increasing of female migratory flows, though their relative weight shows a gradual descent, in contrast to the global trend.

Considering their countries of origin (graph 2), among foreign women resident in Spain with valid residence permits, women originating from the European continent (and within it, from EU Member States) have dominated until the year 2002, a hegemony that only recently has been taken by the greater growth in the number of women originating from the American continent (fundamentally Latin America). In third place are women from Africa, specifically North Africa, and in last place Asian women, the smallest group numerically, as well as that which has grown the least in absolute terms in the last five years considered.

**Graph 2**

Development of the number of foreign women in Spain, by continent of origin (1997-2003)



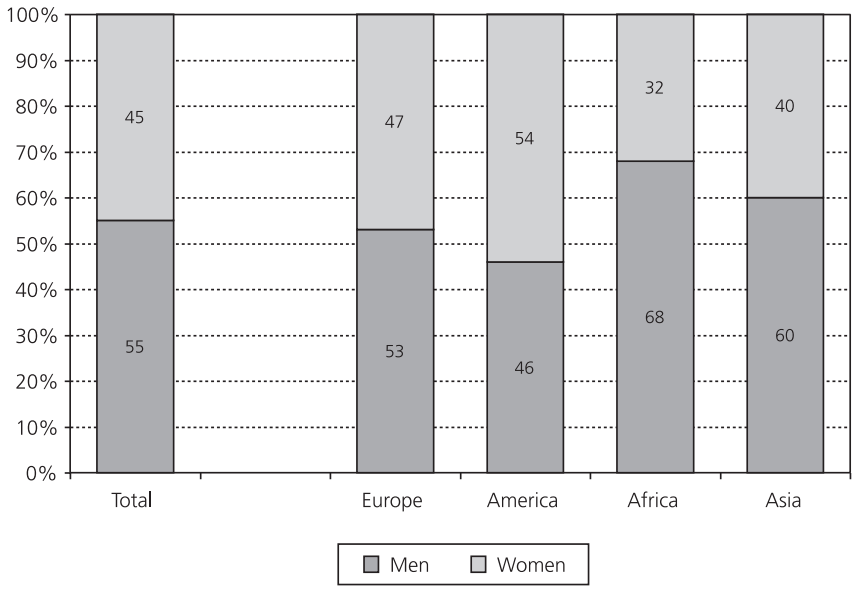

*Source:* Prepared by the authors from data collected by the Ministry of Social Affairs and the Inter-ministerial Commission for Foreigners, Ministry of Home Affairs.

These data tell us little about the migratory projects of these women, but comparing them with the distribution by continents of the male foreign population does allow some relevant conclusions to be drawn regarding the topic that concerns us. To wit, as seen in graph 3, the proportion of immigrant women relative to men is higher among those immigrants originating from the American continent, but lower among Asians and in particular Africans: women represent one-third of all Africans resident in Spain.

This different distribution by continent of origin leads us to ask ourselves, first, why some population groups are more attracted towards our country than others, and why these differences also depend on the sex of the immigrants, which undoubtedly has to do with the conditions both in the country of origin and in the destination —situations that, on the other hand, will vary with gender—.

**Graph 3**

Distribution of the foreign population in Spain, by sex and continent of origin. Percentages (2003)

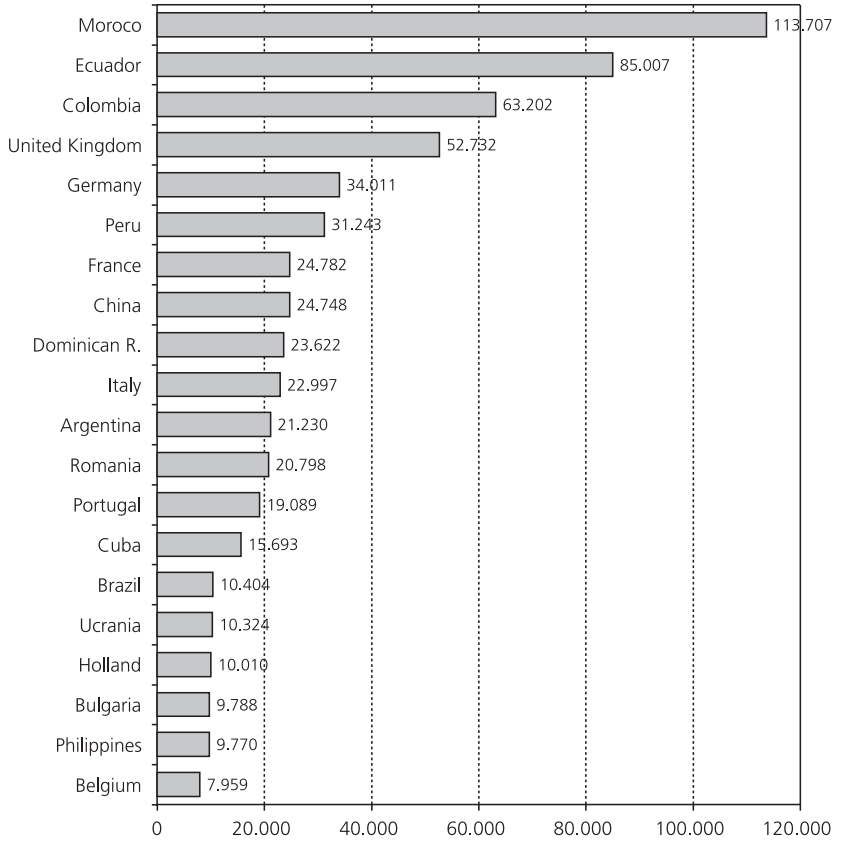



*Source:* Prepared by the authors from data collected by the Ministry of Social Affairs.

Limiting ourselves now to analysis by nationality, we can point out the greater presence of foreign women than men in our territory originating from several countries of the American continent (concretely Brazil, Guatemala, Mexico, Peru, Venezuela, Costa Rica, Colombia, Cuba, Bolivia, or the Dominican Republic), Europe (women originating from Finland, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, France, Germany, Sweden, the United Kingdom, or the Czech Republic and Russia), Africa (Equatorial Guinea and Cabo Verde) and Asia (Philippines and Japan).

**Graph 4**

Principal groups of foreign women in Spain, by nation of origin (2003)




*Source:* Prepared by the authors from data collected by the Ministry of Social Affairs.

If to this we add the increasing absolute number of women among other, hitherto more male-dominated groups such as Moroccans (a group which has one of the lowest proportions of women, even though it contributes the greatest number of immigrant women in absolute terms) (graph 4), Ecuadorians (which already is in second place in terms of the number of women) or Chinese (in eighth place), we can see, on the one hand, the importance of women in migratory flows towards Spain and, on the other hand, the characteristics of globalisation and diversification which are also applicable to these female population movements.

## 4. **Reflections on female migratory experience**

This view of the principal female groups present in Spain in comparison with the male groups, begs the question why some groups of women embark on a migratory process and others do not. Undoubtedly, this is a complex topic influenced by the social and legal organization both in the country of origin and in the destination society**.**

From the society of origin, we must take into account the socio-structural and cultural framework in which women develop, as well as family structure and the distribution of sexual roles. Circumstances to which investigation of female migration should dedicate more attention, since they appear to be key in the selection of migrant subjects, determining the decision to emigrate and the type of female emigration. It is undeniable that it is not the same to make a decision to emigrate in a society in which strict control over women is not exercised or in a society that is patriarchal (in that the father exercises authority and is the head of the family); patrilocal (in that daughters leave the paternal home on getting married, while sons remain in it with their wives); patrilineal (in that transmission of inheritance is defined via a paternal route) and endogamous (in that marriage is typically between relatives who on many occasions scarcely know each other previously), in which great control is exercised over women through rules, customs and attitudes related to their imprisonment in the private-reproductive sphere, as occurs in Moroccan society (Jiménez, 1996; Salih, 2001; Soriano, 2001; Ramirez, 1998; Dietz, 2002; Ariño, 1998). However, this is not to say that women in these societies should not be considered in any case as protagonists of the migratory phenomenon. The case is that the social changes that take place even in these more traditional contexts will push an ever greater

number of women to initiate a migratory project on their own account, to achieve greater independence, to escape the rules that govern these family structures (arranged marriages, control by the husband's family, etc.) or fleeing from the negative valuation that they receive in their societies for being divorced, repudiated, or having problems of social acceptance. Social changes which are favoured by the increasing access of women to education, through processes of urbanization, through the increasing globalisation of communications and information, and through changes in values stimulated even by the emigration of other members of the family unit.

Equally it will be necessary to analyse the migratory laws and regulations of the countries of origin, since undoubtedly they also exercise a notable influence in deciding who emigrates and under what circumstances. Thus, among societies of origin we could emphasize that some Asian countries, among them India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and the Philippines, have tried to prohibit the emigration of working women, due to the frequent commission of abuses and attacks on their human dignity in the host countries (principally located in the Persian Gulf), which has had a great impact on both the volume and the selection of international feminine migration (Sutcliffe, 1999).

Limiting ourselves now to the situation in the host society, immigration policies will also play a fundamental role in the selection of the protagonists of immigration. In this respect, the law relating to foreigners and the regulations developed in the European context since the seventies have left open two main modes of entry for the foreign population: employment (which is increasingly restricted), and family reunification (very widely used by immigrant women in recent decades in order to avoid the ever greater border obstacles to their migratory flow, even though their reason for migrating is clearly employment). This last mode of entry will, nevertheless, grant them the status of immigrants legally and economically dependent on «regroupers», at least during a period of time, which has important consequences. This situation will not allow, for example, many women to break the family bond by means of the separation, while at the same time it will deprive them of their own economic resources since they will have a residence permit, but not a work permit. Thus, their only possibility of joining the labour market will be in the black economy, with its consequent risk of exploitation. But to the extent to which our society offers women migrants better expectations of employment and salary that their place of origin, even in the so-called «female jobs» (domestic service, caring for children and/or the elderly, the sex industry, etc.), the possibility of initiating a migratory process will be seen as a more attractive option;

especially if they will still have an opportunity to obtain the longed-for «papers».

## 5. **Typology of women's migratory models**

Together with feminisation and globalisation we can emphasize another characteristic of current migratory flows: diversification (Castles and Miller, 1993), a feature that also applies to current female migratory flows. There are ever more women, proceeding from very diverse countries, who take a notable part in movements of population; women who, on the other hand, are moving away from a single model to present an ever greater plurality of migratory projects, from which we can extract the following typology (Oso, 1998; Ruiz Olabuenaga *et al.,* 1999; Colectivo IOÉ, 2000):

In establishing the typology, we can consider two types of women depending on their marital status: married women or those with a partner and children, and single women who in the society of origin live within the family structure, who are also divided into different types, as we will now explain:

1. Married women or those with a partner, adult and with family responsibilities, among whom three types can be distinguished:

    1.1. *Regrouped by the husband.* This is, perhaps, the archetype of female immigration, in which the woman plays a passive role, merely following her husband who is the one initiating the migratory chain and who continues to contribute the economic resources to support the family unit. In this context, the recently arrived woman tends to be very dependent on the husband, especially if she lacks the support of an already established immigrant community (which will constitute her principal reference and network of solidarity), and if she does not know the language of the host country (which will further limit her area of social relations, as well as her possibilities for finding employment). The immigrant woman who arrives via the process of family reunification tends to gain in independence with regard to the extended family, since regrouping tends to apply to the nuclear family, but otherwise it tends to be the case that the family relations and roles of the country of origin are reproduced in the host country, especially if she belongs to a group characterized by imbalance between the sexes.

All the same, with time these women can adopt a more active role, to the extent to which they succeed in entering the labour market and contributing greater economic support to the home, although in many cases this means working two full-time days, inside and outside the home. The presence of the woman on the labour market and the greater contact with the host society that tends to follow, will not take place, in many cases, until a change in the economic context makes access to employment increasingly difficult for men, thereby pushing women to search for paid work in order to relieve the family economic situation.

1.2. *Emigrants together with the husband.* When a woman initiates the migratory project accompanied by the husband, she tends to present a lower level of dependence than in the previous case of family regrouping, probably due to her more rapid access, on many occasions, to the labour market. Given that these women will find work basically as live-in domestic servants, many of these couples will initially have to live apart, until the greater economic stability of the family allows the woman to go into daily domestic service. On the whole, once they live together, these couples tend to reproduce the social roles of the country of origin, though in many cases the woman tends to present a more assertive attitude.

1.3. *Heads of household who lead the migratory project to support the family.* This type of migratory project, with a clearly economic motivation and led by women, is frequently associated with family situations in which the absence of the man or the perception of a greater difficulty for him to find work (both in the country of origin and in the destination country), leads the woman to assume the role of head of the household. These women, who work to support the trans-national household, to increase its socio-economic level or to ensure the education of the children, make their primary objectives to maximize savings and send remittances to their relatives. Therefore, they are not going to gain in independence until they manage to reassemble the family unit, especially the children, in the host society, and are thereby liberated of the heavy load of sending money, which will also lead to an important change in their traditional roles. The situation is that, even though the

husband also regroups, he will become a member dependent on the woman who has pioneered the migratory process, at least initially, until he finds work; but even then these women migrants tend to maintain a greater capacity of decision that they had in the society of origin.

2. Single women. This group consists of girls and teenagers dependent on paternal decisions and also young adult women who begin their life independent of the family household by initiating a migratory project. Three different types can be identified:

   2.1. *Daughters migrating or regrouped with their parents.* In most of these cases the migratory project is not initiated by an individual decision, but by a decision of the parents, also present in the host society. In any case, the degree of dependence of these young women will vary from one case to another: those that manage to become incorporated into the educational system and later the labour market will enjoy greater possibilities of independence and a greater social network. Regrouped women who are already of working age, on the other hand, will have fewer opportunities, with their possibilities for work being restricted to the same economic niches as their compatriots.

   2.2. *Protagonists of the migration, representing the family.* These women, with dependent relatives in their charge, tend to be grown-up daughters who, after the mother, assume responsibility for their siblings, especially as regards their education. Traditionally it has been considered better to send the males of the family abroad with this purpose, in the belief that there is more work for them, but this analysis has been proved erroneous in many cases. Furthermore, not only is access work on many occasions easier for women, but the latter have demonstrated a greater loyalty towards the family group, sending more remittances, even with low salaries. In these migratory projects also family responsibility has a high priority, so that, as in the case of heads of household who lead the migratory project to support the family, the economic agreement established will be basic until it is fulfilled with the family commitment acquired.

2.3. *Protagonists of a personal migratory project.* In this case the decision to migrate is taken by the women who migrate themselves, thus breaking with the context of dependence that the society of origin imposes, while at the same time assuming the responsibility of helping the family economically. These women, proceeding principally from urban areas and with a certain level of studies, reflect the processes of social change that are experienced in all societies. They seek greater autonomy and social advancement, even while maintaining family links. In this case the survival of the household does not depend on them, so that their obligations towards it are less stringent. In this group may also locate the «adventurers»: not a few young women in whom, through readings, the media or from friends who return from abroad, is awoken the desire for adventure, to know other places and cultures or to tempt fortune. These women migrants plan their migratory projects scantily, rarely fixing in advance either the time of the trip, the specific route, nor even the costs that are prepared to bear. The migratory project is decided and financed by the same women, who enjoy a middle-upper educational and economic level in their countries, though on arrival in the host society they tend to experience a process of descending social mobility, becoming unable to get the same type of work as in the society of origin, but rather finding other work requiring far less qualifications.

This diversity of migratory projects and itineraries shows the heterogeneity of the group constituted by emigrant women, breaking —as we pointed out— with the dominant stereotype in public opinion and even in academic discourse, which in general presents the woman as the subject of a single, uniform migratory model. The reality is that, in spite of the scanty level of knowledge of female migratory processes, we can recognize that their determinants are complex, extending from situations in which they do not play any role in the process of decision-making, to others in which the planning is realized jointly, with the women being in many cases the principal or only protagonists.

Though in many societies women still live situations of great inequality with men and suffer extensive social control, female migrants are far from being a homogeneous group, so that it is necessary to eliminate the stereotyped vision that associates these

women with victims of subordination and of backward cultural practices, such as supposed sale as brides, the use of the veil, etc.: negative images that might favour the rejection of these immigrants in the host society, as well as the emergence of racist outbreaks (Nash, 2000: 283). Also the models of integration in the host society are enlightening about this diversity, when seen from the perspective of gender, an aspect that we are about to discuss.

## 6. **Types of models of integration of immigrant women in the host society**

The completion of a Socrates European research project centred on immigrant women in Bilbao (Setién and Lopez, 2003), has allowed us to study the way in which immigrant women establish their process of integration in the host society, elaborating a typology that shows diversity and multiplicity of forms of integration, from the labour route, to the idiomatic route or the route of relations between cultures, and shows us a panorama of women in different processes of insertion. The three types detected were as follows:

### *The established*

Women from Latin American countries and also from Equatorial Guinea, who have been salaried workers during a fairly long period of time or who are in the process of integration with respect to labour or education. Knowledge of the language and some cultural references put them in a better position than other immigrant women in adapting to the local ways of life. Legal status does not define this group, since it includes different legal and administrative situations, from persons with all their documents and permissions in order, to women in a totally irregular situation.

### *The transitory*

These are African women, who share their origin and some cultural references with Guineans, but have less fluency in language. Cultural and labour adjustment is more difficult for them, though they are forced to do it because they must compete with the previous group for

the same salaried work or official aid. They are in transition towards group 1, but with a long road ahead.

*The isolated*

These women live through the cultural parameters of their communities of reference and are more common among North Africans. Their basic difficulty is their scanty knowledge of the language, but there are other cultural, religious and economic factors that reinforce the social isolation of these women. In general, they are dependent on their families, not only at economic level, but also socially since they have almost no contact with the local population.

Immigrant women face three types of inequalities, which impede their integration via employment and social participation:

— The existing gender inequality in the host country. In Spain, women have greater levels on unemployment, there are feminised branches of activity like personal services and retail, wages are between 20 % and 30 % below those of men and the level of participation of women in positions of economic and political power are far below those of their male colleagues.
— Inequality depending on the personal characteristics of the immigrant. Factors such as race and ignorance of the language quickly make their condition as foreigners evident; besides, their educational level tends to be lower than the average for native women, which places them in a position of further disadvantage.
— Inequality of gender in relation with the culture of origin. The role of women in many countries of origin, whether due to cultural or religious tradition, is subordinated to that of the male and limited to private spaces.

These inequalities are superimposed, making every immigrant woman a candidate for membership to the groups excluded from the advantages enjoyed by full members of the host society. Therefore it is necessary to organize programs of intervention that are highly adapted to the reality of these women. Definitively, the female presence in migratory processes has been reinforced in recent years, though existing theoretical models have not yet managed to explain its dynamics, its multidimensional impact in political, social, economic, cultural, demographic aspects… In this respect the need becomes clear to adopt wider and more integrated approaches to the study of movements of population. In recent years, the invisibility that women migrants have hitherto suffered has been recognized, as has the need to

consider gender as an important variable of study, to which, undoubtedly, has contributed the ever greater presence of women in the labour market, in international migratory flows, in international development. The migratory experiences of women differ from those of their male companions due to their different social location, the different allotment of roles, the sexual division of labour at both national and international level, which on many occasions will perpetuate their situation of inferiority, which will not be modified until it is brought to light. Equally, as we have previously reflected, their position can be reinforced or improved via the means of integration of these women in the host society.

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# 2.

# The Mamadu case

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> *Leaving hurts, and seeing others leave hurts; sometimes, very much*.
>
> R. and L. Grinberg

## Introduction

This article reports an episode in the process of migration of young Africans to a territory which is converted from a place of transition into a destination.

This narrative corresponds to a piece of field work which I undertook as an anthropologist in the north of Spain. The space is experienced from the point of view of illegality. Added to the loss of identity are other losses that highlight the importance of the body in the migratory process, not only as an element transporting fantasies, but also as a physical support. The emergence during this itinerary of disorders such as loneliness, social isolation, depression, HIV infection or tropical diseases will determine their future social integration. This paradigmatic case confronts us with the complexity of migratory processes and the need to facilitate reception spaces that contribute to the mediation of these processes.

## 1. **The Case**

I met Saberi and Mamadu as the result of an eviction. Both came from Cameroon and had come to northern Spain following the route

Youandé-Paris-Madrid. Mamadu had left 6 months before Saberi and stayed in Paris until the latter's arrival. Mamadu[1], 36 years old, 1.94 m tall, was an excellent young businessman who ran his wife's family business. Sadly, his wife died of a cardiac disease that she had suffered since infancy and, one month later, his baby daughter, then two months old, also died. Due to the impact of these deaths he was accused by his wife's relatives of practising witchcraft and being possessed by an evil spirit, such a grave accusation that they decided to expel him from the company. This put a stop to all possibility of developing as a businessman in his country, since the ethnic system prevents working in these circumstances when you have been stigmatised as a witch.

Mamadu met Saberi two months before his wife died[2]. At the time Mamadu was living in Douala and travelling to Youandé on business each week. Saberi had been practising prostitution since the age of sixteen in an establishment in Youandé. She left home as a teenager with the aim of developing independently of her family group. Saberi's mother, a social worker in Youandé, invited Mamadu into her house, where he and her daughter lived as a couple for three years. As a teenager Saberi had a son whom she never took care of; his father took charge of his guardianship and emigrated with him to Germany. Saberi and Mamadu considered emigrating to Europe as a couple at the request of Mamadu's brother Nangabané, who has lived in Madrid for years. In Paris Mamadu stays at the house of an aunt, where he gets to know that the company is sending him compensation for his dismissal, and although it isn't the full sum agreed, they consider that it terminates their responsibilities. It is this money that allows Saberi to

[1] Mamadu is Bamileké, was born in Youandé and since infancy was cared for by his mother's sister. He lived in Douala until the age of 6, then he moved to Bafoussam until he was 12, from here he again moved to Bertoua up to the age of 15, returning to Douala until he was 18. Finally at the age of 33 he went back to Youandé, from where his social circumstances precipitated his emigration by request of his only brother living in Spain.

[2] Until then he had had three women, with whom he neither formalized civil marriage nor carried out the ritual of petition to their families. At the age of 18 he had his first wife, a Douala woman, who gave birth to a girl who is now 14 years old; at the age of 22 he had his second wife, a Bamileké woman, with whom he had another girl who is now 10. At the age of 26 he was living with his third wife, a Hausa woman, whose family were originally from the Lake Chad area; they had two daughters —the first is now 7 years old and the second died a month after the mother's death—. The daughters of the first two women are taken care of by Mamadu's mother; the youngest was taken in by the Hausa group, who forbade her to contact him to avoid contagion with the witchcraft of which they accuse Mamadu.

leave Cameroon for the first time in her life. At the age of 33, full of fantasies, she initiates the migratory process.

In Paris they met problems, and moved to Madrid with Mamadu's brother, who had been living with a Spanish woman, Maria, for five years. Maria had been widowed at the age of 43, had two children of 17 and 15 years old; her husband, a well-known surgeon, had died suddenly of a heart attack. She met Mamadu's brother, 30 years old, who at that moment was separated and had two children, 6 and 10 years old, and they decided to share their life. Both partners' children live in the house and they are waiting for the adoption of another child from Cameroon.

In Mamadu's view, only 10 % of the population of Cameroon lives well, the other 90 % survives as best it can, and this is very dependent on the ethnic group to which one belongs. These socio-economic circumstances determine the future of the great majority of inhabitants of his country. About fifty members of his ethnic group are dependent on the success or failure of his migration.

In Madrid Saberi has a gynaecological operation to remove an ovary. During her stay Saberi's relationship with Mamadu's family deteriorates and conflict returns. This is a relationship that was never accepted by Mamadu's family. Saberi feels isolated and ignored, only Maria shows an unconditional emotional support. When she recovers they decide to travel to another, alternative location, and their destination, then, is the North, since Saberi[3] has news of a group of Cameroonians that live there. After ten days, without papers, without possibilities of work, the group of compatriots[4] who participate in money laundering and drug trafficking demand that Mamadu join in these activities[5]. His refusal, and the simultaneous attraction that Saberi exerts over one of the members of the group, enrages the latter's partner, and provokes their definitive expulsion.

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[3] Saberi is Zingui, one of the Beti groups of Bantu origin. Her father is also Zingui and her mother Bamileké. Her father was a soldier, never lived with her mother, and is now dead.

[4] In this flat live two men and a woman. One of the men is Bamileké and another Manguisa, another group belonging to the Beti of Bantu origin. The woman is Ewondo. A second, Bamoun woman, the companion of the Manguisa man, visits the house frequently and forms part of the support network.

[5] The narcotics trafficking space of this group is a territory basically controlled by the police. This fact has been recognized socially for years. Nobody can act in this area without their consent, which raises the hypothesis of the renewal, under police control, of the local immigrant drug-dealing groups.

In view of the gravity of the situation Kasselem asks me for help. Kasselem, of Nigerian origin, is the Yoruba leader of the African community, an association that I have joined as a collaborator and member of the board. This group was born from Kasselem's personality and his leadership. As a leader, he is very pro-integration with the immigrant groups, regardless of their origin. He maintains good relations with Latin-American, Eastern European and Asian immigrants. He recently bought a *locutorio* (centre for making international telephone calls) from Uanane, a Senegalese, who sold it after obtaining promotion in a company that exports hotel and catering products to Dakar. The business has allowed Kasselem to increase his influence over the different groups and to extend help and collaboration with illegal or undocumented immigrants.

Kasselem's request forced me to mobilize resources to which I would never have had recourse were it not for the level of urgency that was expressed. In turn, at that time, I knew a woman who was looking for a carer for her mother, a retired businesswoman of 82 years, who was living alone, very sick, with a difficult character that had led to the failure of all the domestic help previously hired, because inwardly she wanted to live with and be taken care of solely by her daughter.

When I picked up Saberi and Mamadu, their Cameroonian compatriots had thrown their suitcases on the sidewalk, and they had been ejected by force. The same day, Saberi was able to start working as a live-in home carer, and Mamadu to move into a house with other African residents. There was a certain confusion in the environment and the solutions to the conflict did not guarantee that new problems would not emerge.

The definitive decisions were adopted in the calling centre, in the hairdressing shop that was in between the telephone booths and the computers, a little space without doors and in full view of all the clients; this is where the association met, and where three of us held an urgent meeting: Kasselem, a doctor who has been collaborating with the African community for several years, and I. The request for live-in domestic help involved two shifts to cover the whole week. One shift would cover from Monday until Friday and another the weekend. To cover the weekend shift the doctor had proposed Meba, an immigrant from the San Mauricio Islands with a dramatic history, whom she had been mentoring. At the time Meba was living with her four-year-old son in a safe house for battered women, under a protected identity. Meba had married a man from the North who had travelled to the San Mauricio islands. When she decided to set in motion the migratory process she left her family and her work in her

uncle's textiles company, where she had been working for seven years with great competence, managing the sales department of a French brand of clothing. Shortly after her arrival her relationship with her husband's family group developed in a dramatic way, the social services had to intervene when someone raised the alarm as the situation deteriorated. Meba was rescued from a room where her parents-in-law had imprisoned her, hardly fed her and caused her grave physical and psychological damage.

Meba is an intelligent woman, with great analytical and associative capacity, who shows a strong desire to outdo herself and obtain a level of autonomy that allows her to see the light in this underworld in which she is trapped. She is assertive in a good sense and seems to be responsible with her commitments.

Meba's mentor, Saberi, Mamadu and I travelled to the elderly businesswoman's villa to present the new contracts. The mentor wants to supervise all the steps in Meba's process of recovery. For his part, Mamadu also wants to ensure that Saberi's destination is a secure and calm space. At the villa we were met by the elderly woman and her daughter. Our reception was hospitable. It did not seem as if the woman was surprised by so many persons of colour. Surprisingly, it seemed as if she valued it positively. Her daughter showed us around the house and explained the workings of the whole place, domestic appliances, digital cooker, washing machine, heating, etc. Saberi and Meba oriented themselves adequately in this new place. But the essential part of the contract was how to approach caring for the mother, an elderly woman who had suffered a thrombosis and had a complex drug treatment with weekly controls of Sintrom and periodic visits to the clinic. A patient with a high level of stress, alteration of the wake-sleep cycle and with an intensely dependent relationship towards her carers. One of the greatest difficulties that appeared was that they would sleep in the same room, since distress in the face of impending death made it impossible for her to stand being alone.

The doctor undertook to give her Bach flower remedies, an inoffensive treatment without side effects which would improve her character and relieve her distress. We agreed that to begin with Saberi and Meba would share the room but with a commitment to move to an individual room once the daily routine of the house was under control. This never took place because of the invalid's complaints when they tried the separation. For months the elderly lady had not had a pharmacological review, so we suggested to her daughter a medical referral to a specialist. We found it strange that one of the medicines was Risperdal, a last-generation anti-psychotic, and that her body was

so bent over. We then agreed to carry out this course of action. The meeting concluded satisfactorily for both parties, Saberi stayed in this new residence and Meba would begin her first job since her arrival at the safe house for battered women. The visit concluded with a commitment to a follow-up program that would permit dialogue about the difficulties that might emerge.

After we parted I took Mamadu to the calling centre where Kasselem was waiting for him, it was his first separation from Saberi since they were reunited. On the return trip Mamadu told me that he had gone three days without eating, since before the eviction, because he had no money, they had only drunk coffee to keep going. This touched me and I decided to invite him to dinner. Mamadu was a depressed and stricken man. The journey had begun to shake his expectations of survival; distress and depression were written in his physiognomy and his expression, he was a man cornered by circumstances.

Kasselem informed me that Saberi and Mamadu had seen my appearance at this crucial moment of their lives, after the desperate decision to emigrate to France or Germany in search of some possibility of survival, like the appearance of an angel or a god who rescued them from a fall with no return.

* * *

From the start the elderly lady pressured Saberi and Meba with regressive behaviour that created new areas of dependency. To start with, she needed someone to cook for her, but she redefined the role to one of feeding her directly because she began to complain of immobility in her arm. She demanded the presence of her carer at all times and, little by little, she closed in the space until she demanded that they must not leave her during the entire night. Her GP was a family doctor who approached her amiably but came to distrust in her daughter because of the decisions she had taken. During the last year the treatment had not been revised, so she had an endless list of medicines that in some cases were redundant in their effects on the pathology that they were trying to treat. After one week Saberi had hardly slept and Meba was showing the first signs that this experience was beyond her. Saberi suggested to Meba that she think about the elderly lady as if she were her sick grandmother, since that would relieve the emotional pressure that she was under.

I carried out the first supervision at the end of the week, but every day I spoke with Saberi by telephone to find out how the relationship was developing. The elderly lady was showing a strong level of distress,

with unspecific complaints, and was repeatedly requesting to see a doctor because she was not well: «I am going to die». Her daughter considered that this chronic complaining had started in the last year and she had been living through it daily. Frequently she exclaimed «nobody knows how I've suffered with my mother, if this doesn't work out I'll put her in a home». I suggested to her the urgent need to privately coordinate a medical evaluation with a recognized specialist to define the current condition and to rule out any pathological process that might be latent. When I interviewed the elderly lady she told me that Pemo was excellent, she was treating her very well and was very affectionate, and that Meba was also diligent but more serious and distant. Who is Pemo? Pemo is Saberi. You call yourself Pemo, Saberi? Yes, this is what my family calls me in Cameroon. I was interested to know what strategy Saberi was developing to survive this relationship five days a week. I then perceived two significant behaviours: Saberi began to adjust her sleep-wake cycle to that of the elderly lady and she neutralized her very demanding character with a very strong affective relation, caressing her face, combing her hair, smiling when she got angry and speaking assertively when she had to carry out some care task. This behaviour neutralized the negative transference that the elderly lady tended to project on her carers and which was reproducing the troubled relationship that had developed throughout her life with her daughter. In the end the carers, exhausted, left her and the house as had happened so often with her daughter, whom she could never keep at home.

Pemo, perhaps, helped by her need to survive, had tapped into the internal world of the elderly lady and made possible the emotional flowering that later gave rise to an emotional bond.

The supervisions continued weekly during the first month. While Pemo made a rapid adjustment, Meba introduced a new conflict by bringing her son to take care of the elderly woman at the weekend. In spite of her attempts she could not always get someone to take charge of him, since the safe house for battered women did not seem to have a crèche. This became something very difficult to resolve, the problem being maintained until she quit. After a month, feeling very oppressed, she decided to resign, she found it very difficult to relate to an elderly and troubled person, she did not know how to do it. Facing this situation, we called a meeting in the hairdresser's shop of the calling centre, Kasselem, the doctor and I, to deal with Meba's resignation.

In these circumstances it was important and necessary not to blame Meba who might feel incompetent and like a failure. Meba explained to us that she had been very good for seven years in the family

business, but she was not prepared for this situation. She thought it better to quit, at this moment, because the elderly lady was beyond her. For her we thought of some alternative programs that we would start in a few days.

* * *

Focussing on the follow-up of the care program for the elderly lady I forgot about Mamadu. When I asked Saberi about Mamadu she told me that he was not doing well, he was thinking of going to Madrid because here he couldn't find anything, he had no money, no papers, no work and in the flat where he was staying one of the women was complaining about his uselessness, pressuring the rest to kick him out. He was living with a group of Fang[6] from Guinea. When I found Mamadu he was in a bad physical state and I decided then to look for an alternative place.

At the time I contacted the people in charge of a program of prison social rehabilitation and they informed me of the existence of an old priest who was lodging illegal immigrants in an old rectory that he was doing up with the help of a group of prisoners. They helped me with papers and I was able to agree with this priest a stay of three months for Mamadu while he was finding another place.

When I went to pick Mamadu up for his move, he appeared at the door without his bags of clothes. I asked why he was not bringing them, he answered that he would come for them another day. I deduced that the Fang group were keeping the clothes and asking him for money in return. Mamadu had been lodging with an ethnic group linked to the Bamileké, and to leave the house in which he had stayed for six days, they were asking him for 60 euros.

The position of the group seemed to me to be out of order, since they were acting on the predatory logic of taking maximum advantage of the victim. I told to him that I was going upstairs to collect the suitcase because I wanted to identify them. He asked me to leave it, another day he would come for it.

I was received by a member of the group who then lay down on a sofa and wrapped himself in a blanket; giving the impression that he was concealing something underneath. I asked him where Mamadu's

[6] This group is originally from border area between Cameroon and Guinea. The Fang live on both sides of the border, and feel Cameroonian despite the artificial border divisions that arose as a result of the colonial era. The Fang ethnic group is stigmatized as a violent group, despite which the group with which Mamadu was living was not very aggressive.

suitcase was. He told me that Mamadu already knew that if he would not pay 60 Euros they would not give him the clothes. The position was hard and violent and there was no way of changing it; I chose to pay and to start the move.

In the rectory, Kasselem and the old priest were waiting for us. The room where Mamadu and Saberi were staying, in their rest periods, had been prepared by the prisoners that were taking part in the program of social rehabilitation. It was a large room with all the necessary basic comforts. The agreement for rental was fixed for a period of three months, since that was the period projected for the renovation of a reception house serving African community projects.

The old priest introduced Mamadu to the immigrants who would accompany him during his stay. In the house at this time were a Biafran and two Moroccans, who had managed to normalize their papers after the run-around that most migrants experience. They told him about the house maintenance rules and the contributions that he would have to make from the first day he received any income; until then, his economic shortfall could be made up with work on the building and the grounds. Mamadu was staying under the responsibility of the old priest and Kasselem.

* * *

Meba's resignation forced us to advertise the job again among the African women. At that moment, because of the urgency, only one woman signalled her availability. Her name was Fatima, a Western Saharan, with two children of four and six years old, separated and without papers. Her interest was fundamentally in resolving her legalisation process. At the time she was working as a cleaner in a restaurant under exploitative conditions without any way of resolving her legal situation. Like so many women she was caught in a trap of labour marginalisation from which it is very difficult to escape without external help. The weekend contract meant sorting out her papers to get regular work. After the Western Sahara conflict with Morocco she ended up displaced in the Algerian zone, her education was in the French language and thanks to the help of the Algerian government she had studied to be a teacher of Arabic literature. At present she lives with her sister Adama, who received the help of the Cuban government, as did so many other Saharan children, and was trained as a child psychologist in Havana. Adama is developing her doctoral thesis on child migration through an agreement with the Spanish government. Adama's grant allows her sister and her children to survive in these

circumstances. At present, as an investment for the future, she has bought a telephone calling centre and thrown herself into this business initiative.

Fatima is a woman whose face is marked by suffering, she has had life experiences, perhaps very strong, whose wounds have not developed. So her unstable emotional state alternates between friendliness and hardness accompanied by a cold, hard stare. Recently she has had work experience in the care of an elderly women in the initial phase of Alzheimer's. She failed, since her abruptness prevented her developing an empathic relationship at work. On occasions she persisted in carrying out tasks wrong, affecting ignorance of their meaning and of the repercussions for her work. As a result of this behaviour she was dismissed for inadequacy in attending to the needs of this elderly woman.

This new job offer gave her the chance to show that she had analysed, corrected and taken on board the difficulties of her previous experience and that it would allow her to make a different type of sense of dealing with elderly women with incipient dementia. Fatima was introduced to the elderly woman, who received her amicably and she began her new job with high expectations of resolving her legal situation.

* * *

The old priest was pressuring Mamadu about his unemployment. The association, in spite of its poverty, was projecting programs that could facilitate the conclusion of the migratory process by finding jobs for immigrants. There were several offers, among which the most relevant to Mamadu was a project of a service company for maintaining houses and estates in the rural environment. In various coastal areas, an urban-rural migration had taken place with the emergence of second homes. The middle classes were investing their surplus in construction projects with all the symbolic significance represented by the concept of a house. Once the project was finished, the rural environment came face-to-face with the ideal spaces that had been represented in the urbanite fantasies, which were overwhelmed by the many tasks of maintenance, preventing the Edenic enjoyment that they pursued in these new places. The resulting demand for help was responded to by a supply that was non-existent in some cases and in others economically ruinous, breaking the confidence of the potential clients. This business project was born by putting oneself in the place of the other, taking into account his needs and limits, which permits negotiation of a lasting and beneficial transaction for both parties. The first product that this service

sells is «confidence» based on a contractual relationship projected generally onto all the tasks required. Mamadu started the experimental phase of this management project in a coastal area. Bit by bit this services company took on new areas and met with a very good reception. You get the impression that this new space is located at a point of inflexion of his free-fall into social marginalisation.

* * *

Fatima's arrival did not resolve the conflict between the elderly woman and Meba but rather increased her complaints about inadequate attention. Fatima showed that her brusque and sharp character had not been brought on by the incipient Alzheimer's of her previous patient, but that it was part of her complex and troubled personality. At times it seemed that she was living in other worlds far removed from the reality that she had to face every day. Her first serious mistake was altering the elderly woman's dose of Sintrom, which required the urgent intervention of the GP. It was a scare that didn't lead to any more serious result than suspending the treatment for two days.

Pemo, who had already consolidated her competence and a strong affective link with this elderly woman, began to complain of Fatima's incorrect behaviour, citing her confusion, laziness, bad temper and tardiness at the change of shifts. At this point Saberi knew precisely the medical route that the elderly woman had to take, both at the clinic and the hospital. She picked up her prescription, was attentive to the analytical controls and resolved any hospital paperwork correctly. Ten days later, at two o'clock in the morning, under Fatima's care, the old woman tried to get up to go to the toilet and fell to the floor. The fall gave her strong pain, she was attended by the GP the following day, who diagnosed several contusions without fracture and prescribed bed rest for some days. This fall definitively ruined the relationship between Saberi and Fatima. To the faults and delays in the changes of shift, a negligence of care was added that Saberi would not tolerate. The elderly woman complained about Fatima, and Saberi confirmed her reasons. After three weeks, the daughter of the elderly woman decided to expel Fatima. This fact generated confusion in the African community due to Pemo's position in the conflict, despite the fact that Fatima's sister admitted the difficulties that she was causing in other jobs also.

Fatima's departure left Saberi as sole carer for the elderly woman. This situation introduced new problems, since despite the difficulty of

finding new help, Saberi, despite her willingness, could not for take care of the woman single-handedly for long with no breaks. A few days later, under Pemo's care, the elderly woman, while the latter was taking out the garbage in the late afternoon, tried to get up to answer a telephone call from her daughter and again fell to the floor. Pemo, who was shocked in this situation, called the GP, who diagnosed contusions and again prescribed rest. The pains did not subside and the elderly woman complained without stopping. Pemo, alarmed by the insistence of the complaints, decided on her own initiative to call an ambulance and go to Emergency where they diagnosed multiple fractures in the pelvis, ribs and hand. The elderly woman was hospitalised in a room; but after a few days she had a cardiovascular failure and was sent to intensive care.

At this point I was about to travel to visit relatives who had emigrated to USA. Before my departure I asked the daughter of the elderly woman, in case of an undesirable outcome with respect to her mother, to look after Pemo until I got back. The elderly woman died the same week I was due to return. I visited her daughter a week after my arrival, though I had already been in touch with her by telephone to give her my condolences on the death of her mother. She told me that Pemo was attending her constantly in the room, apart from ten days, when she in turn had to be admitted to the same hospital for a gynaecological problem. Nevertheless, from her room, breaking the rules of the hospital, she came to see her whenever the nurses tolerated it. Her mother died holding Pemo's hand and telling her that she was dying.

In the burial the family placed Pemo in the first row of the church together with the relatives. The daughter, in gratitude, took her to her home where she put her up until my return.

Pemo's admission to hospital led to unexpected information about her state of health. The gynaecologist, possibly as a result of the medical interview, requested an analytical exam to rule out HIV. The HIV test was positive and led to a strong reaction in all the persons who were attending her. She responded to this new difficulty by asking the medical team not to tell me about this result and likewise she asked the daughter of the elderly woman to respect the same wish. Some of the hospital managers opined that the analytical exam to rule out HIV was not relevant to the protocol of the gynaecological picture, and that this decision concealed racist and xenophobic feelings. This emotional response by some of the personnel was breaking free from the medical context and trying to protect the person affected socially. Others were surprised at Pemo's desire for concealment, since they saw it as disloyal to me, her mentor. The daughter of the elderly woman,

paradoxically, in spite of her conservative mentality, kept this information to herself for some days, making no mention of it and taking care of Pemo at her home. In these circumstances, links of affection were crossing ethnic and cultural borders, with the aim of preventing the negative social effect that the test result might provoke if it became known in the community.

The fact seemed serious to me and I requested the clinical history and the report of the different analytical tests. The analytical tests were very abnormal and they did not follow a protocol of action that took account of the possible latent pathologies. The image of the health system as regards these pathologies is that of a system split into isolated departments, where communication is dependent on the judgement of individuals.

I established an agreement with the daughter of the elderly woman so that she could stay in her home until the end of the month. This would give us time to find a room in the House of Reception of African Immigrants.

* * *

Mamadu stabilized his housing situation in the rectory and from here he went to the areas of work with the aim of increasing the portfolio of clients for his project of a company of caretakers for estates and gardens. Saberi decided to leave Mamadu when she consolidated her contract of seven hundred euros a month. This amount implies a very important economic and social status in her land of origin. Mamadu thought that her leaving him was fuelled by the fantasy of marrying a white man, since with this money she might easily find one. Saberi never returned to the rectory.

The old priest told me that when he saw them walking Saberi was many meters behind Mamadu and he saw that they practically did not exchange words. During this period, the distancing and separation was consolidated by both partners. In spite of this they maintained periodic contacts and meetings. Mamadu commented that he did not understand anything, since he had given his life to save this woman, had given him all his money against the opposition of his family, had opened his heart as he had never done with anybody and now when he needed some help she was leaving him. He interpreted that the only thing that she was interested in was «money, money and money...». He had managed to stop her impulse to go with men for money in Youandé, at the cost of taking her along on business trips and stopping her from getting away. But everything he had achieved was crumbling

in an instant. Mamadu was upset and confused, repeating: «I don't understand, I don't understand...»

The stay in the rectory was altered by the inopportune visit of a cousin, a man belonging to the same ethnic group[7]. He was a person from the same town that was living and working in Bilbao. Mamadu neither reported this visit to the old priest, nor asked him for permission. The relative stayed in the Rectory three days. One week after his departure, a Moroccan lodged in the house accused Mamadu's cousin of stealing 3,000 euros from him. This it was the first grave act of theft that had taken place here. In itself it became a confused event, since the person affected was one week late in communicating and naming the guilty party. Though Mamadu was not the culprit, his integrity was affected by this event, since it was suspected that necessarily he must have had some level of involvement. The money never appeared and Mamadu's image with the old priest was damaged, since in the final chain of responsibility he had been the facilitator and maybe informer of this transgression. The individual affected requested that the thief not be prosecuted and that the affair be forgotten, which in turn made him into an accomplice and victim of the situation. When the other inhabitants of the house were asked, they were all surprised that Umar the Moroccan had three thousand euros in sight in the cupboard. Mamadu, in his defence, cited that he was surprised by the excessive friendship that Umar had established with his cousin when it was the first time that they had met. Kasselem, from his inquiries, deduced that what had happened was a case of the well known «Cameroonian swindle», in which they offer the greedy the chance to multiply their money and as soon as they take it, disappear with it. The plot was never resolved and the old priest accused Mamadu as the person ultimately responsible for the event, for having invited his cousin to stay without his permission.

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[7] Mamadu has forty-three brothers and sisters. He is the first son of his father's fourth wife, who had only two children, Mamadu and his younger brother who encouraged him to emigrate. His mother never lived permanently with his father, nor had any status in regard to the use of his property. In total his father has had six recognized and four unrecognized wives. All the children are recognized as siblings, without discriminating between legitimate and illegitimate, and take equal part in the family rituals. Nevertheless those brothers who share the same mother have rather closer links. One of his uncles is the wise man of the settlement, is over 90 years old, and all the members of the settlement consult him when they have difficulties. For Mamadu, being a cousin means belonging to the same settlement without having established a direct relationship of consanguinity.

Saberi often accompanied the elderly woman to have coffee in a *confiterie* across the street from her house. This assiduous habit led to a close friendship with the owner's family. In one of these meetings Saberi met the brother of the owner, an elderly man of 62 years, a pensioner. This man had a reputation in the village as a philanderer and this was facilitated by his success in playing the lottery. He took his victims out in a luxurious Mercedes, and sooner or later some of them succumbed. Mamadu told me that Saberi had started a relationship with this elderly man for his money. Both the predator-victim and the victim-predator had fixed their field of action. The relationship was maintained with a certain discretion until the death of the elderly woman. The daughter was informed about the harassment of Saberi but did not give it any importance because this behaviour was also well known towards other women and was tolerated in the village. She never imagined that the seduction would end in another level of commitment.

Saberi's relationships grew still more complex after the death of the elderly woman, when Saberi was given lodging by the daughter in her private home. A new game of predator-victim / victim-predator began with a friend of the family. This game was initially concealed and rapidly led Pemo to transgress the private spaces where she was living. Mamadu told me that an ugly old man who was living near the daughter of the late elderly lady, was chasing after Saberi insistently and she accepted the harassment because of his money.

At that time the daughter of the elderly woman was receiving a visit from some friends who were staying in her house. She had to send Pemo to her mother's house and tell her to stay there until the visitors left. During her stay in the elderly woman's house, two men were visited the house frequently. Mamadu told me that the ugly old man was visiting Pemo. He had personally confirmed this when he was summoned by her to talk about his situation and noticed at a certain moment when he went to the bathroom that in the waste-paper basket there were torn-up photographs of him and his brother and several used condoms. Mamadu accused Saberi of profaning the house of a recently deceased woman by having sexual relations in the same place where she had died. In his village this transgression would have meant expulsion and exile from the territory linked to his ethnic group. Saberi told Mamadu to get out of the house since one of the old men was on his way and added that she was doing what she wanted with her life. Two days later the daughter of the elderly woman told me urgently that Saberi had to leave her house. She was surprised and confused because when she went to pick Pemo up at her mother's

house she recognized the suitcase of the friend of the family with the identification label still on it and a little after of her arrival, he called at the door asking after Pemo. The friends in the village who knew about this behaviour kept quiet so as not to add any more pain to that already caused by the recent death of the elderly woman. The daughter, disoriented, needed information and retrospectively analysed Pemo's behaviour. She recognized the very positive work with her mother but she realised that after her death she had been repeatedly disloyal. She was facing a totally unknown, lying, ungrateful person, who had transgressed the spaces that had been offered her and the treatment that she had received, both economically and emotionally. For this woman it was not important whether Saberi was HIV positive, was infected with Guinea worm or had had yellow fever, since she had demonstrated her support for Saberi and in her scheme of values these were problems that had a solution through medical treatment. Nevertheless she would not tolerate deception and perfidy. The result was eviction. The woman behaved intelligently and told her she had to leave definitively because some relatives were coming, so she needed all the rooms. Before Saberi left she gave her a considerable quittance in consideration of her work and it was a very affectionate parting.

The African community looked urgently for alternative housing, I picked Saberi up and took her to the place which they told me. When we were nearly there Pemo suggested a change of route, going back again to the point of departure. After four months we were at the same door in the same street where her compatriots had thrown her luggage on the street and had evicted her violently. We had again come back to the space of trafficking, money-laundering, swindling and prostitution. When I asked Saberi why we were returning to this place she replied: «It was Mamadu who had problems, I never had problems».

## 2. **Analysis of the Case**

Mamadu's grandmother emigrated to Rabat, other relatives went to France, the United States, and Spain. The diaspora of the Manga group of the Bamiliké, to which Mamadu belongs, began in previous generations. In the memory of the Manga their forbears left from Egypt. They established themselves in Sudan and from there they moved to Cameroon.

Mamadu has followed a very intense itinerary of internal immigration since infancy. Maybe, as Grinberg (1984) suggests, he has fed

migratory fantasies throughout his life, but at present there are reasons other than his desire to emigrate that have precipitated his departure. Stigmatisation as a witch who controls evil spirits made his economic development and his social ascent impossible.

Giménez (2003) proposed that when we analyse a reality as complex as immigration we can identify that it is not precisely the poorest, nor the least educated who emigrate. In this case Mamadu was the director of a company department with thirty-five employees. Their services were offered not only in Cameroon but also in neighbouring countries such as Guinea, Gabon, the Congo and Nigeria.

When Mamadu is dispossessed of his social status, he enters a deep depression. This implies the beginning of a process of uprooting made explicit by Tizon (1993). But, the loss and disassociation with the place of origin is activated before the departure.

If we take as a reference the «push-pull» theory expressed by Malgesini (2000), the «push» factors that determine Mamadu's exit would be *economic* —finding few possibilities for socio-economic mobility—, *social* —for the state of violence and intolerance that is generated around him—, and *political* —in being removed from the influence of the dominant ethnic group that corruptly governs the country—. The «pull» factors would be in the same order so that they would act to compensate these deficits. The verification of these attraction factors would be external, with family group acting as mediator in decision-making for the departure.

According to Kearney this migratory process would correspond with the theory of articulation, in the sense that it involves a complex configuration of links, connections and networks of relationships between the origin and the destination that constitute a migratory chain. Mamadu would likewise use the whole network of group solidarity that facilitates transit and settlement as described by Troyano.

Once in the place of destination, Mamadu finds himself in the space of irregularity and suffers, like so many others, grave and important consequences. Labrador (2001) highlights as common characteristics: perplexity, fear, terror of being arrested, expelled and ending up not achieving the objectives of the voyage. His invisibility predisposes him to clandestine exploitation, poverty, marginalisation and delinquency. Terror is one of the feelings that is most seen as impelling behaviour among irregular or undocumented immigrants. This evaluation leads us to reconsider the relevance that Rivers gave to terror as man's driving force in contrast to the Freudian approach of placing the libido at the centre of individuals' behavioural organization.

Mamadu is an immigrant who *knows that it is possible to return*, in spite of the factors of expulsion which led to his departure. According to Grinberg (1984) this fact will mark this process, in a determining way, since security in return will lessen the oppression of anxiety at parting and remove the sensation of a dead-end that can be experienced when it is known for certain that one cannot return. Nevertheless, as the participant in a psycho-social process of losses and changes, he has to initiate the processes of grief.

Mamadu always uses the same strategy towards any significant losses. Plunged into a depressive phase, he isolates himself in his room in the dark and reduces exterior contacts to a minimum. Before taking the decision to go and leave his territory, he stayed in isolation for just over a year. This time allowed him to come to terms with the death of his wife and his daughter and the loss of his social status. From this moment, it was possible for him to mobilize himself towards other alternatives that his family suggested. All these psychological and social losses have led Mamadu, if we take Tizon's (1993) analysis as a reference, to prepare the process of grief for the objects lost and to enter a *prepared depressive position* towards the migratory process.

In occasions he stares into space, nostalgia invades his feelings, his face grows sad and the memories of his daughters, of his mother, of his land become present with a great force.

Mamadu makes a correct internalisation of the lost object. According to Tizon (1993), via a certain idealization that presupposes the perception of the positive aspects of what has been lost, correctly objectifies the limits and lacks of his home. This allows him to connect with its positive parts and to progressively transform the feelings of ambivalence into an attitude that permits him to optimise his resources and capacities under the new circumstances.

In spite of the fact that Mamadu was acculturated in the Judeo-Christian model, during depressive periods the animistic interpretive model emerges as part of an ethnic unconscious, which as Devereux points out, he possesses jointly with most of the members of his culture. For Laplantine (1979) this phenomenon takes place because the process of imposed acculturation does not provide sufficient and appropriate means of protection.

Mamadu had established a code of bodily signs that alerted him of the intentions of the spirits. When an involuntary tic appeared on his right side, he interpreted it as a premonition of the appearance of the evil spirit of some acquaintance or relative which would intervene to block his way or cause damage or disease. The spatio-temporal rupture of the phenomenon meant that the intervention might be

done from any distance. This capacity to influence his destiny had the condition that the person acting had to know him well enough to cause the effect.

If the sign was compulsively scratching his forehead, this pre-announced the death of some close friend or relative.

When he was evicted violently, Mamadu presented a picture of anxiety, discouragement and depression. Nevertheless these symptoms were never resolved into a picture of chronic stress of the dimensions of Ulysses' syndrome as described by Achotegui (2002), since his capacity to prepare for losses allowed him up to then to continue his journey and containing the emergence of a disease. Nevertheless, in situations of great stress or anxiety caused by an situation beyond his resources, he showed a recurring symptom, vomiting, which had been happening for four years, since his personal and social disaster in his homeland. Symbolically it might be interpreted as «what can not be digested is expelled»; there are many negative experiences in the migratory process that constantly exceed the individual's capacity to swallow them. In these cases, this rejection that does not reach the conscious level but is expressed directly with the body. These symptoms corresponds with the definition of stress according to Lazarus, in the sense that a particular relation is created between an individual and the environment, evaluated by the individual as a situation that goes beyond and endangers his well-being.

In Mamadu it is possible to observe a bipolar trend between the stress of inhibition and the stress of excitation as described by Achotegui (2002). The stress of inhibition is shown by a slowing down of his behaviour and a longer response time in his answers; in these circumstances Mamadu flees from reality and is transported in dreams. These inhibitory behaviours are based on a strong anxiety that leads to a severe gesticulation. Nevertheless in situations of stress of excitation, he develops a hyper-mobility that leads to an increase in the performance of tasks, but with the risk of committing grave errors.

In extreme situations of overexcitement, Mamadu has always responded with insomnia, where he dedicates time to thinking over and to working through conflicts. Lazarus (2000) tells us that the individual uses different categories of evaluation: primary, in which he or she evaluates the damage, threat or challenge, and secondary, in which he or she assesses his or her resources. When this evaluation affects African women, illegal immigrants, who have travelled over land, the situation becomes more complex. Kasselem told me that the African women who made these journeys were all repeatedly violated by the bands controlling the border crossings.

Mamadu finds himself in a process of migratory grief, in a situation, according to Achotegui (2000), of vital change that will give rise to a whole series of benefits, risks and losses. He finds himself subjected to a series of stressors such as loneliness, the abandonment of his daughters and his mother, survival with regard to food and shelter, fear for his physical integrity. This process of grief is gradually resolved, avoiding psychological regression or getting stuck in the phase of confusion that would lead us to the entrance of Ulysses' syndrome.

No all the persons who live through the stressors of Ulysses' syndrome develop the disorder, but when, as in Mamadu's case and that of other immigrants without papers, without access to work, without their loved ones, these circumstances continue for a long time, all the symptoms that emerge transitorily, inherent in the migratory process itself, can continue in a chronic way.

Nevertheless, despite how crippling the emergent psychological pathology can be when somatic disorders are added, if these disorders have a relevant social implication, like AIDS, the effect of the stressors is enhanced with an unknown intensity.

When I confronted Saberi with the positive results of her HIV test, she spent a whole night without sleeping. The next day she told me that she might never again see her mother, she had thought of committing suicide, but if she did it would be too great an economic burden for her family, who would have to bring her body home. The experience of the disease was symbolized as *social death* in the country of origin.

Mamadu, Saberi, Meba, Fatima, Adama and so many other Africans trapped in their condition of illegals in the space of adaptation-disadaptation, on the border of the symptom of chronic suffering as Achotegui reminds us, can hardly avoid physicalising the social consequences of their migratory process, but mediating agents intervene to facilitate the containment of the distress, anxiety and confusion and help to gradually arrange an outcome of social integration. The absence of mediation gives free rein to predation, where the subjects located in these spaces of defencelessness are harassed by their compatriots or elements of the host community itself.

## Conclusions

We can conclude that the African migration, in general, followings Gimenez's (2003) definition of a migratory chain, on the basis of the

connections between the immigrants of a given origin in which the pioneers attract and help others to migrate, who in turn help others and so on. In this process there is a transfer of information and material aid that relatives, friends or compatriots offer to the potential immigrant to decide his journey.

In case of Mamadu he follows the migratory chain of his predecessors, his brother being the one who stimulates his departure.

Most Africans initiate their migratory process from a situation of poverty and underemployment, from an economic context of asymmetry, inequality and subordination, from which it is obvious that the aim of the voyage is social ascent; but despite these conditions, they do not become completely determining until *where* and *how* is decided. The process is initiated when there is a minimal articulation that ensures the destination. The decision to leave is not an individual act but takes place within the group to which the individual belongs.

Any departure involves losses and changes that set in motion the processes of grief. But any grief for what has been lost externally, as Klein reminds us, if it is appropriately worked through, facilitates the reconstruction of the internal world which is enriched with a new experience that could have been elaborated creatively.

When these decisions are taken from a basis of high personal or group vulnerability, they can lead to discompensations or disorders. Loneliness, the struggle for the survival, the fear of losing one's physical integrity when they are not resolved, as happens with an significant fraction of the African irregular immigrant population, provoke the emergence of symptoms in the area of anxiety with manifestations of tension, nervousness, excessive and recurrent preoccupations, insomnia and abundant cognitive mistakes in the processing of information, whereas in the depressive area they are expressed as sadness and apathy.

If all these symptoms persist in time they can lead part of this population to develop Ulysses' syndrome as described by Achotegui (2003). In these circumstances, the immigrants are stuck in a confusional and regressive phase, with a very low level of social operability, stuck in «blind alleys».

Mamadu's case can serve us as a paradigm of an interrupted process towards the installation of chronic symptoms which tend to place the individual in a space of social marginality, which he had few chances to leave.

Another significant element that acts in this migratory itinerary is the relevance of the body as the physical agent responsible for this

process. When the body is damaged one often resorts to the maniacal defence of denying or minimizing the sickness. But the body takes a new dimension when the damage is indicated by HIV infection. For an African immigrant this result means exclusion and the social death.

In these circumstances it is frequently observed how the Judeo-Christian acculturation installed in the colonial phase is destroyed and an interpretive system with a fundamentally animistic cosmology emerges. As a result of this search, a whole scheme of attributions is set in motion, trying to explain the causes that unleashed the evil.

We must also conclude that alternatives to the spaces through which the African population travels irregularly are not possible without the articulation of a mediation that integrally approaches the step towards the social recognition of this population.

Finally, from this study we can deduce the need to study in greater depth other areas of interest that would contribute to a better understanding of African migration, taking into account other fundamental axes that are determining the whole process:

- The body-health interaction
- The effect of magic and witchcraft as resources for interpreting reality among African immigrants.
- Kinship relations. Since to understand certain behaviours of social adjustment and group organization in the places of reception we need information about their organization in their places of origin.

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# 3.

# Unaccompanied foreign minors: mobility of young people with adult expectations

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## Introduction

The mobility of young people has recently been becoming numerically significant in European countries. Unaccompanied minors who come from less economically developed countries are beginning to be focussed on by those who write specialist literature concerning migrant groups. The International Convention on the Rights of Children sets out practices of protection of all minors, and the legislation of individual countries tends to take this into account. The study of the arrival of unaccompanied minors has begun to be important in Spain in the last few years in the different autonomous communities, and Spanish law affords these minors the right to protection. Nevertheless there would appear to be a discrepancy between the role which we as European citizens attribute to minors, and the aims of migration for these young people coming from less economically developed countries; they feel and act like adults but legally are minors.

This paper aims to paint a picture of the real lives of these young people, of how far reaching the phenomenon is, and of how official institutions react to it. It hopes to show the state of the issue in Spain, the characteristics of these young people, and describe their needs. The most important objective is to bring to light these topics so as to enable reflection on whether the expectations of unaccompanied foreign minors and the service and programs on offer to them match up.

## 1. **Migrant minors**

Contemporary society is undergoing a process of significant change, due to the phenomenon of migration. The number of people from other countries coming to Europe, and Spain, in search of a better quality of life, is rising. Among this group of immigrants can be counted children and teenagers who are not yet legally adult, and who leave their families and countries of origin and embark on adventures with uncertain aims. The unaccompanied foreign minors have particular problems due to the facts that, as minors, they are more vulnerable than adults, and also that they do not have anyone to look after them.

The issue of unaccompanied foreign minors remains fairly unknown, as little research has been conducted on it, which means that information concerning it is scarce, incomplete, or scattered. This is due, in part, to the absence of a general and national database; such statistics are not collected across Europe as a whole, either. A reason for this lack of information is that the phenomenon of minors arriving alone from poor countries and ending up on the streets is a relatively recent one, although it is one which is growing. In addition, the phenomenon mainly occurs with regards countries with borders between E.U. countries and poorer ones, or ones which are very close by sea, as occurs in Spain (due to its proximity to Africa, and its borders with Morocco in the autonomous cities of Ceuta and Melilla), as well as in Italy and France. In other words, this is mainly a western Mediterranean problem, originating in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia. It is also, however, a problem for central European countries such as Germany, where those involved are young people coming from Eastern European countries. It is clear that the migration of unaccompanied minors is a phenomenon related to the distance between the countries of origin and the destination countries, as these minors have neither the economic means nor resources, nor sufficient contacts to use the people trafficking networks that exist on some borders and, as such, the distance they travel cannot be very large.

In the E.U., the High Commission for Refugees and Save the Children have studied 100,000 foreign minors alone in Europe at the end of the 1990s, of whom 13,000 were asylum seekers (Etiemble, 2004). The unaccompanied minors involved in this issue are, as can be seen, mainly young illegal immigrants, not seeking asylum. In Germany the first teenage immigrants started arriving in the 1970s, coming mainly from Eastern Europe; in the case of Italy, the phenomenon began to be important at the end of the 1980s, and even more so at the start of the 1990s following the dissolution of Yugoslavia, although it should be remembered that immigrant minors from each country have their own need and issues (Bermúdez, 2004). In Spain the presence of these minors has only been noticed more recently, starting in the mid-1990s. In 1995 and 1996 there began to be unaccompanied Moroccan minors in child protection systems, and between 1997 and 2000 the phenomenon began to be noticed in all Spanish state systems (Jiménez, 2003). According to Jiménez (2003), the first record of support given to a foreign minor shows that it was in 1993; this can be seen in information provided by the General Council on Childhood and Family of the Social Services Office of the Assembly of Andalusia (Dirección General de Infancia y Familia de la Consejería de Asuntos Sociales de la Junta de Andalucía).

In the last few years, an increase in the numbers of these unaccompanied foreign minors has been observed in Spain, with communities such as Andalusia, Catalonia, and Madrid, and cities like Ceuta and Melilla, already having expressed their worries that the presence of these young people was overwhelming them and considerably lessening their ability to help them. A similar situation can be seen in the Basque Country, due to a surprisingly large increase in 2001 in the number of young people arriving, which has also led to organisations feeling overwhelmed with the problems caused. The press has started commenting on this, especially focussing on the vandalism and anti-social behaviour which can be seen in some of these minors; this has brought about feelings of alarm in society as a whole. These young people are starting to become visible members of society, but almost everything concerning their problems and needs is being ignored, along with their sheer number, and the implications of their presence. Due to this, there is a clear need to research the situations these minors find themselves in, with those conducting it aware of the many different factors that must be taken into account: legal, social, anthropological, political science related, those to do with social services… the issue is still in its infancy, and there remains a lot of work to be done.

Therefore, this paper will deal particularly with an analysis of the situation regarding this type of migration in young people, dealing with the migration of unaccompanied minors to Spain. It aims to give a clear picture of their number, characteristics, and the most important aspects of issues related to their expectations and needs, while taking into account research that has been conducted on the topic in recent years.

Firstly, we will discuss a definition of the concept of an unaccompanied foreign minor, so as to secondly be able to deal with the issue of the judicial protection which is afforded to them. Thirdly, we will clarify the current situation of immigration in Spain, and the extent of the phenomenon of immigrant minors who arrive alone and illegally with regards to the total number of immigrants. We will also focus on recent research carried out in Spain concerning unaccompanied foreign minors, which will give us more concrete evidence concerning the situations in which they find themselves. In the fourth section we will move towards profiling these young people with regards their characteristics such as sex, age, educational level reached, reasons for migration, where they come from, how they cross borders, the social and relationship networks on which they rely (both those of family and friendship), and finally what happens to them once they arrive in their destination countries. To conclude, we aim to include elements which will encourage debate concerning the difference between the expectations of these foreign minors, and the reality they face in the destination countries.

## 2. **Delimitation and Definition**

A number of bodies have produced a definition of the concept of unaccompanied foreign minors. The most widespread is that of the European Council which, in its resolution regarding National Unaccompanied Minors from Third Countries (97/C 221/03) (Menores no Acompañados Nacionales de Terceros Países) of 26th June 1997, defines them as: «Children and adolescents under the age of 18, nationals of third countries, who find themselves in the receiving country without the protection of a family member or responsible adult who habitually takes care of them, being this arrangement legal or based on needs and customs.» Prior to this, a United Nations High Commission on Refugees, UNHCR, defined them in this way: «An unaccompanied minor is a person below the age of eighteen, unless, according to the law applicable to the particular child, the age of adulthood is reached previously, who has been separated from both

parents and is not in the care of any adult who, legally or customarily, takes care of them.» (UNHCR, 1994: 121). For their part, the Committee for Foreign Minors, an Italian body which is a part of the Ministry for Social Affairs, considers them to be defined thus: «An unaccompanied immigrant minor is a minor who does not hold Italian citizenship, nor that of any other European Union Nation, and who, not having sought asylum, finds themselves (for a variety of reasons) within state borders without their parents or any adult who can provide them help or be a point of reference for them.» (Bermúdez, 2004: 23-24).

The majority of researchers in Spain use the European Council definition, but even so, there still exists a certain amount of variety in when a young person will be regarded as falling within its limits. Some studies use the acronym MENA (Menores Extranjeros No Acompañados)/UFM (Unaccompanied Foreign Minors), some MINA (Menores Inmigrantes No Acompañados)/UIM (Unaccompanied Immigrant Minors), and some a mixture of the two: MEINA (Menores Extranjeros Indocumentados No Acompañados)/UFIIM (Unaccompanied Foreign Illegal Immigrant Minors). The term MIVI (Menores Inmigrantes de Vida Independiente)/ ILIM (Independently Living Immigrant Minors) has also been used, in reference to those minors between the ages of 16 and 18.

In France, the definition has moved from «unaccompanied» minor to «isolated» minor. This move from one to the other has come from a serious effort to include all minors who are in at-risk situations by making clear the dangers they face. In the 1990s «unaccompanied» was more common than «isolated». Nevertheless, the word «unaccompanied» was deemed to be inadequate as it did not reflect the whole gamut of aspects concerning the arrival of minors to national shores. Some arrive provisionally «accompanied». This expression leaves aside the matter of judicial responsibility —there are minors who arrive accompanied by adults who are not their legal guardians— and tends to imply that there is only danger for «unaccompanied» minors. There are, however, «badly accompanied» minors, accompanied by members of gangs, by adults who mistreat them, or whose lifestyles are sources of danger (Etiemble, 2004). In an attempt to avoid this problem caused by differentiating between accompanied and unaccompanied minors, Save the Children defines these young people as «foreign children who are not legally in the appropriate care of a responsible adult, independent of whether or not they are accompanied by an adult.» (Save the Children, 2003: 4).

The fact of the matter is, however, that these various definitions are applied to a group which has the following basic conceptual characteristics (Jiménez, 2003: 26):

— They are minor children who, according to the International Declaration of the Rights of Children, will reach adulthood at the age of 18.
— They are foreigners. They come from non-E.U. countries (so called «third countries» and, as the vast majority come from North Africa, they are not entitled to claim any type of asylum.
— They are alone, without any adult as their guardian. They are in a powerless legal situation and, as such, are entitled to the legal protection offered to children under the laws of the country and region in which they find themselves.
— The proportion of them that are girls or female minors is proportionally very small. Nevertheless, some of them are female, but their migration often takes place in different situations; these girls are mainly part of networks organised so as to facilitate the sexual exploitation of minors. There are also girls working in domestic service with no form of legal protection.

The main characteristics of the concept refer to legal aspects such as age, foreignness, and the laws governing it. It is, therefore, necessary to consider the issues surrounding the judicial protection afforded to these unaccompanied foreign minors when analysing the real-life situations they face. As immigrant minors, Spanish judicial law affords them special protection, different to that offered to adult immigrants or minors in the care of adults who have assumed the responsibility of caring for and providing for them. Due to this, it is important to take into account what specific provision the judicial system makes for this group of young people.

## 3. **The judicial protection afforded to unaccompanied foreign minors**

The Spanish constitution of 1978 states the obligation to public bodies to protect the family and, more especially within this group, minors; they must do this socially, economically, and legally. To make this mandate effective, the Law for the Judicial Protection of Minors LO 1/1996 (Ley de Protección Jurídica del Menor) was written, which also makes reference to the international treaties regarding childhood which have been ratified by Spain, such as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989, and the 1992 European Charter on the Rights of the Child. Article 39 states that «Children will enjoy the protection set out in the international agreements that guarantee their rights.» With regards foreign

unaccompanied minors who are not within Spanish borders, this judicial protection means that the Spanish authorities have the duty to deal with and provide care for them, although not by performing any action which could damage their integrity; they are also obliged to adopt any necessary means for the adequate protection of these young people. The child also has the right to the same healthcare and education provision as Spanish nationals, regardless of whether they are legally or illegally in Spain. In addition, the authorities are obliged to provide documentation for the young persons, providing them with those necessary to legalise their presence within Spanish borders, as well as to do their best to find out their origins (Defensor del Menor de Andalucía, 2003). This protection is to be provided by Spain in cases such as these, as the European Union has not explicitly assumed responsibility for it, due to the existence of subsidisation (Elías, 2002: 158).

### 3.1. *Allocation of responsibilities*

In Spain, when dealing with the subject of foreign minors, it is important to take into account who takes on the responsibility of the job. As such, the Constitution (in article 148.1), states that social services should be the responsibility of individual autonomous communities. However, article 149.1, in which responsibilities belonging exclusively to the state are set out, makes clear that one of the issues which the state must deal with is that concerning being a national of the country, immigration, emigration, foreigners, and applications for asylum. In other words, it can be seen that, with regards foreign minors, due to the fact that they are minors, responsibility for their care falls to the autonomous communities, but due to the fact that they are foreigners, it should be the state that takes care of them.

This is the framework within which the Law for the Judicial Protection of Minors (Ley de Protección Jurídica del Menor) has been written. It is a law applicable to every person under the age of eighteen who is within Spanish borders, and therefore equally covers Spanish nationals and foreigners. This state law deals with aspects relating to civil and procedural law, as well as judicial administration, but the responsibility falls to the autonomous communities to be the public bodies which must take care of the protection of foreign minors.

### 3.2. *Legal procedure regarding care*

As has been stated above, when dealing with this group it is necessary not only to take into account their young age, but also their

conditions as foreigners, and existing state regulation on the subject. Due to the fact that these minors are foreign, the Organic Law concerning the Rights and Freedom of Foreigners in Spain and their Social Integration (LO 4/2000, and also the LO 8/2000, LO 11/2003, and LO 14/2003 reforms) and the Ruling concerning its development (RD 2393/2004) are both equally applied to them. In this Ruling can be found some articles relating exclusively to unaccompanied foreign minors.

Article 25 of the above-mentioned law, and article 92 of its related ruling deal with the procedure which state security authorities must follow if they encounter an illegal immigrant about whose status as a minor they are uncertain. In such cases, these bodies must contact appropriate services for the protection of minors as soon as possible, which will provide and urgent care needed; this is in line with what is set out in the legislation for the judicial protection of minors. The Public Prosecutor must also be made aware of the presence of the young person; it is this ministry which must take care of the minor's rights. The ministry must take responsibility for the research necessary to identify the person's age, in collaboration with the appropriate health authorities, which will actually carry it out; this will be done as quickly as possible. The method used to determine the person's age is the so-called «wrist test», which can apparently, by means of an X-ray, provide information concerning whether the person is under the age of eighteen, although not their actual age. This method has been criticised for being unreliable.

Once it has been established that the person is a minor, the Public Prosecutor passes on responsibility for them to the appropriate services for the protection of minors. From this point on, the aim of re-uniting the minor with their family begins to become important. As a result of this aim, the first option to be considered is the possibility of returning the minor to their country of origin, and to their family. The general state administration, or the public body in charge of the minor at the time, will initiate this procedure. The body in charge of the minor should provide the governing authorities with any information concerning the minor, their family, their country, or where they live, as well as passing on information concerning their search for their family. All information concerning procedures carried out should be passed on to the Public Prosecutor.

If at last the foreign minor is identified, and either their family or relevant authorities for the care of minors in their country are found, the authority charged with the responsibility of bringing about the repatriation is the state administration, as long as it has been verified that doing this will not bring about any danger to the young person's

life, or cause either them or their families to suffer persecution (article 92.4 RD 2393/2004). If the minor finds themselves involves in any judicial process, authorisation for the repatriation must be provided by the appropriate judicial bodies. The costs of the repatriation will be paid either by the minor's family or by the authorities in charge of minors in their country of origin. Otherwise, the general state administration will take responsibility for repatriation costs (article 92.4 RD 2393/2004).

If the option of repatriation becomes unfeasible, or nine months have passed since the time when the minor was first placed in the care of the authorities in charge of the care of minors, procedures will begin to provide them with a residency permit according to article 35 of the Foreigners' Law. The fact that a residency permit has been authorised does not constitute a barrier for the later repatriation of the minor when this can be carried out in accordance with the law. The effects of the residency permit are pre-dated so as to be considered effective from the date the young person first went into care. Therefore, the legality of the residence of minors in the care of public bodies is not automatic, as, prior to its arrangement, the impossibility of a return to the country of origin must have been proven, and a permanent stay in Spain decided on. If the young person has not been awarded a residency permit by the time they reach legal adulthood, they can be given a temporary authorisation for residency in exceptional circumstances. In addition, article 111 states that the police are obliged to produce a register of unaccompanied foreign minors, containing their personal information, a photo, fingerprints, the public body under whose protection they are, where they live, and any other data relevant to their identification.

Another issue to take into account with unaccompanied foreign minors is that of the obtaining of a work permit. Article 40 of the above-mentioned law states that, for foreign minors of working age under the care of a body for the protection of young people, the national employment situation will not be taken into account. This concept of «the national employment situation» has been decided upon by the Foreigners' Law. It refers to the fact that at the time of giving an immigrant their work permit, checks should be carried out to identify the need for workers in that sector, and whether or not this need is being fulfilled by Spaniards or foreigners legally in Spain. Regarding minors in care, this should not be taken into account and, as such, they can directly request a work permit, and it will be given to them, on the condition that it is used for activities which, in the opinion of the organisation in whose care they find themselves, will

favour social integration. Also, though, according to article 41, foreign minors in the care of a body for the protection of minors do not need work permits to take part in activities which the protecting body regards as being favourable to their integration into society.

Regarding these minors who have been in the care of Spanish public institutions, it should be remembered that, on reaching legal adulthood, if they have been in the care a Spanish public institution for at least five consecutive years, they are automatically entitled to permanent residency, which permits them indefinite residency in Spain and equality of working conditions, without a need for a work permit. It is also important to highlight the fact that those who are or have been in the care of, under the guardianship of, or supported by a Spanish institution, and find that they have, either at that moment or in the past, been in such a situation for two consecutive years, are entitled to apply for Spanish nationality after only a year of legal residency.

## 4. **Studies on unaccompanied foreign minors in spain**

Studies on this group of unaccompanied and under-age immigrants have only recently been conducted in Spain, coinciding with the increasing volume of the minors and therefore with their increasing lack of invisibility in the country receiving them, due to the fact that the media has become aware of their presence.

### 4.1. *The volume of foreigners and unaccompanied foreign minors*

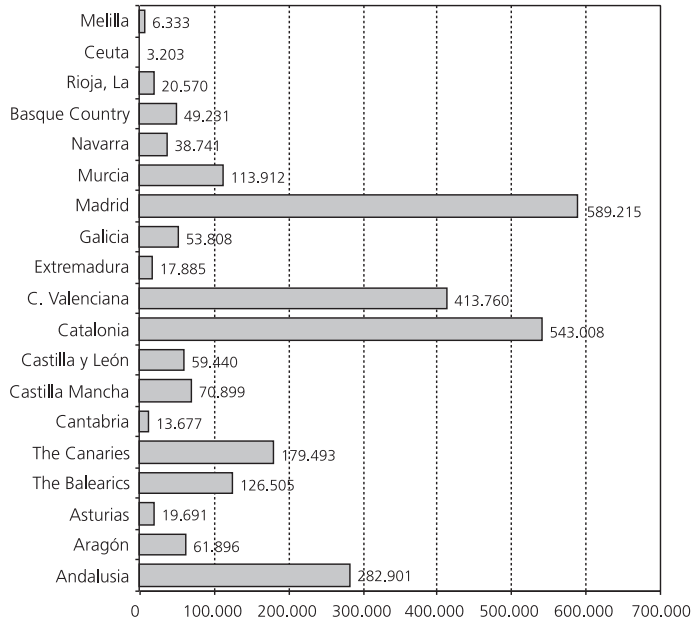
Spain is made up of 17 autonomous communities and two autonomous cities; the number of foreigners living in each of these varies enormously. In 2003 there were 2,664,168 foreign residents in Spain; their distribution can be seen in graph 1.

The same is true of unaccompanied foreign minors. There presence is far more visible in some places than in others (see table 1). It can be seen that the majority of unaccompanied foreign minors in the care of the various autonomous communities are found in Catalonia, Andalusia, Comunidad Valenciana, the Basque Country, the Canary Islands and, proportional to their size, in Ceuta and Melilla, cities with populations not greater than 75,000 and 69,000 respectively. These seven autonomous communities deal with 85 % of the foreign minors in the care of Spanish authorities. The growth in

the number of foreign minors in these places is not accidental, and there are places such as Ceuta and Aragón which have had spectacular increases in these figures in the years studied. Other communities which already had many of these minors in their care have seen continuous increases in their number; such communities are Catalonia, Andalusia, the Canary Islands and the Basque Country. The total number of minors in the care of institutions in the various autonomous communities had reached 6,329 in 2002; this was the result of an enormous increase of more than 56 % in one year, as in 2001 only there were 4,056 of these unaccompanied foreign minors being taken care of.

**Graph 1**

Foreigners in the census of autonomous communities[1]
(1/1/2003)




*Source:* National Institute of Statistics. Municipal Census of Inhabitants on 1-1-2003 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística. Padrón Municipal de Habitantes al 1.1.2003).

[1] Nationals of E.U. countries are also included in these figures.

**Table 1**

Unaccompanied foreign minors in the care of the Spanish autonomous communities in 2002, and percentage increase in their number between 2001 and 2002.

| Autonomous Community | 2002 | | 2001-2002 percentage increase % Δ |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Percentage | |
| Andalusia | 1,174 | 18,55 | 78 |
| Aragón | 136 | 2,15 | 1.843 |
| Asturias | 23 | 0,36 | |
| Balearics | 100 | 1,58 | 16 |
| Canary Islands | 644 | 10,18 | 115 |
| Cantabria | 58 | 0,92 | 314 |
| Castilla la Mancha | 123 | 1,94 | 19 |
| Castilla y León | 94 | 1,49 | –19 |
| Catalonia | 1,341 | 21,19 | 119 |
| Comunidad Valenciana | 1,070 | 16,91 | 40 |
| Extremadura | 12 | 0,19 | -65 |
| Galicia | 37 | 0,58 | -75 |
| Madrid | 225 | 3,56 | -28 |
| Murcia | 92 | 1,45 | -12 |
| Navarra | 2 | 0,03 | |
| The Basque Country | 773 | 12,21 | 53 |
| Rioja, La | 17 | 0,27 | –23 |
| Ceuta | 235 | 3,71 | 1.858 |
| Melilla | 173 | 2,73 | –32 |
| Total | 6,329 | 100,00 | 56,04 |

*Source:* Authors, based on Bermúdez (2004: 47).

### 4.2. *Studies, reports, and research in Spain*

The differences between the number of immigrants being cared for in institutions in the various autonomous communities has led to Spanish research on unaccompanied foreign minors being centred on certain regions, namely Andalusia, Catalonia, Ceuta, the Basque Country, Madrid, and Aragón, whilst the phenomenon has not been investigated at all in other areas.

María del Mar Bermúdez (2004) has focussed her investigation on immigrant minors (especially Moroccan teenagers) in Ceuta, although she has dealt with unaccompanied child mobility in the context of the phenomenon of such migration on worldwide and European

scales. She explains specific issues to the immigration of teenagers to Spain, in relation with other similar situations worldwide. Her fieldwork, consisting of interviews with 221 minors over the course of six months, deals with issues of great importance to research on the topic, as it attempts to understand the reasons why minors leave their family environments and embark on uncertain and often dangerous journeys. In order to do this, she analyses structural elements of Moroccan society, as well as the family, socio-economic, educational, religious, and relationship-related background of the young people in question. She also deals with questions concerning what they hope to find when they decide to emigrate, and exactly what it is that propels them to undertake their journey to a particular far-off and unknown country.

In Catalonia, the Jaume Bofill Foundation has encouraged experts to reflect on and write about the experiences and real-life situations that unaccompanied foreign minors in Catalonia have gone through. The study co-ordinated by Marta Comas (2001) analyses the experiences of these unaccompanied foreign minors, focussing especially on the attention they receive in Catalonia, and making proposals for improvements in the services on offer to them. The Foundation has also encouraged experts to look at the problem from a judicial and social point of view (Rognoni, 2001), in order to report on the fact that many of these foreign minors are on the streets because they do not adequately take advantage of their rights to protection, or they end up becoming homeless following their experience of migration. Following this, the Generalitat de Catalonia has supported the carrying out of research on the topic (Capdevila and Ferrer, 2003 and 2004), in which the files of the 1,659 minors who passed through the various Generalitat institutions between 1998 and 2002 were studied, resulting in a summary of their characteristics, places of origin, and motivation for migration.

In the Community of Madrid it has been researchers from the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid who are experts in immigration who have worked on the topic of unaccompanied foreign children. María Jesús Pérez Crespo's study (2000) focuses on the characteristics, profiles, and problems of these minors. Carlos Giménez and Liliana Suárez (2001) and Suárez (2004) have also analysed the processes experienced by minors who come into Spain without a legal adult guardian. More recently, Renata Casillo and María José Angurel (2004) have looked at the general situations faced by unaccompanied minors between the ages of 16 and 18 in Madrid between 1998 and 2002, particularly emphasising how these young people are encouraged by

the centres caring for them to join the world of work. The study also details interventions by social service young peoples' departments, from the point where the minor enters the system, to the care they receive, up to the point when they leave it on reaching legal adulthood.

In Andalusia, Mercedes Jiménez's research (2003) aims, on an international scale, to go further than giving a mere description of the situations faced by minor immigrants, and see them as new players in situations of mobility, going into more depth when discussing what it is in certain social networks that encourage their migration. Together with the general features that define these young people, she puts forth an interesting analysis of the perceptions of these minors, which allows her to come up with a typology for immigrant minors. The Ombudsman for child affairs in Andalusia (2003) (Defensor del Menor de Andalucía) has, in a special report for parliament, also dealt the issue of the provision of care at centres for the protection of immigrant minors, with figures for the different provinces of Andalusia, establishing a profile of the minors whose care is taken on, and detailing the ways in which public administration bodies deal with unaccompanied foreign minors.

In the Basque Country, the Ombudsman has, in its annual reports for parliament (Ararteko, 2001 and 2002), included certain facts and information on these minors. A more exhaustive piece of research is that of Isabel Berganza (2003) (co-author of this article), which focuses on the province of Bizkaia, which is the most populous province in the Basque Country. The project sets out the real-life situations experienced by these minors, dealing with their experiences and how many of them there are, their profiles, and the social services and resources that exist to serve these unaccompanied foreign minors. One section of the research is dedicated to an evaluation of the situations they face, and to the proposal of improvements that could be made so as to provide services more closely relating to the needs of foreign adolescents.

In Murcia, Juan Díaz (2001) set out the volume of foreign minors who have passed through services devoted to them in the two year period from the start of 1999 to the end of 2000, which was 115 in the first year and 107 in the second, so as to be able to comment on the absence of programmes which aid these young people to enter the world of work, and also on the amount of them who leave the centres appointed to care for them. He also describes the failure of the administrative systems to provide care, on the basis that not one of these minors was given documentation or integrated into society or the working world. He agrees with the figures of the Ombudsman for child

affairs in the Community of Murcia (Defensor del Menor en la Comunidad de Murcia).

The issue of immigrant minors has also been dealt with in Aragón, by Gonzalo Oliván, who performed a retrospective study of the health-related and social/family records of the 1,619 minors who entered protection centres in Zaragoza province; the figures he looked at included minors who arrived from a foreign country between 1992 and 2002. 41 % of these minors were unaccompanied; in other words, 99 minors were cared for in the eleven years under consideration, almost all of them North African males.

Reports by Save the Children (2003), Ani Mason (2003), and documents produced at the conferences on the state network of bodies providing support for unaccompanied minors, deal with different aspects of the issue from a national perspective: centres for the provision of care in Spain; proposals on how to approach the problem of protecting foreign adolescents; the needs and vulnerable aspects of the young people, and the different steps to be undertaken in their care; care, and legalisation. Focusing on judicial aspects of the phenomenon of migration, Isabel Lázaro (2002) and Cristina Elías (2002) deal respectively with protection of the minor in Spanish law, and how the law deals with immigrant minors from a constitutional perspective.

Through looking at these previous pieces of research, we can conduct an analysis of the characteristics and situations of these immigrant minors, which we will do below.

## 5. **Characteristics, profiles, and typologies of unaccompanied foreign minors in Spain**

### 5.1. *Motives for departure*

European literature on the topic divides it into four categories or types of immigration of minors; these come from the research carried out on the situation in Italy (Campani, 2001):

1. Asylum seekers, coming from countries in conflict.
2. Immigrants seeking to join parents who have previously emigrated.
3. Those exploited by illegal people-smuggling networks, forced into prostitution, begging, drug-smuggling, theft...
4. Those so called «pioneers», encouraged to emigrate by their families, and forming part of a global migration strategy. These

are adolescents between the ages of 14 and 18, who arrive through illegal people smugglers and set down migratory roots which will later enable other members of the family to join them.

Other categories of types of immigration of minors can also be added (Bermúdez, 2004):

— Immigrants who come due to natural disasters in the countries of origin, as has happened in some parts of Latin America.
— Population movements provoked by swift changes in socio-economic structures, such as economic crises which change situations for children and their families, as has happened in certain areas of Asia.
— Minors escaping from mistreatment or abuse in their families.
— Children who are homeless in their countries of origin.

Angeline Etiemble (2004) categorises the young people differently, taking into account reasons for leaving the country of origin which combine with and expand upon some of those already mentioned:

1. Those who have been exiled. They come from regions devastated by war and ethnic conflict.
2. Those ordered to emigrate. They have been «ordered» by their families to emigrate to Europe to work and send money home.
3. Those who are being exploited. Minors in the hands of many different types of traffickers, sometimes with parental consent. Exploitation can take many forms: prostitution, illegal work, begging, and other criminal activities.
4. Escapees. Minors escaping their family homes or the orphanages in which they live due to family conflict or abuse.
5. «Wanderers». Minors who were homeless in their countries of origin before emigration to Europe, sometimes for months or even years. They lived from begging, small bits of occasional paid labour, or prostitution. They are «children living on the streets» and not «street children»; this second group will have lived on the street from the ages of 5 or six and, without plans or aims, rarely emigrate. These immigrants are homeless because they have run away from their orphanages, or because their parents have insufficient income to educate or feed them. They simply extend their journeys by emigrating abroad. Some become true nomads, moving from one city to another, or from one country to another. They frequently take addictive substances and perform criminal acts.

In Spain, few of these reasons can be applied to immigrant minors when their reasons for emigration are researched. Minors arriving in Spain generally emigrate for economic reasons, have individual and well-thought-out plans, emigrate without their families, and enter the country illegally. According to the study carried out by the Ombudsman for child affairs in Andalusia (2003), 60 % of these minors come from families that are poor but can pay for basic necessities, although the children themselves were often forced to work so as to boost the family income. Only a very few children have argued or had problems with their nuclear families, and so this is not frequently a reason for immigration. 57 % say that the impetus for the emigration came from themselves and not from their families. Only a little more than a third (36 %) have been encouraged by their families to move to Spain so as to be able to find a means of boosting the family income. The main objective of emigration is to find work. Young people are also encouraged to emigrate due to their perception that Spain is a geographically close country (to North Africa), and also due to the fact that Moroccans have been emigrating to Spain for a good few decades. Other factors encouraging young people could be high rates of unemployment in the country of origin, knowledge of previous young people who have emigrated without their parents, the inadequacy of the Moroccan education system, and an idealised image of Europe which they have gained from the media and from returning migrants (Peréz Crespo, 2000).

There also exists a very small group of asylum seekers, who come from countries afflicted by war. A minority of adolescents from dysfunctional families has also been identified, where the minors have fled in order to avoid abuse, the fact that they have been abandoned, or mistreatment. Research indicates that there are practically no immigrant minors in Spain who were homeless in their countries of origin; it is the very fact that they have emigrated that makes them homeless (be this within their countries of origin or, more often, in the destination country).

According to Bermúdez (2004: 118), a small proportion of the minors studied (20 %) states that they have been mistreated in some way by their fathers, who were excessive in their imposition of authority, or that they felt pressure to leave home prematurely due to the presence of step-mothers. These do not, however, appear to be sufficient to cause emigration to another country. Other factors, such as an awareness of scarce or non-existent possibilities of hope for the future in the country of origin, or a vision of the destination country as a place where such hopes for the future could be improved, are

necessary for this. To these reasons can be added stories from fellow countrymen who have emigrated when they return home for summer holidays; these people are proof that the dream can come true. Toys brought back by those who have emigrated symbolise the fact that something better exists somewhere else. The desire to emigrate first comes about as a desire for these things from far-off lands. Marta Comas (2001) states that for some minors ideas of travelling to Europe first arise at 10/11 years of age, and for some at 13/14; these ideas grow bit by bit until one day they find themselves planning their strategies for escape in secret, either alone or with friends.

But the thought processes of these minors are not infantile, at least not completely. Adolescents do not arrive in Europe in search of toys. Their thought processes are full of factors, premises, and ideas appropriate to adults, or at least comparable to those of other adult immigrants. These ideas mainly relate to work. The minors have idealised concepts of the job market in Europe; they are convinced that there, everyone has work, and that they too will be able to become a part of the world of work. «It is the subjective factors of the thought processes which form the bottom line of the immigration plans of these minors. Stories of successes of those who have already left, the idea they have of what they imagine life in Europe to be like for those migrants returning home for holidays, the false perception of an idyllic society that is conveyed by television (the ever-present satellite dish which can be found in more homes than running water), childish dreams about vastly popular sports like football, about advertisements, about television series, about cars, dresses, houses that they see pictures of every day… Although this subjectivity is lost as the journey progresses, it constitutes a determining factor in provoking the emigration of these minors.» (Bermúdez, 2004: 172).

### 5.2. *The country of origin and the journey*

In all the autonomous communities, and in all the research that has been conducted, it should be noted that more than 90 % of the unaccompanied foreign teenagers arriving in Spain are Moroccan. The next largest group is made up of other North Africans, mainly Algerians. There is also a minority from sub-Saharan Africa, who arrive mainly in the Canary islands, as well as a few minors coming from Eastern Europe, almost all of these from Romania.

The reason for the fact that most immigrant minors in Spain are Moroccan is that the countries are geographically very close together. The Spanish autonomous cities of Ceuta and Melilla are in Africa, and

have borders with Morocco; the Strait of Gibraltar, with its frequent ferries to the Peninsula, facilitates entry. They travel by taking advantage of trade routes and passenger ferries (Pérez Crespo, 2000). They come mainly from the north of Morocco, from the large cities of the centre, and from the rural south. The Tangier-Tetuan region is the one most often mentioned by emigrating young men (Jiménez, 2003).

Their attempts at travel are dangerous, as their main strategies are hiding underneath lorries and between the wheels of the buses that cross on the ferry to Algeciras. Another way is to stow away on a ship at the port of Tangier. And since 2003 there has been an increase in the number of minors arriving at the coast of Andalusia or on the Canary Islands on rafts (Jiménez, 2004).

### 5.3. *Personal characteristics: sex, age, level of education, work experience*

The minors in question are all male: girls are invisible in this respect and, according to the study carried out in Catalonia, the few girls being cared for do not come from North Africa (Capdevila and Ferrer, 2003). With regards age, we are dealing with adolescents between the ages of 14 and 18. The average age varies: it is 14.8 years in Andalusia (Jiménez, 2003), 15.5 years in Aragón (Oliván, 2004), and 16.5 in the Basque Country (Berganza, 2003).

Regarding level of education, the different pieces of research carried out show the existence of a group of illiterate boys: between 20 and 30 % of the total number. Those who have been educated are more numerous, although three quarters of these have only attended school for a maximum of 8 years. A minority (9 %) has finished secondary education. (Bermúdez, 2004; Capdevila and Ferrer, 2003; Defensor del Menor de Andalucía, 2003). The majority of minors arriving in Spain do not speak Spanish.

The vast majority of young immigrants leave school due to the need to find work so as to be able to augment the family income. Because of this, a quarter of those interviewed by Bermúdez (2003) had started work at the age of ten. The majority of the boys have some sort of experience of work, having worked in their countries of origin as unskilled labourers, or apprentices earning a very small salary in exchange for being taught a profession (Jiménez, 2003).

### 5.4. *Relations*

Adolescents arriving in Spain leave their nuclear families in their countries of origin. These are generally large, with an average of six

children. 80 % of minors maintains links with their family (Capdevila and Ferrer, 2003). They say they have good links with them, and frequent contact, often through fortnightly phone calls, sometimes from the residential centre of the minor.

Their parents know about their accommodation, although probably not the conditions in which they live, as the teenagers lie to them. The boys speak about having sufficient money to send some to their mothers or their families, but not about re-uniting the family (Bermúdez, 2004). Many of the adolescents have relatives who emigrated to Europe before them; a fair number of them have older brothers in other European countries. The main detinations chosen by these relatives are Spain, France, Italy, and Belgium.

A network of peers that the minors have plays an important role. The project of migration is frequently viewed as a challenge to be experienced as a group. Peers help each other with timetable information, methods for crossing borders, evading the police, etc. Peer networks are the first paths approached for information and help in problematic situations (Jiménez Alvarez, 2003).

### 5.5. *The destination country*

Once in Spain, the mobility of the young people is significant. Three quarters of the minors are carrying out the journey for the first time; the rest have previously emigrated, been repatriated, and are now trying to emigrate for a second time. The young people do not include possibilities of return, family re-grouping in the country of origin, or repatriation in their plans. If any of the above occur, they will emigrate again, as many times as necessary. This mobility appears to respond to the desire of the minor to obtain documentation and work.

It is frequent that they will arrive in one autonomous community having previously passed through others. Peréz Crespo (2000) noticed this when she made the point that Madrid appears to be a stopover on the way to other countries, preferably other European countries. In the majority of cases, they do not arrive directly there, but have previously passed through communities such as Ceuta, Andalusia, or Catalonia. The reasons for which they go to Madrid could be related to family or friends that they have in the region, information they have obtained that there are greater opportunities there, as it is a place with a great demand for workers, and the experiences of other young men who have passed through it.

Many adolescents are institutionalised in different European or Spanish centres, which they leave either because they do not like them,

or because their original destination was elsewhere (Capdevila and Ferrer, 2004). Berganza (2003) also states that one of the characteristics of these minors is that the time they spend in residential centres tends to be minimal. Analysing the stays of minors who had recently arrived in Bizkaia in 2002, 40 % of them did not stay for longer than 6 days, and 28 % for not longer than a month. Only a very small minority (14 %) remained for more than three months.

On arrival, they sometimes go directly to the police; alternatively, they can remain on the streets for some time until they are detected by an appropriate authority or the police. They arrive illegally. Their ages are unknown, and their status as minors has to be confirmed. Bermúdez (2004) states that the fact that they are illegal, linked to the fact that they often lie about their origins so as to prevent repatriation, makes it very difficult for the authorities to pass on information to the country of origin, which in turn makes it difficult, as well as to establish the true age of the young person, to identify the true identity of the minor through embassies. Jiménez Alvarez (2003) has noted that «through word of mouth, the young people know something about the care centres, the rights they have, and the ways in which different autonomous communities will act. They know more or less that the police are unaware of their Moroccan places of origin, and of how they are written… They know that if they escape from one centre and go to another city or autonomous community, the whole process will begin again, as there is no co-ordination. Through the experience of other young men, they know when to talk and when not to.»

Administrative authorities, says Jiménez Alvarez (2004), treat these teenagers in ways that do not always prioritise the fact that they are minors and in need of protection. The emphasis is more often placed on the fact that they are illegal immigrants, and the full gamut of restrictive measures in laws to deal with immigrants is applied to them, with too much concern for border control (rule 3/2003 makes possible the return within 48 hours for minors who are older than 16, and a signed memorandum of the agreement between Spain and Morocco of 24th December 2003 makes possible the repatriation of any unaccompanied Moroccan minors who are found in Spain). This system has contributed to the fact that, as of 2004, the number of immigrant minors cared for in protection centres has started to go down. For example, in Andalusia, 390 minors were apprehended between January and June of 2004, compared with the 1,410 who were apprehended in the same period of the previous year.

Some minor end up on the street as a result of the bad quality of the systems set up to protect them. This situation is even more serious

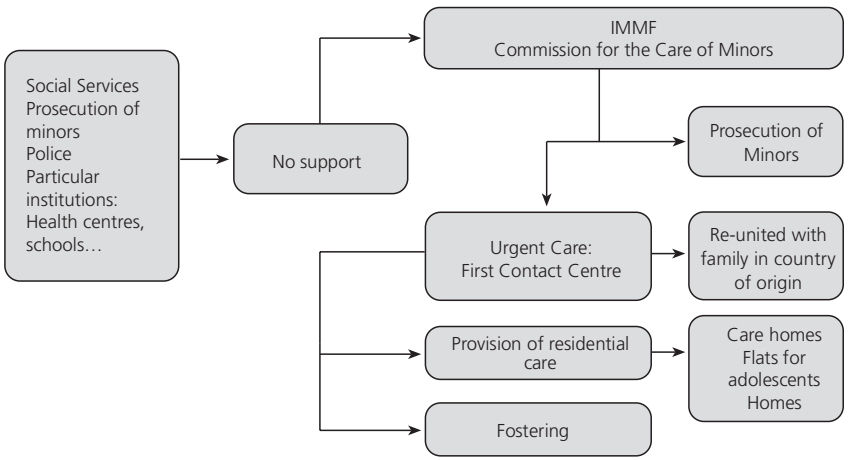
for minors who reach the age of 18 having been cared for but nor provided with documentation, who are left to their own devices and «evicted from the system». Their files are kept open only as long as the foreigners are legally children, leading to a drop in the service on offer to them when they reach legal adulthood (Díaz Aguilera, 2001). There are many reasons for leaving a care home (Díaz Aguilera, 2001):

— Repatriation. 10 % of the minors return to their countries of origin when they are needed by their families, or if there remains no reason for them to stay in Spain and their family situation is appropriate for them to return to.
— Because they have reached legal adulthood.
— Voluntary leaving/running away. 90 % of unaccompanied foreign minors who have entered care centres, due to being in situations with no support, leave them within a short time of having arrived.

The processes in the protection network for the care of unaccompanied foreign minors can be summarised visually as in graph 2, which also shows the types of residential centres which are available to the young people.

**Graph 2**

Processes in the protection network for the care of unaccompanied foreign minors




*Source:* CASTILLO, R. and ANGUREL, M.J. (2004: 110).

## 6. **Aspects to consider**

Having given an overview of the problem of youth immigration, we will now proceed to focus our consideration on two different aspects. On the one hand, we will look at the young immigrant and his experiences in relation to the migration project he has embarked on, and on the other hand we will give our views on the destination country, more specifically on the resources and reactions of the authorities towards these young people.

### *6.1. Young migrants: between adolescence and maturity*

The significant aspect of this group of immigrants is their age and, focussing on this variable, we can reflect on how these minors truly live. We must start by stating that age is a cultural construct, and that the culture in the country of origin differs from that in the destination country. There exist significant differences between the stages of life in our western culture and the Arab culture that exists in the countries of origin; this is particularly true for adolescent males. While in the west pre-adolescent and adolescent minors must be in the care of the parents or close families (or, as a last resort, of an appropriate authority), pre-adolescents and adolescents consider themselves to be productive members of the family in Morocco, and they take an active role in keeping the family solvent and organised. Many families see the emigration of their young men as their ray of hope. When the immigrant minors arrive in the destination country, they lose their status as adults and workers, their autonomy and personal freedom, and move to the categories of child (with the corresponding rights to education and healthcare, but not to work) and illegal immigrant, and become people who are controlled for their own protection (Comas, 2001).

With regards this return to adolescence, Jaume Funes (1999) affirms that these minors have dispensed with their short childhoods and have entered into the world of adults who are earning their own livings. They are oblivious to the fact that they will be arriving in an environment where it is practically obligatory for them to be teenagers, and they cannot have a true teenage experience without being a part of a group to which they can belong and relate. Nevertheless, for those who *do* arrive, there remains the problem that the only groups of teenagers around them are seriously affected by social problems and marginalisation. And even if they do choose to be teenagers, they turn out not to have the time to do it, because as soon as they turn 16 and can make a living for themselves, they will have to act like adults.

There also exists the contradiction that many of them have to go to school but would like to be working. One of the major characteristics of our teenagers is that they are legally obliged to be at school until the age of 16, and generally remain there until 18. Immigrant minors close to the age of 16 find school unfulfilling, and need an education geared towards work. They are forcing us to reformulate our social insurance and work training programmes so as to be effective in helping them to find work as quickly as possible.

Despite these adult characteristics that they have, the unaccompanied foreign minors are still at an age where they have not fully reached maturity; this can be see in some of the research that has been conducted. Bermúdez (2004:90) tells us that the young immigrants «are mature enough to have small jobs in their countries of origin, but are childish enough to dream of a better life without being able to see the consequences of embarking on such a project. A clear lack of maturity can be seen in the ways they plan their journeys, seeing them more as desperate adventures than true migratory projects that have been planned for a long time prior to their taking place. This is what makes them different from the adults with whom they are homologous. Perhaps they do not mind risking their lifes on their odyssey as is the case for many adult immigrants; but they do not embark on their trips as victims of desperation or exhaustion, but spurred on by the impetus of youth and ignorance.»

The fact that they migrate contributes to the fact that these adolescents reach maturity. The minor is forced to acquire maturity that he did not have before on his journey through the world towards his point of immigration in Spain. The concepts of a Europe paved with gold, based on an image formed from television, stories heard from other immigrants, or simply from imagination, change as they reach their destination countries and experience a very different daily life to what they were expecting. These minors show adult characteristics, demonstrating a capacity to take decisions concerning their lives that is not normal for their age. They are very conscious of the way time passes, and of the fact that if they reach the age of 18 in Spain without having been given residency permits, all that remains for them is expulsion. As such, we should ask ourselves to what point it is appropriate to treat these minors as we do our own teenagers.

### 6.2. *Reactions of the authorities towards immigrant minors*

The resources currently at the disposal of the authorities for their dealings with unaccompanied foreign minors are the care centres, al-

though it is worthwhile considering whether or not the types of centres on offer respond to the needs of the minors they serve. A study conducted by Save the Children (2003) states some of the reasons why they do not do this:

— They are located in out-of-the-way and inaccessible places.
— They are for the sole purpose of housing foreign adolescents.
— The centres are very large, which makes individualised attention and a family atmosphere difficult to achieve.
— Overcrowding, aggravated by the pressure on centre managers to accept more minors than their centre has capacity for.
— Lack of expert educational staff.
— Forcing minors of very different ages and at very different stages of integration to live together, which can create problems for the youngest, weakest, or those who are already far into the process of integration.
— Frequent changes in the awarding of contracts for those who look after the boys, resulting in serious damage to their educations.
— The signing of contracts with care authorities not experience in dealing with minors.

These inadequacies in the care centres makes education difficult, and can even explain why the young people leave the centres so soon. The majority of studies criticise the fact that the young people become homeless once they have come to Spain, when they were not so beforehand. «In the Peninsula, the children who live on the streets have begun to do so after arrival in Spain, and this fact transfers responsibility for it to the Spanish authorities.» (Jiménez Alvarez, 2003).

We should also consider the fact that the Spanish authorities do not adequately follow the law. Jiménez Alvarez (2003: 77-83) states that repatriations are carried out without sufficient guarantees; examples follow:

— The rights of the minor to be listened to and to have their opinions taken into account are not fulfilled.
— Procedures with embassies or consulates, or through foreign offices, are not appropriately followed.
— The Public Prosecutor is not given prior warning.
— Minors are frequently transported in police cars with all their official badges, accompanied by uniformed officers carrying firearms.

— The minors are handed over directly to the Moroccan customs officers at the border, without waiting for family members or Moroccan social service workers to be present.
— There have been complaints concerning mistreatment by the Spanish authorities.
— There have also been complaints of the same from Moroccan authorities: detention and imprisonment, physical mistreatment, abandonment, sexual abuse, verbal abuse.

From this it can be seen clearly that a return to Morocco that takes place without guarantees (in other words, without the consent of the minors or their family, and without the certainty that there exist sufficient resources to guarantee successful and safe integration whoever provide them —a family, a public or a private institution—), this can only lead to a deterioration in the mental and physical state of the young person in question.

Another criticism refers to the deadlines in place for the offering of care to these boys, and their provision with the appropriate documentation (Mason, 2003). If the deadline fixed by the law is not achieved, it becomes impossible to realistically provide an education for the young person. Even people who have been in the care system and have now reached legal adulthood can find themselves without any form of documentation with which to lead their adult lives.

With regard to the integration of the immigrant minor into society in the destination country, it is suggested that resources should be provided for those who are forced to leave the care centres due to having reached legal adulthood (Díaz Aguilera, 2001). There is a risk that when they leave their care centres, the young people will find themselves without resources (work, family, friends, accommodation), and will have to go straight onto the streets, which is completely at odds with the protection which was on offer to them during their teenage years.

The aspects we have dealt with are not exhaustive, and in no way deal with all the issues relevant to the subject of the migration of minors. There are still many questions to be asked, such as, for example: What happens with girls who are immigrant minors? What happens with the minors who are not in the care system, due to the fact that they are continuously entering and leaving care centres? What will the future hold for the minors in care who stay in Spain after reaching legal adulthood?

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Part II

# Migration and public policy

# 4.

# Transnational Migratory Spaces: the emergence of a new context for public policies

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## Introduction

Nowadays, in western societies, international migrations occupy a central position both in academic discussions and in the agendas of the different governments. The questions and considerations raised by this phenomenon are multiple and very diverse in nature: migration has become a question of national security, an instrument of foreign policy, and one of the principal factors of change in western societies. What is certain is that population displacements are a constant in the history of humanity and that although numerically international migration has doubled from the beginning of century, in the same period the world population has quadrupled. To this we must add that most migratory flows take place between developing countries and not so much towards developed countries, although the percentage of migrants in these countries has increased. Therefore, the perception of international migratory movements that exists in western countries does not fit with the information given by analysis.

In any case, more than quantitative changes in migratory patterns, it is necessary to speak about qualitative changes generated in and, to a great extent, caused by the current process of globalisation. Undoubtedly, one of these changes is that is it significantly easier for

migrants to maintain fluid communication with the societies of origin. Transformations in communications and transportation have produced an increase in the density, multiplicity and importance of interconnections between the societies of origin and the destination societies. Social relations between geographically distant groups of persons have acquired a sense of immediacy like never before. Distance and time no longer seem the principal barriers to the organization of human life.

In this respect N. Canclini (1999) contrasts current population movements with those that took place in the 19th century and the first half of the 20th. These migrations, unlike the current ones, were almost always definitive and implied a break, a disconnection, between those who were migrating and those who stayed behind. Canclini distinguishes between three migratory systems at present: migration that definitively terminates in the destination or migration of settlement; temporary migration, for labour reasons; and migration of variable installation, which would constitute an intermediate form between the previous two. The last two types of migratory systems are those that have increased in recent decades. On the other hand, these modes, unlike migration of settlement, are characterized by sporadic and discriminatory residence licences according to nationality and the economic needs of the destination country. In turn, this condition of economic marginality is related to a characteristic of our time: migrants are no longer perceived as necessary in our western societies. Analysing the characteristics of current migratory movements, Massey *et al.* (1998) indicate that though in the past governments considered migration to be a necessary element for industrialization, today, on the other hand, migrations are seen and presented to public opinion as social and political problems that it is necessary to face.

Besides the latter characteristic, Massey *et al.* (1998) consider that, differences apart, there is a series of common denominators in current migratory flows that make them different from those that took place in the past: on one hand, most of the migrants come from countries that are characterized by a limited supply of capital, low indexes of creation of employment and abundant reserves of labour. This leads to a sharp imbalance between the labour supply and the demand. On the other hand, in current host societies, the low birth rate and an aging population produce a limited supply of workers. At the same time, capital-intensive technologies generate a stratified demand that is characterized by full opportunities for qualified natives, unemployment for those who lack education or specialized training, and segmented

demand for migrant workers. As a whole, in western societies there is an articulation that combines a constant demand for migrant workers with high levels of unemployment, and with increasing discomfort for the social and ethnic diversity generated by migration. A contradiction is generated that governments try to resolve by means of restrictive policies that confine the migrant workers in a single segment of the labour market, limit the entry of workers' dependants, prevent permanent settlement wherever possible, and repatriate those who do not use the proper channels of entry.

Beyond the day-to-day migration policies that governments develop and try to apply with greater or lesser success, we face a set of transformations that deserves our attention to the extent to which current migratory flows place in question the modern legal concept of citizenship itself and the legal-political institutions based on the nation-state. The emergence of an economic global system, characterized by cross-border flows and global communications, is transforming the model of the modern state that has been sustained by the coincidence of sovereignty and territoriality as an exclusive relation. The new trends of the global economy involve deregulation and new legislation to permit the free movement of capital. In parallel, as can be observed in the case of the European Union, the nation-states are yielding part of the exercise of their sovereignty to supranational authorities, which in principle means a certain loss of their autonomy. Nevertheless, this deregulation does not take place in all the areas of competence of the state, rather, there are certain strategic domains where the state, far from losing powers, gains strength. As S. Sassen (2001) asserts, the new global order involves differentiated situations of *denationalisation* and *re-nationalisation*. This double movement is evident in the phenomenon of contemporary migrations in which far from losing its attributes, the nation-state maintains its centrality by closing borders and re-nationalising the political discourse. The denationalisation of economic spaces does not imply that the nation-state is out of date. In this context of discontinuous transformations, the study of migrations constitutes a strategic area, since it presents, in an exemplary way, the contradictory aspects of the process of globalisation: the superseding of the nation-state and, simultaneously, its continued reproduction.

In this context of radical transformation, anthropology does not settle either for general discourses or established wisdom, but seeks to participate in and represent the specific, daily experience of migrants. The very strategy of anthropology consists of analysing global problems in specific places and, precisely for this reason, it constitutes a favoured discipline for analysis of the articulations between the local and the

global. It delivers us facts that can help us to specify and correct the often general visions of these problems. Today we tend to assert that migrants are present in the political discourses and in the media representations of our society. Nevertheless, I believe that this is an erroneous assertion or, if you wish, an optical illusion. This illusion is rooted in the fact that the presence of migration in discourses and in the media is what we can call an *objectual* presence, that is to say, the migrants are the *object* of progressive, or not-so-progressive, discourses and policies.

The migrant as an object undoubtedly constitutes a decisive topic for administrators, politicians and social scientists. The question they ask themselves might be summarized as follows: *what to do WITH migration?* Here, the question calls for multiple opinions and it seems to be a fact, that we know a great deal about migrants. On the contrary, the anthropology that I propose expresses a different conception, from which are derived other topics that we will deal with in this paper: the migrant is a subject, or if you wish, multiple subjects that act and think, speak and decide. In this way, anthropology displaces the question towards another horizon: *what to do IN migration?* In this case the question brings to the mind not a stereotype but a problem about which, as such, we know little. Via this line of approach, anthropology does not fall into the temptation of making predictions or writing prescriptions, but problematising the experience of migration by trying to collect the perspective of the different actors involved. This distinction between object/topic/opinion and subject/problem/research will be the basis of the present work.

From this problematising point of view, this article will centre on two principal questions:

1. How the transnational configuration of contemporary migratory flows is placing in question the bases on which migration-directed state policies are constructed, revealing their lacks and limitations.
2. Considering the transnational character of migratory processes, what type of consequences they bear for models of citizenship.

## 1. **Transnationality, migratory flows and public immigration policies**

First I would like to refer to the bases and limitations of migration-directed state policies. To this end, I will consider that these policies

centre on three principal axes, which are: the control of flows; the social integration of migrants; and development cooperation. Most of the migratory policies developed in the context of the European Union are still based on the assumptions of the classic migratory theories. Thus, a great deal of the member states' efforts are devoted to border controls (terrestrial access, airports and consulates in countries of origin). But it is also clear that these controls are ineffective; it is immediately obvious that governments find serious difficulties in controlling migratory flows as soon as they start.

We consider that one of the reasons for this failure is that the states continue to treat the migratory phenomenon as the result of individual decisions. In this respect, the international migrations of workers would be produced by the wage differences between the different countries, and geographical differences in the demand and supply of labour. Nevertheless the economic variable, although persistent in time, has proved insufficient to explain and predict the logic of migratory movements. On the one hand, the idea that migrations are produced, in the end, by economic inequalities between countries would imply that the volume of international migration would be directly proportional to the size of the wage differences existing between the same countries. But the number of exceptions that are found to this rule is sufficiently numerous so as to place in question its validity (Massey *et al.*, 1998). Secondly, this idea leaves unexplained the *concentrated pattern* of migrations, that is to say, why migratory flows originate in certain countries, and within them, certain regions, and not in countries with a similar situation of poverty. Nor does it explain why flows are directed to certain countries, regions or localities. And finally, individual differences are unexplained in the migratory models, this is, why certain individuals or a minority of a given population migrate, if they all are in the same conditions?

To find a satisfactory explanation to these questions we need to connect the migratory process to former colonial, or current neo-colonial, links. In effect, migratory policies tend to consider the country of origin as a passive subject, without in any case taking into account that the international activities of the states and companies of host countries contribute to the formation of economic links that not only generate trade in commodities and capital, but also in individuals, families, collectives, etc. S. Sassen's (2001) analysis of migrations to the United States during the 1970s shows that these coincide with a period of economic and military expansion of the United States in Asia and the Caribbean. In this way, a migratory pattern concentrated in certain areas is explained by pre-existing geopolitical links. I conclude

that migratory flows take place within specific systems formed by economic, political or ethnic links.

Last, but not least, the explanation of individual differences in migratory models will only find a response if we take into account that migration is first of all a social phenomenon and not the result of personal decisions dominated by the law of supply and demand. The explanation can not be found at the individual level but only by conceiving the migratory process as a structure through which the individual is articulated with the social. The key importance of the family ties, bonds of friendship and community links is revealed as ever more important to understand the differential tendencies to migrate. Likewise, the explanation of the continuation of certain migratory flows once the original economic incentives have diminished or disappeared can not be based on economic analyses. We must look at the migratory phenomenon based on the position of the individual in the migratory links and networks which constitute the microstructures that sustain population movements in time and space.

Undoubtedly the classic explanation of the genesis of migratory flows based on wage differentials between countries, today does not constitute a sufficient explanation of migratory movements. It is clear that migrant workers continue to respond to an intrinsic demand generated in developed areas and countries, but this factor has proved insufficient to explain the dynamics and morphology of contemporary migratory processes. A practical consequence of this limitation is the expansion of the black market in international movement (Massey *et al.* 1998). In the developed countries, once the benefits of supplying labour demand through foreign workers were obtained, the hardening of border control and closure policies has only served to feed networks of human trafficking, mafias, smugglers, networks of prostitution and delinquency, etc.

Social integration policies, for their part, display an equally significant difficulty. Considering the characteristics of a population that leads its life simultaneously in two or more nation-states, serious problems are raised with integration plans that take a state-centred model as a central point of reference. As long as the states do not take into account the transformations that are taking place, not only in the area of migratory patterns, but also, fundamentally, in the very role of the state and the inter-state system, migratory policies will prove to be limited and ineffective in managing migratory flows and the possible integration of the migrants.

Below, we will analyse the principal transformations of the migratory pattern. I suggest the reader think about one of the ideas

that underlies integration policies: the idea that integration is a problem that affects the migrant unilaterally. In contrast to the dynamic character of the migrant, the host society is a passive, static agent, who in principle has little need to change. In effect, into the line proposed by Zapata Barrero (2002), in general only a few variations of the content and of cultural limits of public space are admitted. But, the final control of this space is in the hands of the normalized citizens, who decide in the last instance whether to satisfy the specific needs of the migrants. In contrast with this unilateral consideration, I propose that we need to undertake a deep self-criticism of the models of integration of migrants, whose principle is that both parts, host society and migrants, must modify some of their properties, requirements and expectations. Based on this new consideration, the migrant would participate in and take decisions about the content, limits and characteristics of the new public space. The management of difference, of diversity, has to go beyond a superficial «interculturalization» of the public sphere, and for this it is necessary for the migrant to take part directly in this management. In the end, the management of diversity requires a deep modification of the basic structure of society.

As for development cooperation linked to migration as a preventive theme, we must indicate, first, that the same, inadequate assumptions underlie this topic as do the migratory classic theories; and second, that development aid can on occasions lead to more migration via the «demonstration effect»; cooperation can become an attractive bait and not a mechanism for staying in the homeland. The implantation of this model which, based on production and consumerism, tends to bring the exhaustion of natural resources, the proliferation of waste, pollution, commodification of relationships and social duality, does not represent the solution (Nyberg-Sorensen 2002). It's not a question of leaving to one side development cooperation and aid, but instead of no longer presenting it as one of the principal measures for stopping migratory flows. Table 1 displays schematically content of this section.

**Table 1**

Assumptions and limitations of state migration policies

| State policy | Assumptions | Actions/measures | Problems and limitations |
|---|---|---|---|
| Control of migratory flows | Migration is a security problem.<br>Migrations take place because of the wage differences between rich and poor countries.<br>The migrant is a rational actor who operates on a cost/benefit logic.<br>Labour markets are the central mechanisms that generate and induce flows. | Strengthening and control of borders, airports and terrestrial accesses and the consulates in the countries of origin.<br>Measures tending to regularization of the labour markets. | Inability to control migratory processes.<br>Proliferation of networks of human trafficking, mafias, smugglers, networks of prostitution and delinquency.<br>Lack of attention and analysis of other factors involved in migratory processes: colonial and neo-colonial links; logic, dynamics and morphology of migratory networks.<br>Lack of a multilateral and multi-causal vision. |
| Social integration of the immigrant | Based on the figure and institutions of the nation-state.<br>Based on a conception of universal citizenship.<br>Discourse of cultural pluralism and interculturality.<br>The demands of the migrants that pass the filter of citizen control will be able to be practised and recognized publicly.<br>The problem of the integration is a problem that affects the migrant unilaterally. | Specific policy aimed at the migrant by virtue of its specificity.<br>Generic policy that considers the migrant as a member of the civil population.<br>Measures to guarantee and promote access by migrants to the structural spheres of the society: education, housing, work, residence, social relations, health, social security, etc. | Passive character of the host society.<br>Practical difficulties in managing diversity.<br>Tension between the specific and the general, between the particular and the universal.<br>Does not consider the fact that current migratory processes involve an itinerary that involves more than one host society.<br>Coercive forms are generated that previously were thought to have been overcome in the democratic system.<br>Mechanisms of direct participation by migrants in the management of diversity are not created. |
| Development cooperation | Development is a linear, expansive process.<br>Migration is a result of economic differences between rich and poor countries. Therefore, more development of the societies of origin means less migration.<br>Development aid is a mechanism to promote staying in the homeland.<br>Model based on production and consumerism. | Projects implemented by state and autonomous region governmental organisms.<br>Projects and programs of religious associations, NGOs, etc. | More migration provoked by the demonstration effect.<br>Stratification in the societies of origin.<br>Commodification of social relations.<br>Exhaustion of natural resources in poor countries and increase in waste and pollution. |

## 2. **Consequences of transnationality for models of citizenship**

This schematic and, therefore, limited critique of state policies based on the classic explanatory models of the migratory phenomenon, demands that we now carry out a characterization of the emergence of a new migratory pattern: transnational migratory networks. The phenomenon of globalisation is producing a whole series of changes, at times dizzying, at others partial, which have re-shaped the world order. Current migratory movements register and form a part of the processes of globalisation which, among other things, demands a revision of the appropriateness of public policies adopted by countries. On the other hand, it is not out of place to mention that, in my view, the transnational perspective represents a concern to adapt the classic theories to the new global context. More than a concept that offers definitive answers to the challenges raised by current migratory processes, the transnational perspective displays a set of problems that make clear the limitations of certain classic concepts (ethnic group, nation, culture, space, time, etc.) with which the social sciences have approached the study of migrations.

As we have seen, for a long time it has been possible to speak about an *international* migration in the sense that migrations involved a unidirectional and uni-temporal displacement from one country to another. In this context, the classic images of the migrant showing an abandonment and a hard break with the mode of life of the society of origin, simultaneously with the learning of a new culture and, often, a new language. On the other hand, and together with this image, the vision was also maintained of the migrant as temporary worker who, sooner or later, returned to the society of origin. Nevertheless, these concepts, which arose and developed in a certain historical, economic and political context, are no longer sufficient to account for current migratory flows.

Already for some time, we have begun to speak of an increasing *transnational* migration to account for a new phenomenon: the life spheres of and projects of the migrants are no longer located in a single space; the *social spaces* of those now called *transmigrants* cover several *geographical spaces* (Pries 1999). Today, migrants develop networks, activities, modes of life and ideologies that connect and cover their places of origin with the host societies. It is this process, through which the migrants forge and maintain simultaneous social relations that unite their societies of origin and settlement, that we will call *transnational* migration. It is true that we are not facing a totally new phenomenon in time, up to a point migrants have always moved

in *transnational* social spaces, but never till now has it been so easy and so decisive. The new trends in migratory patterns are written in the logic of a progressive increase in global networks of production, money, information and culture.

This migratory pattern or structure is characterized by the fact that the migrant groups forge, promote and maintain multiple and simultaneous social relations, which connect the societies of origin with the place or places of destination. This migrant experience is termed *transnationalism* to emphasize the emergence of a social process by which the migrants establish social fields that go beyond geographical, cultural and political borders. Immigrants become *transmigrants* when multiple relations —family, economic, religious, political, associative— that cross several borders are developed and maintained (Basch, Shiller and Szanton-Blanc, 1992).

It is necessary to underline that the communities developed by the migrants in their new destination places do not constitute a mere extension of their community of origin. In effect, the field of social relations that is generated, is constructed on the places of origin and destination, giving rise to a new social space that is something more than the sum of the spaces of origin and destination. In this respect, a policy of integration that seeks to be effective will have to start from the multi-locality of the migrant population. The frame of reference of the nation-state has to be overcome in order to understand the demands and needs of a group that organizes its life by articulating and linking the societies of origin and destination. This is shown, for example, by the case of the *mixteca* communities, whose migratory network includes several states of Mexico and the United States, and constitutes a source of concern and problems for the institutional orders of both countries (Besserer 1999).

In effect, one of the key problems of the current migratory processes is that they are bringing up and questioning the national model of citizenship, a model anchored in territorialised ideas of cultural belonging. Current experience reflects a time in which national citizenship loses sense in favour of a more universal model of citizenship, anchored in *deterritorialised* ideas of individual rights: a *postnational or transnational citizenship* model. In Y. Soysal's (1994) analysis of the limits of citizenship, this model of post-national citizenship is characterized by contrast with that of national citizenship as follows: the territorial dimension of the classic model based on the borders of the nation-state and on the necessary correspondence between territory and belonging (only British natives are holders of the rights and privileges of the British state); it opens the way to the idea of

*fluid boundaries of membership*, that is, a citizenship that gives every person the right and the duty to take part in authority structures and in public political life, without concern for the historical and cultural links of the person to this community. In this respect, instead of placing emphasis on the customs, traditions, religions, etc., the institutional structure of the political systems of the host societies is emphasised. On the other hand, the organizing principle of belonging is based on human rights, so the source of legitimacy of this new model of citizenship is, in contrast to the nation-state, the transnational community.

The *transnational* condition of the new migratory movements, that is, simultaneous belonging to two or more societies, means questioning the basic budgets of a traditional conception of citizenship as exclusive belonging to a single political community. The sociologist R. Bauböck (1994, 1996) has analysed the implications that the transnational perspective of the migratory phenomenon would have for citizenship in the host countries. First, the acquisition of citizenship of the host country should be considered as an individual right that should not imply the loss of a previous nationality: «*Multiple nationality is a formal legal expression of transnational citizenship. And an individual right of admission to citizenship opens the limits of the political community*» (Bauböck, 2004: 197). Secondly, the transnational conception goes beyond civic nationalism, and in this respect, besides the recognition of certain cultural rights by the migrant communities, the question centres on the need to transform the public culture of the destination societies. Thus, Bauböck proposes that beyond attempting to create a neutral cultural space in western societies, governments «*should provide multilingual public services and rewrite their public histories, so that they include the collective memories and myths of immigrant communities*» (Bauböck, 2004: 198).

In this context of construction of a new citizenship, there are authors who go beyond the proposal hitherto sketched out. In the case already mentioned of the *mixteca* indigenous communities, F. Besserer (1999) proposes that the transnational condition of this group requires a citizenship that includes its situation of *translocality*, in such a way that the transmigrants can be first-class citizens and can exercise their rights in the multiple countries and localities where their community spreads. Citizenship has to go beyond the territorial margins and place itself in the complex space of transnational community life.

## Conclusions

The work that I have presented forms a part of a wider investigation on networks of transnational migration, in which I have taken as a primary source of information the migration from Otavalo (Ecuador) to various cities in Spain and the rest of Europe. To conclude the present article, I wish to emphasize three points that seem to me basic when facing practical questions relating to the conditions of life and the integration of the migrants in the host societies, among which Spain increasingly occupies a leading role. These questions are:

1. That migratory policies should take into account the *transnational* character of the new migratory flows and the effects of this emergent social condition on residence, work and citizenship.
2. That the agents who propose public policies, with the intention of influencing the situation of the migrants, must review in depth the concept of INTEGRATION, deconstruct it and be aware, especially, that integration policy implies not so much a transformation of the migrants that come to our countries, as of the structures, institutions and modes of our society itself.
3. Finally, that the path of integration goes through courage, if that concept makes any sense today, and why not humility, recognising that migrants can and must keep their unwavering difference, without affecting their full participation in the construction of public/political spaces and in the struggle and enjoyment of social well-being.

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# 5.

# Immigration policies and linguistic diversity

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## Introduction

The population movements that generate migratory flows towards the countries of western Europe are relatively recent in a historical perspective. Western Europe is a space of political collectives that have traditionally been expansionist, both in economic, political and demographic terms. In the second half of the 20th century, nevertheless, a reversal of the trend has been seen in all three areas. The traditional European colonial domination of Africa, Asia or America is transformed into new forms of political influence. Economically, Europe maintains a relevant position, particularly as regards mechanisms of social compensation. It is partly as a consequence of these two realities that, demographically, central Europe has become a pole of increasing attraction for individuals from the former colonized spaces.

This alteration of the historical dynamic leads to very important consequences in European political communities. The classic philosophical and political models of reference are less and less appropriate to new social realities. Especially, the mono-cultural bases that once served to organize nation-state political spaces, are overcome by new social realities, not just as the fruit of immigration phenomena, but as a result of European internal convergence and due to the technological and ideological changes generated by the crisis of modernity. All this demands an effort to construct new parameters of social integration

and legitimisation of political structures. Not in vain, the principal challenge of present-day politics is the public management of diversity for justice. The increasing plurality of identity and cultural plurality of present-day European societies, not merely the provisional phenomena of immigrants or foreigners, constitutes the object on which we must reflect and propose alternative models.

Through the present article we will seek to offer the reader a space in which to undertake the aforementioned reflection. With the academic intention of generating more questions than answers, we will approach several of the imbalances that are generated in the current models due to the increasing cultural and linguistic diversity of our societies. Especially, we seek to unmask the uniformising inspiration of our political models and to propose a necessary radical review of them. This critique is framed in a non-neutral conception of the phenomenon of immigration. We begin with the right of immigrant persons to form part, on an equal basis, of the host society through an inclusive concept of citizenship. To organize our reflective proposal, we will first present some of the most basic questions derived from contemporary social multiculturalism in relation to the current interpretation that we make of human rights as a legitimising political discourse. In the second part, we will focus on language, as a key element of reflection on the aforementioned cultural diversity, with important projections onto public space.

## 1. **Immigration and multiculturalism: challenges to human rights**

### 1.1. *Foreigners as an exclusive legal category*

European political systems have been constructed on the basis of the personal dichotomy between «us» and «them». Legal classifications have always distinguished between members and non-members of the political community. The concept of «foreigner» is conceived as a sort of natural alienation, which from the start vitiates the adoption of public or social policies as regards full equivalency of rights and opportunities for all persons.

Neither the ideological progress of the Enlightenment nor the political advances derived from the liberal or social revolutions of the contemporary age have managed to erode the «foreign» as a category of closing or exclusion (Velasco: 347). Though this legal-political conception of the individual has progressively incorporated —not without difficulties— women, non-property-owners and persons of different race, it necessarily continues to involve the exclusion of all those who

do not form a part of the political community. Citizenship thus becomes a contingent element determined by the construction of identity on the part of the «original owners» of the respective political community.

Hospitality is a concept present in the religious or autonomous ethics of the Enlightenment. Nevertheless, it does not activate the idea of integration, much less that of equality. The concept of foreigner still contains a germ of exclusion which it has not yet managed to eliminate, by comparison to more generous positions. The presence of foreigners is configured as a visit or a stay determined by being temporary, which at the same time justifies that the power to determine the time and conditions of the aforementioned stay are accorded to the sovereign State in whose territory the «visitor» is (Ruiz and Ruiz, 2001: 12).

The present day contributes a series of elements that will help to reinforce the exclusive conception of the foreigner and put into daily practice the consequences of the aforementioned conceptualisation. The new bourgeois society arisen from the revolution, as well as the international society of nation states, inevitably reaffirm the conceptual difference between individuals belonging to and foreign to the State. In spite of the initial universalist vocation of the revolution, ethnocentrism will progressively be imposed, with deep anthropological roots (San Roman: 15). Thus, the initial ambivalence of the revolution towards foreigners will dissipate with the entry on the scene of the new theory of the nation and the connection of this with the liberal State.

The comparison of the State as a legal-political form of organisation of a society, with the nation as a community of subjects that share a series of identity attributes, implies the comparison of citizenship and nationality. The first, with purely legal and political attributes, as the set of rights of the citizen of a certain State; the second, with connotations specifically of identity, as a community of subjects that possess the same ethnic or identity characteristics. The final consequence of this comparison is anthropologically, socially and legally forceful: the citizen is the native, who shares our attributes, who is one of us. In correlation, the foreigner is non-native, does not share our identity attributes and, therefore, does not have to share our rights either. From here the legal exclusion of the foreigner is considered as natural, not only in the legal order but also in the social and cultural orders (De Lucas 1999).

Thus, during the second half of the 19th century and the whole of the 20th century, the individual reached an identification with the nation that had never previously been the case. The nation conceived

as a voluntary association of individuals will tend to integration, as a citizen, of the foreigner, but also to its cultural assimilation. The nation understood as a natural community legitimises a more hermetically closed situation with respect to foreigners (Halfmann: 260). The aforementioned exclusion, based only on status as «foreigner», implies an intrinsically xenophobic essence present in the practical sum of the conceptions of citizenship of the States in our area.

In this framework, the principal reason for the regulation of immigration or foreigners alludes to a question of civil security and protection against the invasion of foreigners who try to assault our communitarian, prosperous and democratic living space. The regulation of foreigners, reflected in turn in collective positions with respect to the phenomenon of immigration, is a regulation with a xenophobic and exclusive basis, both because it sees the foreigner fundamentally as a threat, and because it is basically nourished by fear of foreigners and fear of alterations of the system of well-being established for the internal benefit of the community.

### *1.2. The policy on foreigners as an erroneous approach to the phenomenon of immigration*

The current processes of immigration increasingly raise challenges not only tied to the social integration of their protagonists, but also the need to articulate living together in cultural diversity. Nevertheless, the traditional approach to the phenomenon of immigration has tended to see this as a problematic question that simultaneously affected two coordinates: economics-employment and collective security. Thus, immigration policies have been characterized by a disproportionate emphasis on the regulation of the presence of foreign workers in the host societies. Especially in the legal area, more than designing immigration regulations, laws for foreigners have been constructed. The defensive policies constructed been directed more towards foreigners than migratory processes, and they have tended to be based on the classic and immobile concepts of foreigners and temporary labour.

This approach has been revealed as erroneous. The policy of security demonstrates a high inefficiency if it is not accompanied by a social regulation of immigration as integration, which inexorably must be accompanied by a new conception of cultural, identity and diversity management policies. Immigrant persons, far from responding to the traditionally outlined profile of guest workers, are now more than ever new citizens of the political community in whose construction they

want to play an equally relevant role. This implies the need to re-define the interpretations to the use of the human rights in their entirety. The cultural area, with its varied connotations, affects basic elements of human dignity and, therefore, its treatment is also a requirement of the universal respect for human rights.

Nevertheless, beyond specific and punctual actions, no suitable formulation of a cultural integration policy really exists either in our institutional areas nor in society itself. Furthermore, the lack of a reflected-on model is demonstrated in this respect. The fundamental concern today is that of the control of the immigration phenomenon and, at most, of its consequences, in terms of collective safety. In the most optimistic vision, we find social policies which are vocationally integrative, but which ignore the new multicultural reality that faces us.

### 1.3. *The intrinsic value of cultural identity*

The fundamental elements of identity, such as religion, language, belonging to an ethnic or cultural group, are basic factors in the construction of individual and collective personalities. For the specific subject who emigrates, identity references constitute one of the most transcendent elements in their perception of the new space, as well as, on many occasions, a key for their gradual integration in the host society. At the same time, the identity references of the aforementioned persons evolve through the migratory experience, which can lead either to their progressive transformation, or to a stiffness or immobilist reinforcement derived from the isolation produced by the migratory experience.

In any case, we are dealing with elements that shape the universe of personal and group values. Not only do they often imply real factors of enjoyment of basic standards of sociability or integration, but also symbolic models of very great importance. A minimal presence of the aforementioned elements in public space implies a revaluation of the individual who shares them, by both him/herself and others. From here derives the importance of cultural parameters in designing an accurate model of human rights. In this respect, Article 4 of the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity of UNESCO[1] indicates:

> The defence of cultural diversity is an ethical imperative, inseparable from respect for the dignity of the human person. It implies a commitment to respect human rights and fundamental

[1] Approved by the General Conference on November 3, 2001.

> freedoms, especially the rights of those persons who belong to minorities and those of native peoples. Nobody can invoke cultural diversity to damage human rights guaranteed by international law, nor to limit their scope.

Identities express feelings of belonging, real or imaginary, to a human group characterized by one or several common elements. But at the same time, this process proves increasingly complex, since emergent realities multiply the relations between elements giving rise to new coordinates in an infinite scale of clinal varieties on the same elements. To identify oneself with a collective is to give priority to a specific identification over all others, since all human beings are multidimensional (Hobsbawm). In any case, identities exist by comparison and one might affirm that they can neither be created nor destroyed, but simply and constantly transformed.

On the other hand, it is appropriate to remember that European societies do not face multicultural reality merely as a result of recent migratory processes. Previously, on the contrary, Europe contained a good number of religious, linguistic or cultural identities or realities that did not reach the dominant position of the diverse political communities. European reality was always multicultural. Migratory processes, in any case, accelerate and emphasize this reality and possibly contribute to it with a force that traditional minority phenomena lacked.

Nevertheless, European political communities have been constructed from the more-or-less-explicit assumption that cultural and identity uniformity are desirable-uniformity that, in turn, would help to reinforce the closing of the community with respect to the exclusive concept of the foreigner. In effect, once the continental map was divided into sovereign States, rationalism taught us that the cultural and identity uniformisation of the aforementioned closed spaces was something desirable and, to a certain extent, natural. The State had to seek its own homogeneity, whether beginning from a legal concept of the nation (as with the French historical experience) or from a cultural concept (following the German example). State efficiency implied the need for a common language, a common axiology and a shared feeling of identity. Even in the most modern philosophical-political formulations, this pattern is repeated under parameters of constitutional or democratic identity, in some way nationalizing concepts that in the end can only be understood universally. All this derives from the nation-state individualization through which we have traditionally worked in the legal-institutional field. Since this state construction is still in force, and international integration is based on it, homogenized models of aspiration also remain predominant.

This all suggests to the average citizen that the cultural and identity uniformisation of his or her state society is desirable, but without stopping to think too much about cultural or identity communication with other political spaces. Starting from this base, newcomers to the community will have to overcome the integrative filter through participation in common cultural and identity elements. Some will defend the idea that the more-or-less-radical transformation of their original identity is necessary, whereas others will allow it to be maintained, as a better channel to obtain, in the end, interaction in a pre-existing homogeneous model whose continuity is not renegotiated.

In any case, the same process of absorption has been experienced by traditional communities which, from their minority character in the construction of modern States, have had to aspire, at best, to survival via a double cultural or identity adherence. This double adherence has generally led to the regression of their identity elements, except in those cases where the aforementioned communities have ended up with their own political state structure, which in turn they have converted, copying the model given, into areas of identity homogenisation. The sincere and complete assumption of a multicultural, multilinguistic or poly-religious reality among European States is really exceptional and takes place in cases (Belgium, Switzerland, Bosnia-Herzegovina) where it was not possible or appropriate to resolve the confrontation between the different communities through the domination by the most numerous over the rest.

### 1.4. *Towards a just and efficient political-cultural approach to the phenomenon of immigration*

If integration is the key concept in the management of any migratory policy, it must be compatible with the new multicultural reality that this phenomenon incorporates. A correct assumption of immigration demands a long-term approach that considers the cultural contribution and identity of the new citizens not as a transitory but as a definitive phenomenon. Thus, a suitable approach to the basic aim of any migratory policy will be a model of social integration, not understood as cultural dissolution, but as a bi-directional and dynamic process of reciprocal adjustment between the immigrant and the original populations, both majority and minority (Medda-Windischer: 390)[2].

[2] See *Basque Plan of Immigration 2003-2005*, Basque Government, Vitoria-Gasteiz, 2004, pp. 63 and following.

Now integration, from the cultural or political point of view, is not equivalent to the confluence of identities, still less to the assimilation of the immigrant cultures in those of the host society (Malgesini and Giménez: 54). The new social realities demand the possibility of participation of the diverse identities in the permanent construction of the community cultural models. Nevertheless, behind the current European collective imaginations, lies the belief that certain immigrant cultures are incompatible with European and national values and, in this perspective, their followers would prove difficult or impossible to integrate (Salguero: 75). According to this approach, which relegates multiculturalism not to oblivion, but to scorn, a better form of integration does not exist than the form identified with assimilation. This approach is not only unjust, but, in our opinion, proves ineffective in practice.

From a legal-political point of view, the public assumption of an inclusive concept of citizenship is a necessary requirement to provide enriching and just cultural policies in the migratory process. Full citizenship involves the possession of rights and the incorporation of immigrants in the political host community. Integration does not derive solely from the right of access to the labour market or from the possession of a residence permit, but from real and effective incorporation to the political community as an active agent of it. Only on this basis can one proceed to successful cultural assembly. In consequence, the category of citizenship must be released from the restrictive identity elements of classic nationality. The deep attachment between citizenship and nationality expressed by our own national and European legal structures, not only impedes the access of immigrants to basic social or political rights, but cuts at the root of the just and effective management of cultural diversity.

In consequence, there is no just and effective policy regarding current migratory phenomena that can be separated from the extension of the concept of citizenship, inclusively. Unfortunately, the agreement that establishes a Constitution for the European Union has wasted the opportunity to reconsider European citizenship in terms better adapted to our current social reality. Citizenship can not now, and less so in the future, be determined by the assumption of a few identity parameters, especially if these are conceived in an extremely restrictive and traditional way. More than separating nationality and citizenship, a civic approach to the question would suggest cutting back on any public use of these, while simultaneously constructing a flexible model of differentiated citizenship (Young) that allows comparing and legitimising the different identity adherences that will have to renegotiate their appearance in the new European public stage.

### 1.5. *The political-cultural redefinition of public space: minority and democracy*

The great challenge that faces us today is, therefore, the public management of cultural or identity diversity. It is translated into specific debates that affect not only the assignment of resources by the community, but also our collective feelings and perceptions. The conjunction of both factors makes treatment of the underlying question complicated.

Religious differences, for example, express the whole series of cultural signs and elements that possibly go beyond the transcendental beliefs of those who profess them. Thus, public debates arise as diverse as the possibility, or not, of wearing obvious religious signs in public schools, the segregation of burials in public cemeteries, the adequacy of certain matters in educational curricula, the type of pedagogy to use in the educational system, the means of integration between sexes in public spaces, different conceptions of family life, opposed positions on the appropriateness of publicly financing activities of diverse confessions or churches, the public homologation of educational or sanitary activities carried out at religious-inspired centres, the scope of laicism as an ideology as potentially fundamentalist as any other religious interpretation, the scheduling of public holidays, etc. All these debates generate opposing positions that are habitually based more on unconsciously learned positions than on balanced reflections on an open model of integration of identities.

In any case, after the more-or-less-sincere admission of the need for an initial dialogue, two arguments are widely used as strategies for adjusting public policies. One refers to the legitimacy of the positions of aborigines or natives compared with the contributions of latecomers to influence an already established system. The other is based on the decisions adopted through a democracy understood exclusively numerically. Both are very widespread and legitimised forms of reasoning among the majority groups of the citizenry.

As concerns the first argument, it merely conforms the traditional vision of the foreigner as a stranger, an outsider whom we allow, in a more or less generous way, to join our group. Immigrant communities are considered as invited at best, potentially doomed to being converted into citizens with less presence in the conformation of collective identity. Their integration and belonging are recognized to the extent that their cultural or identity difference is less and their adherence to our cultural or identity values and elements is more secure. Once again, the identification between citizenship and na-

tionality underlies this thesis. From this perspective the political community is not a permanent construction, rather it has a past origin that legitimises a series of decisions whose modification requires, in any case, qualified majorities which the original constituents took charge of preventing. The legal referent is not that of the association, but that of the foundation whose patronage consists of those who identify themselves with the initial values of the foundation. From this perspective, multiculturalism is, at most, a secondary concession to diversity or a strategy to assure a more effective integration and uniformization. For the rest, this theory does not consider that there were minority elements of the original community who were the losers in the cultural construction that is now imposed on those who come afterwards. In this respect, traditional and new minorities are potential allies if they can combine their claims and do not perceive themselves mutually as threats with regard to their final position as opposed to the dominant majority (Zapata 2005: 87).

Another argument that seems to legitimise the adoption of non-pluralist public policies is democratic reasoning. It is actually a question of a prostitution of the adjective «democratic», since it is reduced to a numerical expression, of course, within the limited area implied by the respective political community. Thus, an identity or cultural policy is legitimised that gives priority to some referents over others, because the majority of the population demand it or because it corresponds with the largest number of citizens. Since it still starts from the questionable basis that uniformity is desirable for greater integration, reasons of efficiency suggest using the model that is shared by the greatest number of citizens at a given moment. This conception, as well as starting from the fatalistic vision that any State is bound to have common elements of identity, perverts the utility of human rights, since these consist precisely of exceptions to the numerical rule of the majority. In effect, the great debate takes place here, in respect for minority realities, both traditional and new, increasingly numerous. By definition, a democracy understood as a numerical game does not resolve the questions with regard to minorities. A full concept of democracy demands the balanced participation of all different members in the construction of the public, and a concept of human rights that assures the protection of the elements of dignity of all persons, above and beyond majority decisions. All this goes via the incorporation of the largest possible number of identity elements, basically all the cultural ones, in public space and implies rethinking the so-called «minority rights» not as specific rights, but as the obligatory readjustment of the basic values

of equality and justice with regard to the groups in which individuals are involved in their social and cultural life.

## 2. **Immigration, linguistic plurality and human rights**

### 2.1. *The linguistic fact as a fundamental element of identity and as an object of public management.*

In contemporary society it is generally considered that religion can largely be reduced to the private sphere, thus minimizing the effects that different religious identities can have on public space. Nevertheless, the political community can not avoid being defined in linguistic terms, although language is a necessary element in the exercise of many of the functions of any State (Rubio: 55, Patten: 296). In effect, if at the beginning of the Modern Age, the principal factor in expression of community identity was the religion practised, since the 19th century language begins to stand out as the principal element of belonging. This means that, progressively, the different States begin make explicit in diverse ways which language they adopt as symbolic reference and daily instrument.

At present nearly 200 sovereign States exist on the planet and it is thought that the number of living languages is around 6000. The disproportion existing between the two figures gives us the first idea of the difficulty involved in the public organization of the use of languages. Consequently, an approach to the phenomenon that starts basically from criteria of uniformity, with difficulty can accord with the cultural identities of many people or the conservation of the linguistic heritage of Humanity. For this reason, the idea of monolingual nation-States is a threat to the existing linguistic plurality of our planet (Kymlicka and Patten: 10; Kontra: 284). The uniformising process that has accompanied the consolidation of contemporary States, has meant that today less than 4 % of the world's languages have some type of official status (Romaine: 1).

The importance of linguistic questions in our societies derives not only from their symbolic and instrumental function in the organization of political communities. For most persons and human groups, language is an essential component of their identity (Patten: 313, Hogan-Brun and Wolff: 3, O'Reilly: 20, Blake: 213). Its loss, atrophy, inequality or regression are motives for personal and group traumas and a reason, more or less direct, for social conflicts (Kontra: 281). Besides, the treatment of such an essential element of identity and

personal development as is language maintains a direct relationship with personal dignity and, consequently, with respect for human rights.

Nevertheless, in our societies the conviction remains strong that those who share the same political space, equally aspire to share a culture and a language. At the root is hidden the presumption that there is no political community without homogeneity, so that the creation or maintenance of homogeneity becomes one of the aims of the community (De Lucas 2003: 72). Thus, even today, with globalisation in full flow and with increasing migratory flows, there is a considerable tendency to consider a high cultural homogeneity necessary at the heart of every State, especially from the point of view of formal recognition (Réaume 2003: 279).

In general, it is in their constitutions that States reaffirm to a greater or lesser extent the elements of identity by which they are somehow legitimised and around which they aspire, more-or-less explicitly, to integrate their citizens. To officialise a language implies, in this respect, a kind of public recognition on the part of a State about its elements of linguistic and, indirectly but accurately, national identity (Kymlicka and Patten: 6). Thus, most of the European countries (43 of 48) exhibit in their constitutional law dispositions relating to the use of languages in their public apparatus (Ruiz 2005).

### 2.2. *Difficulties and contradictions in the regulation of linguistic plurality*

Linguistic reality encompasses, as we have indicated, a group of variables that are not only communicative, but also symbolic, political and identity-related. Therefore, any political management of this reality encounters the difficulties inherent in the regulation of complex reality. The Law is a moderately effective instrument at affecting linguistic processes, which respond more to social and economic events which can rarely be dealt with by a legal route (Hogan-Brun and Wolff: 5). Coercive sanctions are very inefficient in comparison with social sanctions such as the loss of prestige in the community or with respect to other communities (Viaut 1999), the difficulty of carrying out profitable commercial or labour activity or failure in school. On the other hand, the legal arrangement also has symbolic value and a real effect on social values, particularly with regard to the consideration of a particular language for the community. Therefore the establishment of official linguistic status is a fact of cardinal importance in linguistic development, although never definitive in itself (Romaine: 2).

In the same way, the linguistic fact appears us much more complex than any legal or political categorization that we use for its management. Linguistic realities and their consequences in identity, symbolic or practical terms, are in general very hard to objectify and compare. To begin with, it is not always easy to define the language of any given person, given the conjunction of personal, social and psychological factors that interact around the aforementioned question. We might understand, for example, that the language of a person may be the language of his or her parents (together or separately), the language that was spoken in his or her family, the language that he or she knows best, the language that he or she uses most in daily life, the language with which he or she most identifies or the language with which the others identify him or her (Kontra: 285).

Other difficulties in the public management of the linguistic diversity derive from its intimate connection with the identity factor. Thus, for example, the mutual relationship of linguistic variants is the cause of deep disagreements on not a few occasions. The distinction between language and dialect for institutional purposes is not merely a scientific fact so much as a political and symbolic question (Nic Craith: 61; May 2003b: 128). Something similar occurs with glottonyms, which on occasions give rise to transcendent political polemics, or with the writing modes or alphabets. In the end, identity is always an exercise in differentiation, and linguistic elements, given their social projection, offer a fertile field for the construction or deliberate destruction of identity factors with a strong capacity for mobilization.

It is manifest that in recent decades consciousness of the need to confront linguistic questions has increased. In almost all European countries the number and range of the rules that regulate the linguistic fact have increased, and in much of them the public resources destined to linguistic policies of one type or another have also increased. Nevertheless, this greater public consciousness with regard to the topic of linguistic plurality is not uniform and includes trends that at least seem to be contradictory.

Thus, on one hand, we perceive that there is a trend to consider linguistic plurality to be a value in itself that it is necessary to preserve. Diversity, sometimes seen at root as an obstacle, constitutes a positive value in the current political discourse. The European Union has included the aforementioned concept in its institutional motto («united in diversity») and certain international legal or policy documents recently approved or formulated respond, at least partly, to this conception. Thus, the European Charter on Regional or Minority

Languages (henceforth ECRML), the Framework Convention for the protection of National Minorities (henceforth FCNM) or diverse documents adopted in the frame of the OSCE.

The motivations for this protection, nevertheless, are very different and they seem to involve three fundamental lines. At times, this type of document expresses the view that linguistic or cultural diversity constitutes a form of historical heritage to be protected, in the way that we would consider artistic or natural heritage. At other times, political explanations go as far as to emphasise that the protection and promotion of diversity derives directly from the obligation to respect the dignity of persons belonging to minorities and, consequently, to their human rights. In third and last place, the protection and recognition of a certain degree of diversity seems more like an instrument intended to obtain a situation of merely strategic or political stability.

On the other hand, and in apparent contradiction with the aforementioned, another trend can be perceived in the management and regulation of the linguistic fact, namely, the reinforcement of measures favourable to the dominant language of a particular State. In effect, together with the traditional instrument of the official recognition of the majority language, in recent decades European countries have increasingly adopted novel legislation in order to protect or guarantee the internal and external weight of the dominant language. On occasions this involves clear processes of re-nationalisation after a period of assimilation (Estonia, Latvia, Ukraine...), But in other cases, we find a definite public impulse towards a certain language that was already official and majority in its respective state area (the case of France). Together with this, we find new language regulations that affect questions such as naturalisation of foreigners and, in consequence, the relation between elements of identity and legal nationality (United Kingdom).

Finally, we also seem to perceive a third trend aimed at the recognition of the adoption of an international lingua franca. In the European case, some States officially incorporate the lingua franca (case of Malta; to a much lesser degree, Luxembourg for French or Byelorussia for Russian), while others limit themselves to its use in practice with foreigners (use of English on road signs in countries such as Greece, Bosnia, etc). The lingua franca is projected onto the supranational plane, but with few symbolic and political effects[3], unlike

[3] A significant motto of S. Berlusconi's electoral campaign in 2001 was that of the three «I's»: Impresa! Internet! Inglese! («Company, Internet, English») (Breton: 25).

what can happen on other continents (notably Africa or Asia) where the respective lingua franca in the end becomes dominant through its officialisation in the national arena. Socially, English has gained all possible ground over other languages, but nevertheless there is no clear legal treatment of this reality, though at the same time the real functioning of international relations leaves no room for doubt.

Certainly, all three trends, with their greater or lesser official expressions, mutually relate and influence each other. This gives the sensation that the political process of weakening of the traditional sovereignty of the classic nation-States is translated in the linguistic area as the concurrence of the two aforementioned trends. From above, through the irruption of a language with a universal vocation that invades the linguistic monopoly of the great state languages from outside (except for the mainly Anglophone countries). From below, through the progressive recovery of prestige by minority languages and the growing demands for their participation and incorporation in public space. The latter process certainly also faces important obstacles both on the practical and the ideological plane, but what is certain is that its mere presence forces to the States into a reflection or questioning. We have gone from a predominance of assimilationist ideologies in the 1950s and 60s to a greater preaching of multicultural visions, at least on the plane of symbolic speech (Siguán: 279). Both trends serve to squeeze the classic situation of state linguistic predominance and monopoly. This can not be considered to be at risk, given the quantity of State resources that still serve it, but it is in this framework that the phenomenon of reaction implied by the second of the aforementioned trends can be understood. In the end, the result of all this is that linguistic policy or rules in reality are activated when in one way or another threats to certain linguistic realities are perceived. In the case of minority languages, the reaction tends to occur when the community is already fully bilingual, which places it at greater risk of assimilation by the state language. In case of state languages, the reaction seems to come when a double threat is perceived from above and from below, with respect to traditional authority. It is clear that today political borders, though they still determine linguistic dynamics to a great extent, are far from impermeable to language. In this framework, the effects of population movements are especially relevant for their intensity and for their effect on human rights.

In the end, the ideological options that can be proposed from a just and effective approach to the phenomenon of immigration, also present some apparent contradictions. If we start from the need to offer a political and legal framework appropriate to cultural plurality, at

the same time we are faced with the necessary social, but also cultural, integration of immigrant persons. This normally happens via an underlying assumption, partly practical and partly ideological, which establishes that the linguistic integration of (all) immigrants in the language or languages of the host society is necessary. Where several languages exist in the host society (something that on the other hand is very frequent), there is an undeniable tendency to think that real integration, at least in the first phase, is via sufficient mastery of the principal and dominant language, which can be in contradiction with a progressive position as regards minority autochthonous languages.

On the other hand, the most open position with respect to multicultural reality assumes the conservation of the original cultures and, certainly, the conservation and promotion of the cultures or languages traditionally spoken in the host society, which are in the position of minority or minoritised languages. Combining the two aims is not always simple, but in any case we find a clear basis of conservation and resistance to the consequences of social modernization in political attitudes that pass for progressive and advanced. As occurs in other areas such as that of ecology, there is an apparent contradiction in the need to combine progressive attitudes with certain conservative aims. To face up to liberal attitudes that are less sensitive in this matter, normally defended from dominant or majority cultural positions, a certain readjustment of this political discourse is required.

### 2.3. *The linguistic fact and the movements of population*

Migratory processes undoubtedly affect the traditional linguistic dynamics of the different European States. If the latter had to face up to a certain internal linguistic plurality, normally settled by the predominance of a national dominant language, the arrival of substantial contingents of persons from other continents complicates this process.

On the one hand, migratory processes imply a change of the traditional social and economic relations that formed a particular «linguistic ecosystem». Migration opens spaces of interethnic communication and generates new communication links. In these new spaces a particular language will in turn triumph. The state assimilationist background, so present in European cultural ideologies, wants the state language to be the dominant one in the aforementioned spaces and, furthermore, tends to identify cultural integration with such domination. Certainly, this can imply irreversible assimilationist processes, since the aforementioned spaces can in turn influence the traditional communicative spaces, especially in case of families or environments that have experienced a

migratory process. Thus, although it is unusual for the language imported by the immigrants to be sufficiently strong to triumph in the aforementioned new spaces with respect to the official state language, at the same time struggles will take place between the immigrant languages themselves, which can help to reinforce processes of acculturation that may or may not have begun in the countries of origin.

At the same time, migration generates new linguistic needs. From the merely communicative point of view, on occasions the migratory process creates the need for a lingua franca for communication between different communities or with the majority. This lingua franca between the immigrant communities themselves need not necessarily be the state language. From the point of view of identity, in the migratory process, either the awareness of linguistic specificity gets lost, or there is a reaffirmation of the affective links (not always parallel to pragmatics) with the language of origin or with the language representative of the State of origin or the religion (fundamentally in the case of Arabic or Hebrew). Language, in the end, is one of the clearest factors that creates multicultural urban environments in a migratory process, allows differentiation between groups and plays, in consequence, a very relevant role as a factor of cohesion or community identity.

Among the most immediate and prominent linguistic effects produced by a phenomenon of immigration, we can emphasize the following:

1. The groups of immigrants tend to acquire the dominant language of the environment which they join. In almost all cases, this will coincide with the official language of the State of residence (Siguán: 226). In territories where two official languages coexist, primary acquisition of one or the other one will depend on their real authority. In almost all cases, the first language acquired will be the official State majority language (as in the case of Castilian Spanish in the bilingual Autonomous Communities or Finnish in Finland; the exception is French in Brussels, in spite of the bilingual condition of the city).
2. Assimilatory processes may take place between immigrant groups not only with regard to official host languages, but with regard to official languages of the country of origin. Thus, on occasions, it is through the migratory process or through incorrect education policies that foreigners of Berber or Kurdish origin have been assimilated to Arabic or Turkish respectively. There is also a trend of regrouping related linguistic groups around stronger or more

numerous languages in the migratory process (as in the case of Ukrainian and Byelorussian around Russian).

3. An increase in the number of linguistic communities that claim a certain presence in the public space. In turn, traditional or historical minorities can perceive this process with a double meaning:

   *a)* As a threat to their claimed specialness or legitimacy. This can be due to the consideration that the foundations that legitimise protection in each case must be different, in order to avoid weakening the status already obtained. Equally, the threat can also be perceived from the moment when they can be demoted in terms of number or power with respect to the foreign immigrant communities.

   *b)* As an opportunity to add support for debate in the internal state area. This can work better in the case of weaker linguistic communities.

4. In some cases, the arrival of foreigners reinforces traditional national politics because they speak the same language. This is the case of Latin-American immigrants in Spain that settle in bilingual communities. Their presence undoubtedly reinforces the weight of Castilian Spanish and can be perceived as a threat to the situation of the minority language.
5. There increases the need and demand for a lingua franca for communication between linguistic communities. Normally this works to the benefit of the state language, but on occasions there other languages can benefit (possibly in the case of Russian in some countries of the ex-USSR or of English in the Nordic countries or other small countries).

In any case, the concurrence of immigrant languages with historical languages will not take place only in the private environment, nor should the integrative process take place only in the school environment. On the contrary, in linguistic terms, a new design of public space is necessary that includes new official formulae to confront the increasing linguistic diversity in post-modern societies. This forces us, from the legal point of view, to redefine two transcendental concepts in this area: official status and the concept of linguistic minority. Both affect what on occasions we call linguistic human rights and, as a consequence, the reflection must centre on the relation of both terms with the new linguistic reality of Europe, as the product of the population movements that have been underway for some decades.

### 2.4. *Linguistic minority and its relation with human rights: legal and political bases*

Paradoxically, respect for human rights has almost always implicitly endured the violation of so-called linguistic rights. The consideration of languages (or, if you will, of linguistic diversity) as an obstacle for communication and, therefore, for participation, that is to say, the uniformizing and assimilationist vision, have legitimized the violation of linguistic rights such as the right to education in one's own language or the right to use one's own language in public space (Skutnabb-Kangas: 5). Thus, under the pretext of fomenting participation, the selected (official) languages are imposed so as to achieve the aforementioned participation (Junyent: 226).

Nevertheless, a real framework of human rights can not be constructed without incorporating the linguistic identity of persons and their projection in real life. In this respect, the officialization of certain languages by States can not be seen as a political excuse to deny the linguistic dignity of citizens. Here the so called linguistic human rights come into play, although the category as such can be questioned and submitted to varied theoretical considerations. First of all, we must ask whether we really need to speak about linguistic rights as a separate block of human rights.

At least a good part of what at times we consider linguistic rights are actually linguistic expressions of the basic content of classic civil rights. This happens, for example, with freedom of expression, which not only covers the content expressed, but also the language in which it is expressed, whatever this may be[4]. A linguistic content can also be found in the right to a name, the right to private and family life, freedom of communication, freedom of association, freedom of education or minimal procedural guarantees. In all these cases, we believe that is not appropriate to speak about linguistic rights so much as about linguistic contents of human rights, individual and applicable to all persons equally. In this respect, it is not necessary to constitute either a linguistic or national minority to enjoy them and the status of foreigner is totally irrelevant, since we are dealing with universal rights. All immigrants who do not speak the native language, in consequence, must see these rights recognized and guaranteed because otherwise their human or fundamental rights would be violated, which are

[4] See the case Ballantyne, Davidson and McIntyre vs. Canada, communications nos. 359/1989 and 385/1989. Document of the United Nations CCPR/C/47/D/385/1989, May 5, 1993.

recognized by any constitution to both natives and foreigners. These linguistic powers derive from the prohibition of discrimination by language.

## 1. Linguistic rights specifically protected for immigrants

If we analyse the specific legal and political bases that can justify linguistic rights for foreigners, we find a very sparse field. The international or internal documents that allude to the linguistic rights of immigrants as such are few and short. In the European area, the principal legal instrument that deals with linguistic questions is the ECRML, which in its first article expressly excludes from its area of application «languages of immigrants». For its part, the FCNM does not establish distinctions with regard to foreigners, though it can be deduced from the practice of the States and the declarations of several of them, that they do not consider the aforementioned rule applicable to immigrant communities. In the same line, Recommendation 1201 of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe[5] demands in its first article citizenship of the State in question in order that a minority may be considered native.

Continuing with the same institutional area, the European Convention on the Legal Status of Migrant Workers[6] only alludes to linguistic questions in its articles 14 and 15. It is significant in this regard that teaching of the mother language is orientated towards return to the country of origin:

> The Contracting Parties concerned shall take actions by common accord to arrange, so far as practicable, for the migrant worker's children, special courses for the teaching of the migrant worker's mother tongue, to facilitate, inter alia, their return to their State of origin[7].

For the rest, in the same agreement a weak obligation is established to facilitate learning of the language of the host society by the immigrants.

In the area of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights does not incorporate the linguistic topic in its draft,

[5] Recommendation 1201 (1993) of the Parliamentary Assembly, on an Additional Protocol on rights of minorities to the European Convention of Human rights.

[6] Agreement number 93 of the Council of Europe, dated November 24, 1977.

[7] Article 15 of the Convention.

except as a factor that impedes discrimination. Nevertheless, the Declaration on the rights of the individuals who are not natives of the country in which they live[8], recognizes in its article 5 the right «to preserve their own language, culture and traditions». The verb «to preserve» seems to contain a more restricted nuance than would stem from «to use». As concerns international agreements, the Convention on the protection of the rights of all Migrant Workers and their families[9], scarcely incorporates linguistic or cultural references. Besides the right to education, there in article 31 is established the obligation of the States to ensure that the cultural identity of the migratory workers and of their families is respected. On the other hand, this convention has not been ratified by the Western European States.

Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights establishes the right of persons belonging to linguistic minorities to use their own language. Though this article alludes to linguistic minorities, the Human Rights Committee that monitors the aforementioned agreement has established very clearly that foreigners can benefit from the rights alluded to in this article which, in fact, it goes beyond the linguistic content of other human rights in this or other agreements and which are recognized for all persons regardless of nationality[10].

Similarly, Article 30 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child[11] establishes that:

> In those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities or persons of indigenous origin exist, a child belonging to such a minority or who is indigenous shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of his or her group, to enjoy his or her own culture, to profess and practise his or her own religion, or to use his or her own language.

This opens the door to a systematization in the following sense: On one hand, there exists a series of linguistic faculties which foreigners enjoy by the mere fact of being a part of their most fundamental human rights, such as freedom of expression, the right to private and family life, legal guarantees or freedom of association. These rights are already present in our constitutions and, therefore, are obligatory for

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[8] Adopted by the General Assembly in its resolution 40/144, December 13, 1985.

[9] Adopted by the General Assembly in its resolution 45/158, December 18, 1990.

[10] United Nations Human Rights Committee, General Commentary number 23 (50), on article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, April 6, 1994 (Doc. CCPR/C/21/Rev. 1/Add. 5), paragraphs 5.2 and 5.3.

[11] Adopted by the General Assembly in its resolution 44/25, November 20, 1989.

any State. We do not need new legal instruments to make them explicit, since it must be maintained that they are an inseparable part of basic civil rights. It is simply a question of re-adapting the erroneous interpretation of these individual rights that has been made occasions to extend their application to all foreigners who live in the State without exception.

But, secondly, there is a different area of linguistic protection when we consider the rights derived from belonging to a linguistic minority. The Committee of Human Rights itself has indicated that this recognition of the right to use one's own language expresses a different content from that included in the classic civil rights. This is also a content that implies the assumption on the part of the State of positive measures in order to protect the rights of the speakers of such languages. On this basis there are two theoretical tasks still to be done. The first is to explore whether foreign persons are legitimised for the enjoyment of the rights corresponding to linguistic minorities. The second is to identify which is the protective area understood in these minority rights, to which the State will have to respond in fulfilment of international legislation.

## 2. Linguistic rights of foreigners as members of linguistic minorities

The United Nations Human Rights Committe has recognised that the right of members of a minority to use their own language can not correspond only to persons with legal nationality of the State in question, but also extends to foreigners[12].

This being the case, and given that no definition of linguistic minority exists in international law, in the practice any linguistic group might invoke their minority condition and consequent right to use their own language in a certain State. Thus, if the rights that benefit linguistic minorities are applicable to any language spoken in a country, this would also eliminate the distinction between the basic status that derives from civil rights and the status derived from belonging to a minority community, given that every person would belong at least to one of these communities and, therefore, it could be predicted that these rights are also extensible to all persons as specifically linguistic rights.

The question turns out to be legally very difficult and politically delicate. A priori, there seems to exist a clear shared conception that the

[12] Human Rights Committee...: *cit.,* paragraph 5.2.

languages traditionally spoken in a country deserve a protected status that differs from that of the languages spoken as a result of more-or-less-recent migratory processes. Nevertheless, distinction between the former and the latter on the legal plane is controversial. In defining minorities, two criteria are traditionally used to these effects. The first is to demand that the members of the minority have the condition of legal nationals, so that the foreigners, principally immigrant persons, would be excluded from such a category. Nevertheless, this solution is partial and unstable, since there are ever more immigrants who can adopt legal nationality in the European States without losing their linguistic identity. The criterion of the legal nationality does not work for the future to separate «traditional» linguistic minorities from those recently introduced. In this respect, Recommendation 1492 (2001) of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, on the Rights of National Minorities, establishes in its paragraph 11 that:

> The Assembly recognises that immigrant populations whose members are citizens of the state in which they reside constitute special categories of minorities, and recommends that a specific Council of Europe instrument should be applied to them.

The Assembly, therefore, continues to be based on the requirement of nationality, but it admits that «new» communities can constitute minorities once nationality is obtained. This being the case, it is very difficult to establish the barrier between those who are national and those who are not, when the language they speak is the same, when guaranteeing their linguistic rights. In the same way that a foreigner who speaks an official language or the language of a traditional minority can benefit from such a condition, the foreigner who speaks a minority language that is recognized as such because several of its speakers are already nationals, should equally have the same opportunity to benefit from the aforementioned situation.

The second criterion used to distinguish «new» from «old» minorities is time, with a minimum period of existence in the country being established for the recognition of the minority. Nevertheless, this criterion is also ineffective in the long term, since sooner or later the period required will be fulfilled by the migrants.

In addition, we must also consider the legitimacy of defending the maintenance or protection of a certain linguistic situation. If, as we find, traditional linguistic minority groups deserve a protective legal status and positive measures from public institutions to guarantee the maintenance and development of their respective languages, it is not

less true that the new linguistic communities that are created and located in the European countries might equally claim protective action on the part of the States in which they reside and to whose well-being they contribute (May 2003b: 133). A habitual difference between the former and the latter linguistic minorities will normally be that the traditional groups are concentrated in certain territories, but it is clear that with regard to the size of the linguistic groups, several communities of speakers of diverse languages of non-European origin will have a larger number of members than those of some traditional linguistic communities.

Faced with this complication, we find that, either we should define what is a linguistic or national minority with legal accuracy, or extend this concept to any community whose language is in a minority numerical position within a certain State. Pragmatism advises us to adopt the second option as soon as possible. Together with this, we consider that the concept of official status must be reoriented, if not eliminated, in its current, excessively rigid interpretation for the multilingual model of society in which we already live.

Therefore, we cannot but defend an objective concept of linguistic minority or of minority language. Its existence must be considered a question of fact, not conditioned on its recognition by the State in question[13]. In fact, the ECRML itself rests on this principle; its Article 7 is applicable to all the languages that are spoken in a ratifying State, irrespective of whether they have been recognized by the State or not. In this respect, in every State the majority language can be distinguished from the minority languages, which are all those that are spoken by a group different from the majority one. Within the minority languages, we would distinguish traditionally the native or autochthonous minority languages, from those that do not belong to the state or European linguistic heritage. In accord with the ECRML, the speakers of the former would benefit, at least, from the status that corresponds to linguistic minorities, though the language itself might also in this case be recognized as official. The speakers of the remaining languages would have the linguistic faculties that derive from fundamental rights. In no case would we understand from this perspective that the access of a language to official status eliminates or annuls its *de facto* status as a minority language.

Now, we also consider that this picture is legitimate to the extent to which the concept of European linguistic patrimony is understood in

[13] Human Rights Committee...: *cit.*, paragraph 5.2.

a dynamic and progressive way (May 2003b: 149). The languages that join the new European multicultural societies must have the possibility of acceding, sooner rather than later, to the common state or European imagination (Grin 2003: 185). This should not redound to a greater weakening of the continent's traditional languages, but nor does the denial of greater rights to linguistic communities that settle, even legally, in the different countries, seem legitimate. Once this has occurred, it will not be possible, for example, to deny the aforementioned minorities the linguistic rights set out in Articles 10, 11 or 14 of the FCNM, in the cases that we find a significant number of speakers. Even the Advisory Committee of the FCNM has started to recognize this on occasions. In our opinion, the ECRML should also extend its area of application to other languages that can be considered less and less as immigrants' languages and will in consequence come to form part of the European linguistic heritage. In any case, in agreement with the principle of equality, this statute which would be applied in favour of the minority languages to satisfy the rights of their speakers, implies the adoption by the State of positive measures and is not covered by the mere abstention of the public institutions (May 2003a: 225; Henrard 2000: 47)[14].

Finally, and in agreement with the Committee of Human Rights, we believe that the linguistic rights of minorities must be considered to be basically individual rights[15]. This option is fundamentally based on operative criteria and does not deny that collective elements exist in the exercise of the right and in its very definition, but not in its titularity. Otherwise, we would be bound to establish and define the titular collectivity of these rights, whether as the sum of speakers of the language, a concept that is already in itself difficult to apply practically, or the linguistic minority in a more identity-related sense. On the other hand, once the aforementioned census is compiled and the titular subject of the rights is established, the latter must operate and in consequence it is necessary to foresee a system of representation and action of the community itself. If the specific rights of the minority are configured as groups, the individuals who belong to the same group might not claim them for themselves in the case that the community decision had been against the exercising of a certain right. From the perspective of the protection of minority languages, it always seems more appropriate to recognize the faculties to each and every

[14] *Ibid.*, paragraphs 6.1, 6.2 and 9.
[15] *Ibid.*, paragraph 6.2.

one of the speakers of the language than to the speakers as a group, since their respective sensitivities with regard to linguistic identity may differ. From the individual perspective the collective identity of the group is not limited, but it is possible that the rights are really exercised by some members of the minority, even in the cases when that minority has not yet developed a sufficiently active political conscience.

## 3. Linguistic human rights for all persons; especially, the right to education

Specifically, is it possible or legitimate to locate a limit between the due protection of the languages traditionally spoken in Europe and the ones imported in successive migratory movements? One possibility is to make the traditional minority languages official, for full legal equivalence with the national languages, but this position is normally rejected by the linguistic majority of the States themselves and the institutional linguistic policies of the European Union is a good example of this. In addition, the official status of the two groups of languages it does not project the same effects, as we have explained in another recent article (Ruiz, 2005).

In our opinion, we cannot but admit that all persons, irrespective of their nationality, must have the possibility of exercising their human rights in their own language, for which the States must arbitrate the most reasonable measures by virtue of the socio-linguistic situation and always in favour of the weakest communities, traditionally or recently. Thus, for example, the linguistic rights foreseen in the Oslo Recommendations on the Linguistic Rights of National Minorities[16], might be extended to all linguistic groups in a State, to the extent to which the territorial or numerical conditions make it possible. These conditions of modulation, besides, are also applicable to the traditional European languages, for which the ECRML itself is a good sample.

Thus, the human rights of different persons would be better guaranteed without attention to their national condition. Thus for example, the right to education. This cultural right is normally seen as a universal right, so that the children of immigrants do not normally see their access to the education restricted. Nevertheless, the legal instruments applicable in most of the countries do not end up guaranteeing the right to receive basic education in the mother tongue or the immigrant's own

[16] Adopted in February, 1998 by a group of experts assembled in Oslo under the patronage of the OSCE High Commissioner for National Minorities.

language, a more than vital condition for the suitable formative development of the aforementioned children and for respect for the linguistic heritage from which they come. In this respect, there is no justification to distinguish between the right to education in their own language of children belonging to traditional or new linguistic groups.

On numerous occasions this linguistic projection of the right to education has been denied based on arguments of integration, and of promoting the future possibilities of the aforementioned pupils. The result has almost always been the relative failure in the educational process of the parties involved and in the long term, total or partial linguistic genocide. In our understanding it is clear that the State must provide reasonable but sufficient means so that linguistic communities that acquire a minimum size and concentration can receive elementary instruction in their mother language and also in the official language, with an additive and not a subtractive philosophy (Skutnabb-Kangas: 6).

We do not understand why this faculty should only correspond to children belonging to traditional linguistic minorities, since definitively it forms an element of the essential content of the right to education.

The total or partial separation of educational models depending on the language of instruction of the children, to do justice to their first language and thus to facilitate their educational development, their self-esteem and their capacities (Skutnabb-Kangas: 5), is neither an instrument of discrimination nor opposed to integration. In this respect a certain incoherence is observed in the positions of the Advisory Committee of the FCNM or of other actors when the right to separate education is defended for more consolidated minorities, but integration in «regular» models is required for other less strong linguistic minorities, as is the habitual case of the Roma population, with the excuse of integration.

Nevertheless, the Convention relating to the struggle against discrimination in the sphere of education[17] expressly establishes in its article 2 that the creation or establishment of a separate system of education for religious or linguistic motives that provides an education in conformity with the desires of the parents or legal guardians will not be able to considered to be discriminatory, as long as participation in the aforementioned systems is optional.

Otherwise, our proposal for an educational system would not be that of the total, but merely partial separation, allowing an additive

[17] Adopted by the UNESCO General Conference on December 14, 1960.

approach (Siguán: 119). The pupils of non-native linguistic groups, irrespective of their national condition, should have public facilities to receive their basic elementary education in their first language combined with a suitable learning of the dominant language or languages through bilingual educators, so that these can be widely used as the language of instruction in secondary education. We do not hide the practical problems that can stem from a migratory phenomenon that affects minors of diverse ages and conditions, and which will have to be confronted by the educational authorities with criteria of reasonability and proportionality, but in any case, a policy of basic instruction in the first language of the aforementioned persons must be adopted. In this respect, the content of the Hague Recommendations on educational rights of national minorities[18] needs to be put into practice for all minorities.

Without need to find greater legal arguments in the internal area, the instruments nowadays in effect are sufficient to be able to elaborate an interpretation in this respect. Article 3 of the UNESCO Convention against discrimination in the sphere of education, alluded to above, indicates that the States should «grant access to education to foreign subjects resident in its territory *in the same conditions* as to natives» (emphasis added). In our opinion, such conditions must refer to the essential content of the right and it unavoidably affects the language and linguistic competence of the pupils. At bottom, the discussion must not turn on the ownership of a certain right to education, but on its essential content in different linguistic circumstances. Thus, if we come to the doctrine of the Spanish Constitutional Court we can to find a certain support to this thesis when it indicates that:

> It is evident that those who join the educational system in an autonomous Community where a regime of linguistic co-officiality exists have to receive education in a language in which they can understand and learn the educational content that they are given; since otherwise the aims of the educational system would be obviated and the fullness of the right to education that the Constitution recognizes would be affected. Especially, and from the perspective of Article 27 CE, but also relating to Article 14 CE, it is essential that joining the educational system in a language that is not the habitual one takes place under the condition that the citizens

[18] Adopted in October, 1996 by a group of experts assembled in The Hague under the patronages of the High Commissioner for National Minorities of the OSCE.

> have managed to master it at least to a sufficient degree that their educational performance is not markedly worse than they would have reached had they been taught in their habitual language[19].

It is clear that the Court is thinking of Spanish-speaking students that join the educational system of an Autonomous Community with another official language, but the most relevant thing in our view is that the high court recognizes here that it is obvious that the linguistic capacity for following and taking advantage of the material taught is part of the content of the right to education of every person and not a supposed separate right belonging to certain linguistic groups.

Other consequences of this offer would be glimpsed, clearly, in the whole public apparatus. The right of the members of a certain linguistic community to express themselves in their language to the public administrations that they have to deal with and whose funding they also contribute, should only be limited by means of parameters of reasonability and proportionality derived from the socio-linguistic situation. Adopting a contrary position is not, in our opinion, a denial of the existence of minority rights or linguistic rights, but plainly and simply an unjustified discrimination by language.

### 2.5. *A multilingual political model: towards a sustainable linguistic development*

Definitively, the scheme that we propose here breaks with the existing institutional logic today, which in our opinion is responsible for a good part of European and world linguistic genocide. The current trend not only implies the certain loss of most of the world's languages in the 21st century, denies equality in the fulfilment of human rights to many persons and, particularly, to immigrants.

The maintenance of the languages that immigrants import or those of other traditional minorities can not be achieved with today's isolationist measures. It is true that in linguistic dynamics, separate realities are the most effective to achieve conservation. But in the globalised world of today and in wide political frameworks, this aspiration is simply anachronistic. On the contrary, we must intervene in the linguistic process, in the same way that we intervene to preserve natural spaces of special interest or that public policies are established to correct social or economic imbalances. In this respect, we plead for the

[19] Judgment 337/1994 of the Constitutional Court, December 23, on the Law of Linguistic Normalization of Catalonia, legal foundation 11.

design of a sort of «sustainable linguistic (or cultural) development», which far from being inspired by mere conservation, serves to adapt this heritage to the variable times and dynamics that mould it.

To achieve this it is necessary to reconsider the concept of official status, discharge it from its institutional projection and its symbolic load. The majority languages do not need to accede to official status to be supported and to develop and, in any case, the State can legitimately adopt legislation that ensure its social presence without negatively affecting the situation of other, weaker languages. In turn, the minority condition of other languages present in society forces the public apparatus to adopt protective and positive measures precisely to guarantee access to equality of opportunities for their speakers. Existing States should tend to guarantee the coexistence of all the linguistic communities that live in their territory in equality of conditions, recognizing an equal status to all languages and acting on the them depending on their socio-linguistic situation. A flexible system of several levels of official status or guarantee, in the style of that established in the ECRML, might help in this respect. At the same time, the States would have an interventionist function for the aforementioned reality, promoting the traditionally weaker situations. In other words, languages not be subordinated to the service of the state, but the State, the public apparatus to the service of the languages or, more accurately, of the linguistic communities (Junyent: 237).

In last instance one can not forget that there is no effective integration based on assimilation, and that, on the contrary, there is a permanent construction of new social parameters. Ever fewer identities directly related with political communities can exist, because these communities evolve in their composition and because these identities interact ever more rapidly, giving rise to numerous identities that are complex and not mutually exclusive. Any State has the obligation to respond to this challenge, from the deep consideration that all languages are intrinsically equal.

## Conclusions: minority, multiculturalism and human rights

The legal regulation of the linguistic fact in the heart of a political community is intrinsically related to public management of social or cultural diversity. Not for nothing, diversity is probably the greatest challenge that the post-modern developed societies have to confront: the management of public space in increasingly plural frameworks and

with complex identities. The incorporation of a greater number of cultures or languages among the identity elements of the State, which in the current system would be translated into a greater number of official languages, depends in democratic systems on the decisions of the majority, so that minority groups are by definition in a situation of greater or lesser political weakness, if not of de facto marginalisation. In this respect, it is necessary to undo the equation that equates a State to a language, or a State to several official languages, since it constitutes one of the greatest obstacles that exist to the fulfilment of human (linguistic) rights.

In the face of this current institutional reality of contemporary nation-States, we must remodel political communities, guaranteeing to the greatest extent possible equality of opportunities, and also cultural and linguistic equality, to all the citizens, in an inclusive sense. The political frameworks of coexistence must erase their ethnic and ethnocentric character on which they have been designed. The modern political community is like that, in conformity with a complete discourse of human rights to protect linguistic-cultural difference and to renegotiate their social integration such that all minority cultures or languages can take part in the construction of the public space (May 2003a: 227, de Lucas, 78).

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# 6.

# Co-Development and migration: conceptualising policies as outlined in the Basque Immigration Plan 2003-2005[1]

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## Introduction/Methodology

This article aims to advance conceptualization of the term «co-development» and to identify practical proposals for its realisation. It is understood that while co-development is perceived as new, it is in fact descriptive of an old reality, one that is common of all migration, namely that, «immigrants are agents of development both in their society of origin and host society» (Crespo 2004: 1). Often, not enough attention is given to this point, as demonstrated by stereotypes and fears dedicated to the economic cost that immigrants have for host societies. Cries of «immigrants are stealing our jobs» are more often heard then the whispers of «immigrant labour is sustaining our economy». Recognising an opportunity to benefit from the existing social and economic ties between immigrants and their countries of origin, experts are increasing advising governments to promote co-development initiatives. The logic is that instead of relying entirely on the work of international developmental agencies, governments can

[1] This work is a further elaboration of a paper first delivered at the Council of Europe's North-South Dialogue on Migration, Thematic Workshop III, «Migrants as Economic Players in their Countries of Origin», Lisbon, 2005.

encourage their immigrant populations to engage directly in development projects in their countries of origin. As a result, co-development has been experiencing an increasing prominence and acceptance across Europe and more recently in Spain's Basque Country. Some insist that in the short term there will be an «explosion» of co-development projects in Spain, this due to a demonstrated burgeoning interest by autonomous governments, city halls, NGOs and immigrant populations (Crespo, 2004: 13). A case study of the Basque Country experience sheds light on the challenges inherent to the practical implementation of co-development projects. The Department of Housing and Social Affairs has been particularly active over the past three years with its new Basque Immigration Plan. Elements of the Plan provide for facilitating co-development initiatives; specific measures are laid out and particular indicators identified. This article examines and analyses the Basque government's priorities, this in addition to practical initiatives towards implementation of co-development projects.

## 1. **Defining the terms**

For reasons of methodological clarity, and to give impulse to discussion, the terms applied within the article will be introduced from the beginning. This is undertaken not in an attempt to clearly define the terms, but rather to facilitate a conceptualisation of their meaning and perhaps draw attention to the diversity that lies therein.

### 1.1. *What is «co-development»?*

The term co-development surfaced recently, popularized by Sami Näir in 1997 and coming more into the mainstream after the European Summit at Tampere in 1999. Since that time, the term has become widely diffused and enjoys common usage among academics, political agendas, associations and NGOs. Nonetheless, there is not yet a consensus regarding the meaning of co-development, the concept requires further exploration and defining. Taking a closer look at the more usual meanings given to the term reveals some conformity in opinion. Take for example, the following definitions of the term «co-development»:

> Within a framework of decentralized cooperation, co-development would define the action that involves immigrants in the promotion, elaboration, implementation and evaluation of

> development projects carried out in their countries of origin. (Diao, 2004: 26, cited in Crespo, 2004).
>
> Co-development refers to concrete action programmes at the local level, promoted and financed by receiving countries and aimed at local development in the immigrants regions of origin, giving incentive to participation by immigrants and immigrant associations. (Abad Márquez, 2004: 2).
>
> Co-development can be understood as a grouping of strategies, within the context of an increase in migratory movements at the global level, towards promoting interculturality, the integration of immigrants in host societies and in the development of their places of origin. (Dirección de Inmigración, 2004: 5).

While these definitions are not identical, some commonalities can be identified and which may be useful in terms of aiding in elaboration of the terms meaning:

- The term connects migration and development while considering North-South relations.
- It is a form of development that can be led by immigrants and for immigrants, replacing a form of development aimed at benefiting immigrants but without immigrant input.
- It is a decentralized form of co-operation, operating in a dimension in which larger state or international actors are not as efficient.
- It aims to lessen international divergence between countries and regions in development processes.

Abad Márquez (2004: 2) goes a step further, elaborating on his above definition, to explain that in a broader sense co-development «as a general principle, ought to inspire and bring congruency to immigration policies and development cooperation policies.» This complaint is a recurring one throughout the literature, highlighting the lack of attention that policy makers give to co-ordinating immigration and development policies.

At the same time, it is recognised that the term describes an older phenomenon, a process that has occurred for perhaps centuries or more. Looking at Euskadi, a region that has been characterized by emigration at different times in its history, one might question the role that Basques abroad have had in the development of Euskadi. Suffice to say, the concept is useful in terms of explaining the phenomenon of

immigrant participation in development projects both in the host country and country of origin.

### 1.2. *The intercultural character of co-development*

Another starting point for co-development involves collaboration between associations that share common objectives. There ought to be a natural reason for the two entities to work together. Through collective discussion, the associations can arrive at a shared conception, then assist each other in carrying out the project.

Mutual learning is made possible through bilateral dialogue and action, with information exchange, sharing experiences and gaining knowledge about the reality of the other.

Solidarity may be formed if the broader collective of each association is involved in the decision-making processes concerning the project. Simply informing the collective about management decisions will do little to inspire a sense of solidarity ties between one collective and another.

### 1.3. *Contextualising co-development*

Co-development includes concepts already present in development co-operation, including reciprocity, bilateral North-South relations and equality in these relations. These concepts are often difficult to apply. Co-development may give impulse to the application of these concepts in as much as immigrants are directly involved in promoting development in their countries of origin. Acting at the local level in the host society, immigrants can become important actors at the local level in their country of origin.

At the European level, this approach to development is increasing encouraged as can be demonstrated by EU-wide initiatives seeking emphasise the usefulness of co-development programming. For example, in March 2005, the Council of Europe held the third in a series of North-South dialogue workshops on the theme of co-development and migration. The specific task for workshop participants was to discuss the idea of migrants as economic players in their countries of origin. The workshop resulted in a report that the Council of Europe utilizes in its daily work to: defend human rights, parliamentary democracy and the rule of law, develop continent-wide agreements to standardize member countries' social and legal practices, and promote awareness of a European identity based on shared values and cutting across different cultures. Some of the recommendations from the report are worth synthesizing here below:

First, and from a more global context the report recommends to:

— Favour development of a global political cadre that values the contribution of immigrants, this towards organising an international summit on migration and co-development.
— Promote an institutional environment and favourable policies towards immigrants investing in their country of origin for the promotion of good governance, human right and peace.
— Ensure that development co-operation policies are coherent with migratory policies and that these contribute to consolidating the rule of law.
— Favour the integration of immigrant enterprises in local development strategies.
— Make available public funds for financing immigrant economic initiaties, through facilitating access to credit and the creation of guarantee funds.
— Develop alternative systems for transfer of funds.

Looking at specific actors the Report recommends to:

— Develop specific policies to aid women entrepreneurs.
— Favour the involvement of local authorities and assist them in playing their role.
— Implement programmes and specific mecanisms that aim to value the contribution of qualified immigrants to development in their countries of origin.

In terms of policies aimed at the media, the Report recommends a need to:

— Value and make more visible the economic contribution towards development that immigrants make both in host societies and countries of origin.
— Work with the media in formultating questions about immigrants and North-South and intercultural relations.
— Establish ties between immigrant media, mass media and professional media in order to have better access and better treatment of information (Dembelé and Teisserenc, 2005: 8-9).

Having briefly conceptualised the meaning and intercultural character of co-development, and having somewhat contextualised this in terms of its European significance, a country-specific study of co-development can now be examined.

## 2. **Framing the Spanish context**

Looking specifically at Spain, it is clear that government immigration policies emphasise issues of order and public control; it is unlikely that the new socialist government will make radical changes to current policies. On a broad level, the government has accomplished seemingly little towards integration of immigrant communities into mainstream Spanish culture, its GRECO[2] programme to regulate immigration to Spain mostly concentrates on proposals concerning administrative and policing procedures (Garrido, 2002: 54).

The «Ley Orgánica 4/2000» (11 January) commonly known as the «Ley de Extranjería», was introduced by central government to outline the rights and liberties and the social integration of immigrants. All parties represented in Parliament reached consensus on the new law. The «Ley Orgánica 8/2000» (22 December) reforms the previous law by tightening entry restrictions for immigrants. Considered by the Aznar government as «loopholes» that fomented irregular immigration, laws 4/2000 and 8/2000 were reformed by the «Ley Orgánica 14/2003» (20 November). Those who oppose the law refer to it less affectionately as the «Law of Oppression and Slavery.» It includes 71 articles, 47 of which establish the conditions under which immigrants may reside and work in Spain. It also outlines the penalties for not abiding by these articles. Only 4 articles are dedicated explicitly to integration issues, indicating the level of importance the laws ascribe to integration.

Five of the most significant reforms in the «Ley Orgánica 14/2003» are: 1) Reinforce entrance controls, 2) Changes to facilitate expulsion procedures, 3) Strengthened police control through control of municipal centers, 4) Government non-compliance of Supreme Court, and 5) Changes to administrative requirements for foreigners (Source: SOS Racismo-SOS Arrazakeria, 2003). In short, the new reforms: a) Impede regularisation of those already in Spain; b) strengthen sanctionary instruments; and c) facilitate expulsions. This last point translates means that applications from those currently in irregular situation will not be considered. During the first weekend of June 2004 1,500 immigrants, including the Assembly for Regularisation without Conditions, barrackaded themselves inside the Barcelona Cathedral demanding «papers for all». The protest ended with state security

[2] A global programme to regulate and coordinate foreign residents' affairs and immigration in Spain. Immigration Department, Ministry of Internal Affairs.

forces removing the occupants. Zapatero, who believes that there is a serious problem with irregular immigration, lent his support to security forces and insisted that his administration was «going to defend legal immigration and apply all the mechanisms of order in an effort to convert a situation of disorder into one of order.» In his opinion, «orderly immigration is legal immigration and that which offers guarantees to immigrants and produces a correct incorporation into society, both in the area of rights and obligations» (Aizpeolea, 2004). Zapatero thusly assured involved actors and the public at large that there would definitely not be another «extraordinary regularisation» of all irregular immigrants. A few months later, the Spanish government announced, yet again, «the last» «extraordinary regularisation». This «bandaid» approach to managing migration is one that has been used repeatedly by the Spanish government, emphasising a serious lack of longterm planning, and a need to put in place migration planning that is not simply reactive and short term. It also signals an absence of linking migration policies with development cooperation policies. This raises the question that may really be at issue, namely, what use is it to bandy about this politically correct term «co-development» but in practice not apply strategies to facilitate its realisation!

### 2.1. *Basque government policy overview; «Immigration Plan 2003-2005»*

The Basque government's Department of Housing and Social Affairs recently unveiled a triennial plan promoting an «open doors for all» policy. This policy is to be applied evenly to both regular and irregular immigrants. The Lea-Artibai Region —arguably the most «Euskaldun» zone of the Basque Country, 90 % of its 26,000 inhabitants speak Euskera, 756 immigrants from 56 countries live here— promotes this new plan with the distribution of 18,000 illustrated calendars and 8,000 posters. One of the illustrations is entitled «The New Basques», and depicts a photo of eight men, all of them smiling, dressed in traditional Basque clothing. One of the men is from the Lea-Artibai Region, the others are from Colombia, Senegal, Venezuela, Romania, Ecuador, Ghana, and Morrocco (Bárbulo, 2004). Other illustrations in the series depict immigrant women and children dressed in traditional Basque clothing. There is a conscious effort not to confuse «integration» with «assimilation». The implication is that in the Basque Country, integration does not necessarily entail that immigrants must learn Euskera (the Basque language) and wear a *chapela* in order to become active members in community life. However, this raises questions about the level of integration expected by distinct communities.

The Basque government's new three-year plan involves an investment of 43.5 million euro towards the «integration» of 28,000 regular and the approximately 11,000 irregular immigrants residing in the Basque Country. To appreciate the enormity of this plan Bárbulo (2004) draws a comparison with Madrid, which in its last triennial budget spent 12 million euro towards integration of 355,000 regular and approximately 300,000 irregular immigrants. In reality, the investment made by the Basque government and that made by Madrid are not comparable.

**Three Year Plans**

| | Basque government | Community of Madrid |
|---|---|---|
| No. regular immigrants | 28,000 | 355,000 |
| No. irregular immigrants | 11,000 | 300,000 |
| Budget | 43.5 million euro (current) | 12.0 million euro (previous) |

The new plan essentially offers housing, healthcare, basic income, language classes, training courses, facilitation of documentation to any regular or irregular immigrant and provisions for funding co-development projects.

### 2.2. *Directives and Action Measures*

The Basque Immigration Plan delineates four directives and action measures dealing specifically with co-development policies. Existence of these policies highlights a political will to encourage, if not pursue, this approach to development. Rather than a move aimed purely at decentralizing cooperation from the public to the private sphere, this may be viewed, as seen in the Basque Plan, as a commitment to intercultural integration. The directives and action measures are as follows:

— Directive A): To develop the Basque government's international relations as a facilitating strategy to processes of development assistance and reception of immigrants in the Autonomous Community of Euskadi.
Measures:

- Incorporate into the foreign delegations of the Basque government personnel with responsibilities in the area of immigration.

- Formulate collaboration agreements for the management of migratory flows to and from Euskadi.
- Establish collaboration agreements with countries of origin of immigrants resident in Euskadi in order to facilitate their social integration and at the same time carry out of development projects in needy regions of said countries.

— Directive B): To develop formulas towards the decentralization of development assistance initiatives, strengthening the role of administrations, entities and local movements.
Measures:

- Promotion and protection of collaboration agreements between the Department of Development Cooperation, Institutions and local collectives and Institutions and entities in other countries.

— Directive C): To promote the direct participation of foreigners in development projects in their countries of origin.
Measures:

- Reserve, or prioritize, places for immigrants in Masters programmes in the area of cooperation, financed by the Cooperation Development Office.
- Establish a financing system (scholarships or otherwise) for the participation of foreigners in Masters programmes in the area of cooperation.
- Incorporate priority criteria within the framework of FOCAD calls for those Associations and or projects that incorporate immigrant personnel in managerial jobs.
- Incorporate priority criteria for those projects presented by Immigrant Associations or by Developmental NGOs in collaboration with Immigrant Associations (FOCAD calls).

— Directive D): To formulate financial procedures to enable economic transfers to immigrants' countries of origin, as well as investment of their capital in products related to the development of their regions of origin.
Measures:

- Elaborate a research project concerning remittances sent by foreigners resident in Euskadi to their countries of origin.
- Give impetus to the creation of a working group with representatives from financial entities for analyzing the different possibilities towards optimization of processes of capital transfer (Basque government, 2004: 94, 212-219).

### 2.4. *Assessment, How to move forward?*

Plans towards promoting co-development are mainly still in the foundling phase, current efforts are towards building a knowledge resource base to be used in future elaboration of projects. On 16 December 2004, the government celebrated a round table discussion aimed at reflecting on theoretical and practical aspects of co-development. Participants included a broad spectrum of state, civil society and private sector actors (civil servants, NGOs, academics, Banks). The practical implementation of co-development was debated and the many difficulties therein discussed. To date, the Basque government has funded one co-development project, this in promotion of the directives as laid out in the «Basque Immigration Plan 2003-2005».

## 3. **Case Study: A co-development project in the Basque Country**

### 3.1. *Involved actors*

Founded in 1999, AZRAF (Asociación de Inmigrantes Marroquíes en Euskadi) is a cultural association that aims at informing the broader Basque society about Moroccan culture. Through their work, AZRAF aims at providing a social contribution to both Basque and Moroccan society.

The Basque government's Department of Housing and Social Affairs has two offices that fund co-development projects, the Development Cooperation Office and the Immigration Office.

### 3.2. *Background*

From the formation of the organization, AZRAF has had statutes pertaining to co-development, with an interest in collaborating with social movements in the country of origin that work in the same area as AZRAF. However, it was not until the al-Hoceima earthquake of early 2004, with over 700 victims and extensive economic and social damage that the organization decided to implement co-development as a priority. The initial reaction was the creation of a Platform to respond to the immediate humanitarian crisis in the country of origin. In addition to AZRAF, Platform members included immigrant assistance associations, NGOs and trade unions. The Platform applied for emergency humanitarian assistance from the Development Cooperation Office. While awaiting a response, the Platform collected alternate funds,

food, clothing, etc. and sent this to the disaster area. A team from the Platform later traveled to al-Hoceima to verify how distribution of the aid was managed.

When the Platform first applied for emergency funding, the Development Cooperation Office entered into dialogue with AZRAF about the question of a longer-term commitment to co-development initiatives. The government identified an opportunity to encourage its recently created directives, towards active immigrant civil society participation in co-development initiatives with countries of origin. AZRAF was encouraged to apply to either the Development Cooperation Office or the Immigration Office to fund co-development projects.

### 3.3. *Project*

In April 2004, AZRAF applied to the Development Cooperation Office for funding to initiate an intercultural project. The aim of the project was to build a knowledge base with respect to co-development. The project would culminate in a workshop under the heading of «Integration is Participation», that would bring together a range of actors experienced in conducting co-development projects. The project was approved in June of the same year and funding in the amount of approximately 80 % or €15,000 arrived in September. The project was realised over the course of the year, with emphasis on the celebration of an intercultural dialogue workshop in December, the objective of which was to bring together those who had practical experience with co-development, so as to learn best practices to inform AZRAF's future programming the area.

Attending the workshop were representatives from associations in the country of origin and from all over Spain, Belgium, Holland. Also present were representatives from different levels of government, including city halls, cooperation offices, gender equality promotion programmes, and so on. All those in attendance had practical experience with developmental issues in Morocco. AZRAF hoped to learn from the experience of others in order to consider implementing co-development projects in Morocco.

The workshop included intellectual and cultural activities. Papers were presented to relate the topics of Morocco and migrations. The prevailing social, political and economic situation in the country of origin was discussed, including gender issues. And the current projects of Moroccan groups across Europe were presented by participating organizations.

### 3.4. *Challenges*

At present, AZRAF has two main concerns about engaging in co-development projects, these are as follows:

1. Funding lag: From their intercultural dialogue workshop AZRAF learned that financing for a project arrives at the completion stage of the project. In September 2004, AZRAF received funding for a project that was to be undertaken during the January-December 2004 period. As AZRAF did not have alternate funding, it was limited to undertaking the project in the September-December 2004 period. AZRAF concludes that only organizations with alternate funding can afford to apply for Basque government funding.
2. Political questions: Many AZRAF members did not want to either apply for or accept government funding, as it was perceived that such action would compromise the organization. The most commonly expressed concern was that as more time would be spent on administering co-development projects, less time would be available for organizing towards demanding rights for immigrants and fighting against central government policies, notably the *Ley de Extranjería* (the law governing foreigners resident in Spain). Some members felt that this was a deliberate government action to divert energies away from protesting official policies and towards time-consuming projects that were unrelated to improving the rights of immigrants in the host society. This begs the question of how much genuine interest the government has in co-development versus an intentional policy to steer civil society groups, in this case immigrant groups, away from activities highlighting areas where stated government policies fall short of reality.

From a broader viewpoint, other concerns may include:

— In the areas of migrations and development cooperation, it is often easier to indicate bad practices than to identify realistic and manageable solutions. Co-development may offer a way forward, to marry these two areas and give a useful response to co-ordinating and combining collaborative efforts. Abad Márquez (2004: 3-4) argues that although there exists an awareness that there is a strong link in countries of origin between increased migration and economic differences, it is also true that until now these remain unlinked in management policy. This lack of linkage is particularly disappointing when one considers that,

potentially, international migrations present a historical opportunity for development in countries of origin.

— Elaborating this point further, it might be put forth that if co-development aims at being more than just a politically correct term, if it wants to go beyond the threshold of partial programmes that act exclusively at the local level, and if it wants really to convert itself into the beginning of inspiration for both migration and development co-operation policies, than the starting point must concern linking migratory management to achieving the development objectives of sending countries.

## 4. **Concluding remarks**

The Basque Immigration Plan 2003-2005 reads as progressive politics. Currently in its final stages of completion, much of what is outlined in the Plan has been put into practice. However, looking specifically at the area of co-development, fewer of the areas of action have been addressed. The directives and action measures dealing with co-development policies are adequate, but many have not been put into practice. Comparing policies of the Basque government in the area of co-development and migration to the recommendations put forth by the Council of Europe reveals significant commonalities. Basque policies are touching on the areas of importance as highlighted by European intellectual and civil society elites. Putting policy into practice is a challenge that has been initiated with the funding of AZRAF's co-development project. Funding further co-development programming should be a priority for the government in the continuation of its already progressive Plan.

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Part III

# Institutional contexts and immigration

# 7.

# The condition of immigrant and ethnic minority in school drop-out

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## Introduction

We live in a society that is ever more plural and changeable, where migratory movements are a distinguishing characteristic. This tendency is also noticeable in our immediate environment. For decades, Spain has been a traditional country of emigration. In recent years, nevertheless, this tendency has been reversed and it has gone from being a source country to a recipient country of foreign labour. And given its current proportions, right now the phenomenon of immigration is causing great preoccupation.

Given this phenomenon, our educational system sees itself obliged to respond to a significant percentage of students of very diverse origins, with very different educational levels and, in many cases, with little or no command of our language. The advances made in the school matriculation of the immigrant population have been important but, even so, we continue to observe high indices of absenteeism, scholastic failure and premature school drop-out («*scholastic abandonment*») by these young people, both in studies in the Spanish state and at a European level (Defensor del Pueblo, 2003; EUMC, 2004; Eurydice, 2004).

The reasons that lead them to abandon their studies are diverse. Nevertheless, as the statistical data show, the condition of belonging to

an ethnic minority or different nationality seems to be an important variable to consider (Aloise-Young & Chavez, 2002; Gleason & Dynarski, 2002; Rosenthal, 1998). In this section we present an approach to the role played by the condition of immigrant and ethnic minority in school drop-out before finishing Obligatory Secondary Education. The theoretical review is complemented by the study on this subject carried out in the city of Bilbao.

## 1. **School Drop-out: Analysis of its causes**

One of the main difficulties in the studies carried out on this topic, is the very definition of school drop-out. In the European Education Thesaurus (EET) (Eurydice, 1998: 100) this term refers «*to the student who for reasons of inaptitude, lack of economic means etc. does not manage to finish his or her studies*». The American Psychological Association (PsycINFO) and the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) also recognize the term drop-out. On the other hand, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in its report «*Education at a glance 2004*» in the glossary of terms, refines the previous definitions since it considers the rate of abandonment (dropout rate): «*Dropout rate is defined as the proportion of students who leave the specified level in the educational system without obtaining a first qualification*» (OECD, 2004). That is to say, dropout is defined according to the indicator used to measure it: the absence of a final certification of studies after obligatory education. The level identified as a limit is that of Obligatory Secondary Education, according to the International System of Classification of Education (Lower secondary education-ISCED 2)[1].

In relation to the study of the phenomenon of school drop-out, we must first acknowledge its complexity. A complexity that is noticeable both with regard to the contexts or spaces in which young people participate as for the temporal or evolutionary variable. Minors are in a process of growth and development, and the repercussions or

[1] The OECD uses the International System of Classification of Education (ISCED) in which there exists a correspondence between our Obligatory Secondary and the internationally denominated Lower Secondary Education, since it is defined as the educative level which continues with programmes of basic education although teaching is more focused on material and is given by specialized professors. This level can be considered final in as much as it prepares for direct access to employment, or it can be preparatory in as much as it allows students entry to a higher level (Upper Secondary) (OECD, 2003: 436).

consequences of certain events are not same depending on age and the psychological and social baggage previously overcome.

We understand by risk factors all those variables, factors, dynamics, causes or effects that can serve to identify individuals who will probably develop a certain problem. The possession of these factors place the individual at risk of undergoing more severe future problems (McWhirter, McWhirter, McWhirter & McWhirter 1998). Thus, an attitude, behaviour or deficiency, in the absence of intervention, lead to the beginning and development of a problem. Thus for example, minors who smoke are at greater risk of consuming alcohol and young people who consume alcohol are at risk of consuming other illegal drugs. To be at risk of something means a continuum or process that goes from lesser to greater risk and, also, from lesser to greater severity. For that reason, it is very important to identify, as early as possible, the students at risk of school drop-out, since this early identification will condition, to a great extent, the effectiveness of the preventative educational programs applied.

Important conclusions can be drawn from studies on the risk factors for school drop-out by authors like Capps, Fix, Ost, Reardon-Anderson & Passel (2004), Ensminger, Lamkin & Jacobson (1996), EUMC (2004), Eurydice (2004), Fondazione CENSIS (2000), Gleason & Dynarski (2002), Janoz, Leblanc, Boulerice & Tremblay (1997), Jimerson, Egeland, Sroufe & Carlson (2000), Marchesi & Martín (2000) and Rosenthal (1998).

### 1.1. *School Drop-out is a multideterminate and systemic phenomenon*

None of the risk factors taken individually is able to identify future dropouts from among secondary students. The explanatory models indicated are of multideterminate and systemic character. From this affirmation is derived the need to establish an organized map of the main risk factors. Without doubt the most significant study on the causes of school drop-out, which approaches the risk factors associated with this phenomenon globally, is that of Rosenthal (1998). This literature review organizes the findings of 37 studies, systematizing more than 125 variables in 12 groups of variables. These studies organize the variables by contexts like the family, the school, the peer-group, the neighbourhood, alongside macro-social and personal variables. Belonging to a ethnic minority is one of the risk factors identified by the different studies (Fondazione CENSIS, 2000; EUMC, 2004; Fry, 2003a, 2003b; National Centre for Education Statistics, 2001). Immigrants and minorities tend to obtain to fewer scholastic qualifications, to leave school earlier and to leave it in greater numbers

than other groups. Nevertheless, it is also true that important differences exist between different minority groups; thus within the North American population, Hispanics, along with blacks, show a greater risk of school drop-out than their white peers (Eurydice, 2004; Fry, 2003a, 2003b; National Centre for Education Statistics, 2001) and on the other hand, some ethnic minorities present in England obtain results better than the average, such as young people coming from China or India, or young second generation immigrants; also girls obtain better results than boys (EUMC, 2004).

### 1.2. *Risk factors are interrelated and accumulative*

The profiles of dropouts arise from the interrelation and accumulation of risk factors. Authors such as Gleason & Dynarski (2002) establish a minimum of 8 risk factors to be able to affirm the existence of a potential dropout. Dropouts tend to accumulate many of the variables identified in the studies, such as: Repetition of year, low grades and low involvement in the school. In addition, they come from families of low socio-economic status, parents with low educational level, with educational styles that are very normative but with very little supervision. They tend to belong to large peer groups, to involve themselves in more passive activities, to adhere more frequently to deviant norms, to show behavioural problems, to be arrested more frequently and to show characteristics of emotional repression and neuroticism. They are more likely to show an external locus of control and to believe that their destiny is outside their hands. Among immigrant groups, variables are accumulated such as repetition of educational levels, concentration of immigrant children in schools of low achievement, absenteeism and, finally, abandonment of the educational system (Fondazione CENSIS, 2000).

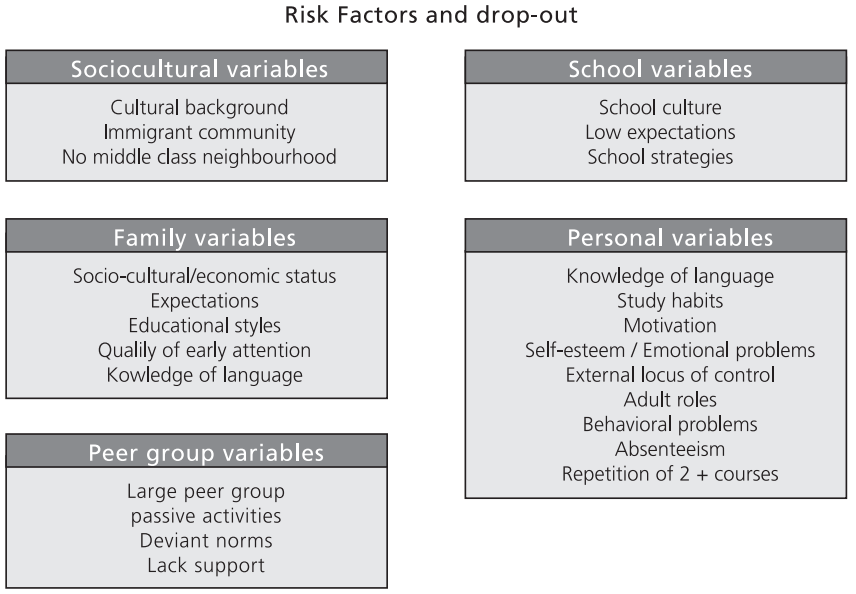
The graph 1 constitutes an attempt to systematize the complexity of variables and interrelations between them to explain the phenomenon of school drop-out.

### 1.3. *Not all risk factors have the same predictive power*

Various studies recognize a greater predictive ability for the scholastic factors. Janoz, Leblanc, Boulerice & Tremblay (1997) for example, affirm that with only 7 items related to scholastic life, like repetition of course, performance and scholastic involvement, most of the students at risk of leaving school can be detected. In the research of Gleason & Dynarski (2002), scholastic experience prior to secondary education stands out as the decisive aspect. In general, it is possible to

**Graph 1**

Representation of variables that affect drop-out




*Source:* Drawn by the authors.

conclude that the factors associated with a high probability of desertion are absenteeism and 2 or more years of scholastic repetition.

Nevertheless, we also found several investigations that establish factors outside the scholastic experience as more relevant. The research of Jimerson, Egeland, Sroufe & Carlson (2000) and of Capps, Fix, Ost, Reardon-Anderson & Passel (2004), demonstrates the association of the family environment, the educational level of the parents, the quality of early attention, socio-economic status, IQ, knowledge of language, behavioural problems, academic performance, peer relationships and the involvement of parents, with the drop-out of secondary education. Thus, the investigation of Ensminger, Lamkin & Jacobson (1996) recognizes the importance of the environment, specifically the neighbourhood, for the process of school drop-out. Their analyses discovered the advantage implied by living in a middle-class neighbourhood. They therefore reinforce the idea of interaction between the neighbourhood, the family and the individual.

The immigrant collective constitutes a risk factor in itself but, as regards its condition, a series of variables have accumulated that have been shown to be more relevant, such as low economic resources and all the consequences associated with this phenomenon (Nesman, Barobs-Gahr & Medrano, 2001; Davison Aviles, Guerrero, Howarth & Thomas, 1999). Thus for example, low economic resources imply the need to work in order to support their families economically and the taking on of adult roles early on. These young people face very different responsibilities from those of their peers with a better economic situation. Thus, many of the young people are forced to leave their studies given the impossibility of fitting them in with work outside school. On the other hand, the perception by the student of a lack of social support from their parents, teachers and scholastic personnel, produces a lack of personal motivation and very low expectations in relation to the school. Nor do the scholastic surroundings establish the most optimal and compensating conditions than would attract this group: The language and cultural differences can become, beyond a difficulty, an authentic barrier for the accomplishment and conclusion of the studies. On the other hand, minorities perceive lower expectations as well as different treatment from the teachers. Finally, their poor social relations and the low participation in scholastic activities can help them to perceive the school as distant surroundings, unattractive and useless for their urgent need for economic autonomy.

In summary, and according to the proposal elaborated by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC, 2004: 53-56) the main factors related to low performance and drop-out are the following:

1. Factors related to minorities, families and cultural group: Linguistic differences and difficulties and cultural barriers, time of residence in the country, participation in pre-scholastic levels, socio-economic status and educational style of the parents as well as their aspirations.
2. Factors of institutional discrimination: Segregation in the school in separate classes, inclusion in classes of special education for reasons other than handicap, placement in lower educational levels to those corresponding to age, exclusion from schools for cultural reasons, differences of admission between the public and private system, absence or low quality in the support programs.
3. Factors related to the teachers and peers: Expectations of teachers, discrimination by teachers and peers.

4. Other factors: Segregation in urban areas and concentration in certain quarters, difficulties of finding employment and lack of legislation.

### 1.4. *Risk factors develop through time*

The systemic approach applied to identify different factors uses the space or contextual variable to establish different scopes of influence. In this new additional perspective, studies seek to investigate the interactions between variables, based not only on the context but also on the time variable, it is to say, during the life of individuals. Authors like Jimerson, Egeland, Sroufe & Carlson (2000) understand drop-out as a dynamic process that begins even before the child enters the infant school. They explain this phenomenon as an evolutionary process where, like a «snowball», the events happening at early ages, are linked and accumulate, influencing following events. So, risk factors are not all accumulated at a given time but dispersed in time and are more important at some evolutionary moments than others.

Early experiences can affect aspects like self-esteem or sense of control, which also, and as a chain, can directly influence academic performance and decisions like remaining in school, relations with teachers, peers and other individuals as well as behavioural control. Among the variables during the infantile period are the quality of care in the home or the family environment that will predict the antecedents of school drop-out such as academic performance, the behavioural problems, peer relations or family involvement, in addition to drop-out in obligatory secondary education itself.

The longitudinal study of Jimerson, Egeland, Sroufe & Carlson (2000) took, from a total of 267 pregnant women, a final sample of 177 children who were studied from 6 months to the 19 years of age in the variables set out in table 1. The sample can be considered as «at risk» since it showed associated factors like poverty, age of the mothers, educational level, condition of unmarried mother as well as having received social attention from the Minneapolis Department of Health.

According to this study, the process of school drop-out begins before a child starts school. In the first analyses the relationship is considered of the family environment and the quality of early care in the home, with the prediction of scholastic status in secondary education at 19 years. Both variables, the family environment and the quality of maternal care, become powerful predictors of whether the

**Table 1**

Risk variables or factors analysed from a developmental perspective

| Variables by stages | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12-42 months | First grade | Third grade | 16 years | 19 years |
| Quality of care<br>Home environment<br>Sex | Behavioural problems<br>Peer competence<br>Academic performance<br>Involvement of parents | Behavioural problems<br>Peer competence<br>Academic performance<br>Involvement of parents<br>IQ<br>Socio-economic status | Behavioural problems<br>Peer competence<br>Academic performance | Status of Drop-out |

*Source:* Jimerson, Egeland, Sroufe & Carlson, 2000.

student stays in a traditional educational program or whether s/he leaves secondary school. Variables like socio-economic status, IQ, behavioural problems, academic performance, competence in peer relations and family involvement from elementary school to adolescence were also significant predictors of drop-out at19 years of age. Nevertheless, these variables did not contribute added predictive power to that obtained in the first three years of life.

In spite of the importance of these variables, this model does not have a determinist but a probabilistic vision of drop-out, so that the itineraries can be diverse and heterogeneous. For Raczynski (2002) and his team, it cannot be affirmed that a single process or itinerary of abandonment exists. We cannot therefore speak of abandonment in the singular but of diverse processes of abandonment. In each case, the factors of protection and risk present are different and they are associated differently in processes. In their qualitative study they identified up to 11 different itineraries associated with factors that interact differently[2].

[2] Processes of drop-out due to economic and family factors: 1) Employment opportunity, 2) Economic and/or family crisis. Processes of drop-out associated with the educational system, 3) Scholastic failure, 4) Expulsion from school, 5) Discord with the

### 1.5. *Alongside risk factors, protection factors are shown to be important*

For some authors like Raczynski (2002), each environment or context in the life of the young person, analysed from a systemic perspective (family, scholastic, peer, personal), has as many risk factors as protection factors. This means that in the process from lesser to greater severity, in which the different risk factors appear which increase the probability of developing the given problem, there also appear other, so-called protection factors, which prevent, compensate or protect the individuals in this process of overcoming problems. This duality of protection and risk forces can be synthesized as shown in table 2.

Among immigrants, young people detected as possible drop-outs by accumulating a series of risk factors, are less likely to drop out if they consider themselves as leaders in their peer group, occupy his free time actively and respect authority figures (Janoz, Leblanc, Boulerice & Tremblay, 1997; Melis, 2002) or if in their families both parents are present in the home and in employment (Capps, Fix, Ost, Reardon-Anderson & Passel, 2004).

## 2. **School Drop-out in the city of Bilbao**

This section is related to a qualitative study based on a series of in depth interviews carried out with individuals directly related with the problem of school drop-out in Bilbao (students, teachers and people in charge of support resources). It presents the meaning attributed by different social actors in our environment with regard to the subject of the investigation, with the aim of better understanding their experiences. In the first place the methodology developed is described and later the main results of the data are analysed.

### 2.1. *The interviews: methodology*

To carry out this study, 15 in-depth interviews were carried out with representative individuals whose involvement, personal or professional,

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school, 6) Discord with the environment. processes of drop-out associated with youth and personal projects, 7) Alternative activities, 8) Alternative personal projects, 9) Behaviour of social risk such as drug consumption and processes of drop-out associated with pregnancy and maternity, 10) Pregnancy, 11) Caring for child.

**Table 2**

Risk factors and factors associated protection for drop-out in different contexts

| | Risk factors | Protection factors |
|---|---|---|
| Family | — Crisis that forces the young person to take responsibility for the family.<br>— Expulsion of the young person from the family home. | — Support and concern for the studies.<br>— Example or model of reference.<br>— Presence of the adult in the home. |
| School | — Low expectations by the teachers of the learning capacity of the students.<br>— Unattractive activities and teaching.<br>— Discipline problems and violent behaviour.<br>— Expulsion for low performance and/or behaviour problems.<br>— Accumulation of high risk students in schools. | — Added flexibility of schedules, attendance and evaluation.<br>— Availability of extracurricular and extra-academic activities.<br>— Positive personal relations between young people and teachers.<br>— Space for young people's sociability and encounter. |
| Peer group | — Creation of bonds of friendship outside the school, the neighbourhood and the street. | — School as place of encounter, sociability and creation of peer relations.<br>— Considered as leaders in their peer group.<br>— Use their free time actively. |
| Other personal factors | — Economic need and early employment.<br>— Over 18.<br>— Pregnancy and maternity<br>— Older partner with possibility of forming a family. | — Participation in extra-scholastic activities.<br>— Expectations.<br>— Respect by authority figures.<br>— Self-esteem. |

*Source:* Adaptation of Raczynski, 2002.

in this field allow them to contribute their experience and reflection on this subject. On the one hand, seven interviews were carried out with CIP (Centre of Professional Initiation, i.e. vocational school) students, five male and two female, who had left obligatory studies without obtaining the certificate of studies. Half of the group are immigrants, one person from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, another from Morocco and a third from Colombia. Two others were from the gypsy

minority. Although none of these students has finished obligatory secondary education, all of them are integrated in the models of a CIP or vocational training centre. Consequently it should be emphasized that this is not group «disconnected» from the educational system, but that they have, to a certain extent, sought to return to it, by joining in other curricular programs. Although these studies do not lead to a superior qualification.

On the other hand, eight people interviewed were professionals, teachers or people in charge of support to teaching staff or pupils. The teachers, coming from secondary or vocational schools, have given us a general concept of the situation of the students, before, during and after school drop-out has taken place. Finally, it should be mentioned that it was considered worthwhile to interview three people from support centres, two associations and a Berritzegune[3], whose work consists of supporting the educational processes of students at risk of scholastic failure. The triangulation of the people interviewed allows different visions of the same situation to be integrated since the different groups provide complementary perspectives.

**Table 3**

Individuals interviewed

| Types of interviews | Individuals interviewed |
|---|---|
| External services and resources of support | 3 |
| Teachers | 5 |
| Students | 7 |
| Total | 15 |

The selection procedure of the students was the so-called «snowball» method, since it was the teachers who got in touch with them (table 3). The professionals were selected based on their professional career, all of them are professionals with a defined career in this field, and with the aim of integrating the different schools related to the subject studied. These are *key informants* or individuals selected for their capacity to reflect appropriately the thoughts of one

[3] Local or regional support services of the Basque Government. Their purpose is to support innovation and improvement of education at non-university levels.

or several groups, which are very useful to help the observer understand a situation (Mucchielli, 2001). That is to say, a group was formed that integrate traditional regulated education, support groups, vocational training as well as specialists in support to this group of professionals which we will term external services and resources of support and students at risk of school drop-out. The interviews were carried out between the months of June 2002 and January 2004.

The triangulation of investigators was also used in carrying out the interviews, all of which were done by two people, and always with a system of previous appointments. They were personal interviews and their approximate duration was one hour. Except one which took place in the University of Deusto, the rest were carried out in the teaching institutions. This situation had the advantage of favouring an atmosphere of confidence and the comfort of interviewees.

Interview scripts were created, adapted to each group. The interview of the teachers was divided into three broad subjects:

— The profile of students with scholastic failure, their social and family context.
— The organization of the school in relation to those aspects that can affect drop-out.
— The professional profile of the interviewee.

The interviews with the students talked about their family and social context, their group of friends and their vision of the future. Another subject dealt with them in depth was their own life trajectory, specifically their experience of school drop-out (feelings, motivation, family reaction), their previous scholastic career (failure, relation with teachers, involvement in the school, the ideal teacher) and differences between the traditional school system and the vocational school. Finally, a pair of questions referred to their vision of the future.

The interviews of the three people responsible for support, to the students or the school, were focussed on the problem of school drop-out, the actions carried out and the analysis of the main recommendations. Table 4 presents the categories devised for the analysis of the content.

### 2.2. *Reasons for school drop-out*

As mentioned above, drop-out is a multi-determinate problem that involves different risk factors. It seems that the tutors and teachers interviewed have reflected on this subject, understand it and express it as follows: «*Many [students] have problems of diverse nature (...) There*

**Table 4**

Categories of content analysis

| CATEGORY | | DEFINITION |
|---|---|---|
| Social aspects | Scholastic culture | Vision of scholastic education from the different social and ethnic groups. |
| Family aspects | Family expectations | Summary of the ideas that the parents form on the future scholastic career of their children. |
| | Family scholastic support | Involvement of the parents in scholastic tasks, help with homework, following school progress. |
| Personal aspects of the student | Work habits | Commentaries about the study habits. |
| | Motivation | Explanations on the scholastic interest of the students. |
| | Perception of achievement | Commentaries on the experiences of achievement of the students. |
| | Self-esteem | References to the personal evaluation and self-image of the students. |
| | Responsibility | Aspects related to the possibilities of involvement. |
| | Roles of adults | Refers to those roles, associated in general with adulthood, both in the public space (work), and in private (caring for a family, forming a family). |
| | Vision of future | Commentaries on the life plan, expectations of future. |
| Group of friends | Influence of the group of friends | Related with the influence of the group of friends which prejudices scholastic performance or favours the abandonment.<br>Free time activities which can interfere with scholastic integration (truancy, drink). |
| School | Extra-scholastic activities | Availability of voluntary activities outside the scholastic schedule. |
| | Teaching staff | Aspects related to the personality and competence of the teacher, as well as his personal professional involvement. |
| | Career of the teaching staff | Groups all the aspects related to the professional career of the professional interviewed (training, previous employment). |
| | Minority cultures | Topics related to the different cultures of the students of the school. |
| Strategies of support | Modelling | Measures aimed at disseminating life models based on educational success. |
| | Relation with the family | Implies both the relation with the family regarding the raising of the children, and their involvement in the management of the school or information on educational subjects, in general. |
| | Applied education | Educational aspects related to practical learning, similar to the future professional competences. |
| | Scholastic support | Educational aspects related to the support of the learning processes (within or outside scholastic schedule). |
| | Scholastic reinforcement | Measures destined to favour learning time (library, extra-scholastic). |
| | Training of teaching staff | Groups the actions of training and reflection of the teaching staff that enable them confront their teaching task. |

*is a type of student, but it is varied, compounded of many things. The family is one, the house or family nucleus does not have all the stability desirable, either because there is a separation or because the rules or type of coexistence is not very normal, for whatever reason there is insufficient stability, and the option of serious education is not supported from the family, the work option is more perceived. Another question characteristic of these people is that they find theoretical learning without relation with anything practical more difficult. In approaching the learning they are able to learn things, even technically complicated things, if they see a practical effect, but not if they have them to learn them just to pass.*» (Teacher).

In this line, another teacher indicated personal factors that influence the abandonment process: «*It all goes together, it's the fish that bites his own tail. I fail seventh grade, why? Because my self-esteem is rock-bottom, because relations in the family are zero, because there's no point in continuing studying. I am going to leave this, I am going to do a CIP* [vocational course]*, but they cannot do it because they need minimums that they do not have. Causes, all of them, I do not know which is the main one, which carries more or less weight, and possibly the failure in ESO (Obligatory Secondary Education) comes from failure in primary, a failure in reading habits, for example, I believe that is one of the key causes, if that instrument does not work there is nothing to be done. Mastery of literacy is fundamental».*

That is to say, the phrases elaborated by the different professionals reflect a detailed analysis of the problem and their consciousness of its complexity and difficulty. In their own words, these people summarize the main questions reflected in the previous sections: social context, family factors, vision of the future; personal factors (self-esteem, sense of study, study habits, reading abilities).

If one aspect had to be emphasized, in their view, motivation constitutes one of the main challenges in their professional work. Their testimony is as follows: «*In general the kids have little motivation», «70 % of failure is not due to incapacity. The majority is due to disinterestedness and this is for several reasons, but most are able to pass if they are interested, but for whatever reason, at a particular moment there is a disinterestedness and a disconnection from the academic rhythm.*» (Teacher). Another tutor expresses it as follows: «*the kids that quit their studies because they do not want to study, are people who have not had been caught up in education, I am not going to evaluate the reasons, people who have not had any motivation, who aren't motivated to study*». In summary, when a single reason has to be identified, motivation appears on almost all

occasions, for both the professionals and the students interviewed. This explanation is important since it shows the emotional state of students who leave their studies. The professionals in charge of this subject perceive the set of interrelated causes that affect this group (family, personal and peer group reasons) but mainly call attention to one of their consequences, the lack of sense and motivation that this group finds in regulated education.

The students give similar answers. Although they less use elaborate expressions these are very clear: «*Buah… I am going to leave it because I am not going to do anything here*», «*Studying isn't my way, I know it clearly*» (boy), «*Because I do not like to study, [my friends] studied... Me, well no. I did not like it, so no...*» (boy)

As shown in other similar studies, the disposition of the student towards learning is one of the outstanding variables in this type of processes (Marchesi & Martín, 2002; Ministère of l'Education, 1991). This aspect, consequence and cause of «scholastic disconnection» are considered one of the main problems since, evidently, without motivation students will not develop capacities to continue their studies. At the same time, the lack of motivation itself is one of the main stumbling blocks that teachers face to carry out their work. Thus, it does not matter that they adapt materials, or offer attractive educational programs, the lack of meaning that this group of students find makes continuing their studies very difficult. In addition, as a consequence of a process of systemic relations, the treatment itself requires impacting some causes that exceed traditional educational work, centred in the teacher-student relation. For this reason, present-day education requires team-work and coordinated work with other educational and political agents, like families, NGOs, institutions, etc.

The pupils also mention the word boredom, another aspect of dismotivation, as their main difficulty during organized education: «*I went to class but I got bored... I got bored*» (boy). This is an important subject since it has been stated that the boredom is related to certain symptoms of mental health: anxiety, interpersonal sensitivity, depression. It goes along with a potential grouping of apathy, inactivity, disinterest in events and lack of options that are worth the trouble (Ragheb, 2002). In order to surpass it, it is necessary that individuals learn the possibilities of participation and meaning to be discovered. In this case, the students do not manage to find the sense of the effort implied by continuing their educational process and this is translated into a lack of involvement: «*I was there and I didn't do anything*». The teachers also note the lack of involvement in the studies, linked to the lack of habits of study and effort: «They are idle students. What they do not have is any effort, let us say, to

study». In fact, in spite of the learning difficulties that characterize this group of students, the results of our investigation show that cognitive factors are not given as considerable a relevance as could be hoped.

In the interviews carried out, we also find repeated another of the reasons indicated as being most characteristic of this stage: academic performance (Jimerson, Egeland, Sroufe & Carlson, 2000). The students make reference to their difficulties in following the subjects, and express the sensation of oppression that produces their scholastic difficulties: «*Ah, I can't, I can't*». «*It's just that I don't know, it was very exhausting for me*». Learning difficulties appear in the student interviews, accompanied by bad experiences in the scholastic system. Some testimonies recall how, once the process is initiated, the concatenation of causes is activated, so that the failures and repetitions increase, and little by little they moved away from the level required for their year, this situation gives them more anguish and at the same time takes them away from their goals: «*On top of it all, it's a subject that even though you drop a year, since it's not about studying, then even so... you know? And it is not like a thread... in mathematics one thing is one thing; another, another... that's why*». Nevertheless, curiously the students interviewed, perhaps only due to social convention on this subject, recommend other people in their situation to continue studying: «*Yes, it opens doors for you*». Or at least that they should think about the consequences of their decision: «*Ah well... they should think about it more, yes... if it's what they want to do*».

In this line, together with motivation, the professionals interviewed indicate the factor of age, the general confusion of adolescence. Whereas greater academic exigency would have to correspond to a greater level of responsibility: «*Hey, I think that it's an aspect, the sensation of what is adolescence, since they are here like very confused, no? And the world looks very big to them*». Nevertheless, they hardly mention other factors belonging to this stage like problems of behaviour or the influence of the group of friends (Jimerson, Egeland, Sroufe & Carlson, 2000).

It is very difficult to find research studies that describe the processes of decision-making on school drop-out (Gleason & Dynarski, 2002; Rumberger, 2001). However, it has been stated that, at times, young Latino people in the United States do not perceive themselves as drop-outs but as subjects whose exit from the scholastic centre has been facilitated (Davison Aviles, Guerrero, Howarth & Thomas, 1999). This same idea appears in some of the students interviewed, they are young people who clearly knew their decision and the moment of abandonment has only meant the final phase of a process: «*I always*

*had it in mind».* But this is not the only situation. Despite difficulties in studies, sometimes it is difficult to make the decision and other people recall it as a resignation, an abandonment of a path drawn up: «*I don't know... but everybody does and so I... I felt bad, because everybody finished and why couldn't I do it? Then I regretted it, no? Yes..., it was hard. My mum told me it was no big deal… that hey, that in what I was doing I wasn't wasting my time. So it was a bit hard to accept it*» (girl).

In the theoretical review of research on this subject, certain risk factors appear like family obligations or assuming adult roles, especially among Hispanic groups in the USA (Davison Aviles, Guerrero, Howarth & Thomas, 1999; Nesman, Barobs-Gahr & Medrano, 2001; Raczynski, 2002). These groups need to help their families economically and they face different responsibilities. In our case, it is mentioned with respect to casual work: «*Yes, I worked at 14, as a labourer with my father, now and then. I did it to help my father*» (boy). «*Last summer... No, the summer before, I was working with a man, handing out flyers*» (immigrant boy). Perhaps a possible explanation why this topic has not appeared more frequently is their age and their irregular situation which prevents them from working or doing so legally, especially in those cases where they have migrated alone and with the aim to «find a job».

Recent foreign immigration to Spain has some characteristics similar to the past internal migrations, the first being its motivation: flight from some territories that cannot ensure a subsistence level or which do not offer expectations of progress. But in comparison with the relative homogeneity of the Sixties, at present it is extremely varied in its origin and cultural allegiances (Siguan, 2003: 13). Like in the rest of the society, in our work also it appears this factor of diversification, for example in a training centre they described their students thus: «*the variety of the emigration this year: we have Moroccans, a Colombian, we have a lad from the Congo, another lad from the Dominican Republic... there are a lot of foreigners in construction».* The immigrant students show specific needs, in the first place, due to their ignorance of the language, and the delay in their incorporation into the system. When incorporation is very delayed or they stay on the margin of the scholastic system, compensatory education it not sufficient and it is necessary to think about another type of solution. In relation to all type of students, Siguan (2003) considers that while the scholastic system does not improve its capacities, the activities of the associations and organizations that offer some type of professional preparation to those who have remained at the margin of the

educational system is indispensable and must be promoted and extended.

Nevertheless, in the professional centres this group has no greater difficulty than the language and usually help themselves by means of personal adaptations: «*Well, we have a little of everything. But in general they are working very well. The problem that they have is the language, (...) We have a group that is working very well and who in spite of their difficulties with the language put a lot of effort in, the problem is when they do not master the language, they don't want to do anything...*». In fact, in our interviews it is indicated that, at times, this group is distinguished from the native students by their great interest in working and obtaining a better situation than in their country of origin. A student mentions it as followings: «*If I find work, there you go. I have to help me*» (immigrant boy) This situation occurs, especially, with respect to people who have made a concerted effort to improve their situation, to obtain a new style of life and a hope for the future. These circumstances affect greatly their involvement, as a teacher tells us: «*to have their diploma, for them it is very important, above all for the immigrants is very important to have a qualification, since they are undocumented, that have come here, are in a "welcoming centre" of the public administration, have had to leave their families, they have a very hard situation, because they are kids of 16/17 years, they are without parents, families, some know very clearly that they want to be able to train, and to say "well I've got my diploma, this is going to open doors for me, and this is also going to enable me also to be able to do a job, and be able to live here, because I have come from my country with a certain situation... and I want to improve it"*».

As previously mentioned, the association between relevant factors aside from the scholastic experience is shown in the early family environment (Egeland, Soufre & Carlson, 2000; Ensminger, Lamkin & Jacobson, 1996; Jimerson, Egeland, Soufre & Carlson, 2000). Thus, Jimerson, Egeland, Soufre & Carlson (2000) consider that school drop-out is a dynamic, «snowball» process that begins even before the child joins the school. The teachers interviewed have experienced how the family influence surpasses, in general, the scholastic influences and they recall: «*Until now I thought that the methodology had enormous influence, that is to say, having a very participative methodology or activities that caught their interests a lot, would be very important. They aren't so important, that is to say, it is more important what the family gives than what the school does, which really places a value on what is done here*».

Perhaps, one of the most important aspects mentioned throughout the investigation has been the expectations of the parents and their support in the scholastic process. One of the indicators mentioned has been their involvement in the scholastic centre. Some teachers find it difficult to maintain contact with the families of the kids: «*There isn't much support from the other side. In specific cases, yes*». The students feel that their parents don't mind this process of abandonment and have supported them, although it may have given them some sadness: «*my mother's reaction... well, she became very sad because she didn't want me to quit studying... My elder brother asked me why I was going to leave my studies*». But an understanding of the situation that facilitates its acceptance is notable, related to a parental style that is not very directive. Perhaps the cause of this support is due to the interest of the group of students interviewed in continuing their training in specialized centres. This situation implies a relief for the parents who see that their children have decided on another alternative focussed on the world of work: (the parents said) «*So study, study*» *and I said no... Then they started to say. «So what is it you want... but you have to do something». Well OK, then I am going to do this. And this is what I chose».*

Parental involvement, the transmission of values such as responsibility, a form of work and future expectations, is one of the protective factors against school drop-out, but its absence does not always correspond with the stereotype of unstructured families (Raczynski, 2002). It is necessary to remember that the expectations of the parents, more than their cultural capital, have a significant influence on the results of the students in all the curricular areas (Marchesi & Martín, 2002). Another influential factor is the concept of culture based on the differences between the scholastic world and the family world. The people interviewed, give more importance to factors related to the community and its culture than to other types of variables mentioned by the investigations (economic factors, belonging to ethnic groups, immigration, etc.). The differences are reflected in different valuation of education between social groups. Schools seek greater family involvement and are conscious of a need to create a «hopeful project», as they recalled to us in an interview. These measures are complex since they try to go further than a mere occasional contact between teachers and parents. On the contrary, this option is related to a new educational culture that is reflected in a new form of scholastic organization open to the community and in cooperation with it. That is to say, it seeks to extend the paradigm of the school as a source of knowledge and to integrate it with other

socio-educative agents in the school project (Elboj Saso, Puigdellívol Aguadé, Soler Gallart & Valls Carol, 2002). Some strategies necessary in this process are mentioned in the interviews. On one hand, the measures of awareness-raising and education as much to the families, so that they know the possibilities of their children and in order to generate the processes of confidence, as to other groups of reference. On the other hand, they remind us of the need to appreciate minority cultures, that are not foreign to the school (Nesman, Barobs-Gahr & Medrano, 2001). As a foreign student comments on his adaptation to the school: «*Yes, at times, obviously you miss it. Because you also want them to know where you come from... how you have lived... I don't know. You start to see what life is here, everything here... Europe...».* In this sense, M.ª José Díaz Aguado (2003) indicates that the introduction of educational content and materials from minority cultures is not a sufficient condition to obtain certain minimum conditions of integration. Therefore, to find tools and supports to approach the needs of the students represents a current educational challenge. One of the strategies mentioned has been the promotion of institutions and associations with cultural and free-time activities where people of different cultures coincide and collaborate.

In the case of immigrant students, the phenomenon coincides with the results of other investigations like those made by Miquel Siguan, who considers that «adolescent immigrants live the contrast between the beliefs and ways on life present in their families and those predominant in the society where they have settled, and they must develop their own personality based on this contrast. In this conflict the desire to identify oneself with one's peers —companions, friends— plays a predominant role. To smooth over the conflict inherent to this process several recommendations can be made: Although the school is the first place of encounter between peers, it is necessary to indicate the importance of promoting institutions and associations with cultural and free-time activities in which native and immigrant adolescents coincide and collaborate. At the same time (...), the conflict is smoothed over to the extent to which their families are more in contact with the ideologies and forms of life of the society in which they have settled. So the efforts to increase the social activities of these families in society must therefore be promoted» (Siguan, 2003: 219).

### 2.3. *Strategies to combat dropping out*

Below we present some measures that have been analysed as regards ways of preventing dropping out, mentioned by different in-

dividuals interviewed. They have been grouped into five sections, though many of the measures are complementary**.**

### 2.3.1. Models

On occasions the change of mentality with regard to education as a means of social mobility and integration, is a recurring topic in general, for the most disadvantaged groups. These are groups that can not wait for the educational process but who need short-term results. As one of the persons interviewed recalls, «learning is not valued in the family environment, entering the employment world rapidly is valued, and earning money, which goes back into the family». In these cases the family means the reference group which reproduces certain models assumed by wider groups, who find it difficult to change their views of school. Since it ignores this wider reference group, an intervention based only on the family is not sufficient. In this situation, through different institutions another type of program have been implanted with the aim of modifying the «*school culture*» or reference model of groups with high levels of school failure. For example, the General Secretariat for Gypsies has published the story of women who through their own efforts have improved their own and their families' situation (Pulley, 2003). The case of women is very relevant since «*from a very early age they naturally learn and adopt their role and what functions they must carry out when they are grown up; not only do they perform the function of mother and wife (taking care of brothers and their children), but also that of collaborating and cooperating in other working activities outside the house*» (Pulley, 2003: 95).

In Bilbao the associations that work with gypsies also effect this type of strategies, through work with support groups throughout the year, prizes and public recognition of the pupils who have completed the school year, as well as visits from gypsy mentors, who have continued their studies and provide a real stimulus. Professional centres also refer to the peer group to favour the integration process: «*We have figures of the young people who can be a model for others (they are responsible, etc.), we have an internal system of organization of youth groups that mean that certain young people have a different status, depending on their results and how they work during the year. Some are a reference not because they are delegated, but because they are serious and hard-working, because they are responsible, they can manage conflicts appropriately, they have a capacity for planning, for performance, and these have a higher status than the others*». That is to say, models close in age are sought, with similar histories and

equal capacities, as one of the organizers explains: «*nearby people, from their own group, with whom they can identify*».

On other occasions the model is not only presented as an example to follow, but the opinion of peers is used as a form of reflection on the personal situation. This proposal is more complex since it confronts personal behaviour and attitudes with other members of the peer group since peers also give their opinion: «*you do a group evaluation, and someone say for example "this is happening…" when you see that your own friends analyse you and tell you how they see the process… this is very powerful, because they see that it's not that the teacher is prejudiced against them or that the teacher doesn't like them, my own friends also complain about my behaviour… this makes them see themselves like in a mirror… In the group there are always people who are very conscientious and people who are mature, though most of them are more immature, but then they see that another person makes a much more adult reflection… and they themselves arrive at these comparisons*».

As has been mentioned, measures of this type are based on providing mentors/models from the group, their task is to present their own competence so that others can learn from it, it offers them «how to» steps. This is a very widespread practice, as Richard Sennet (2003) recalls. During his time as a university student, this author had a personal experience of taking part as a reference model with the boys of Cabrini, a social housing neighbourhood in Chicago where he grew up. Another key factor to achieve proximity is to provide «*a language of small steps, of limited concrete victories (...) Their task is to present their own competence in such a way that the adult or child can learn from it*» (Sennet, 2004: 48-49). Nevertheless, Sennet remembers the risk of not differentiating between the ability to do something well, objective actions for which people are respected, and the idea of self-transformation that implies leaving behind the life and people that one has known. To explain it better, in the same book he describes the anecdote of a young doctor from Cabrini, presented as a mentor, whose experience only provoked the fury of the public: «*An individual as promising as the young doctor could undermine the self-respect of the people who had stayed behind. If I could do it why not you?: here is the message hiding behind the order ¡Struggle! The young doctor, undoubtedly, did not have cultural capital when he began his vision based on religious faith. But faith in the future separated him from his listeners. These, who were supposedly motivated, could neither see so far into the future, nor imagine another version of that future; the self-confidence of the doctor could only intensify the feeling of want in the teenagers. Though it made them feel inferior, they did not*

*suffer this condition passively; they were hardened youths, hypersensitive to disrespectful treatment*» (Sennet, 2003: 48). In sum, the educational processes based on the change of model have great importance, especially when they fulfil two requirements. On the one hand behaviours are presented that can feasibly be copied, and on the other hand they are models that influence the whole community, not only school students, but can be take on by different groups. This second aspect is crucial, since if the change only takes place in one person or in a family group there are certain social costs: they become estranged from the group. As a result the change can appear as a threat for both sides.

When the family supports the process, the social cost is easier to bear and joint family strategies are considered, such as change of school. One of the persons interviewed recounted it as follows: «*In this social environment it is not the peer relationship that provokes dropping out (perhaps in other, more normalized places), in very aggressive environments like this people have already learned to defend themselves from others, so that what the other does to you does not influence you so much, this is a very curious characteristic and very much to be taken into account. If this has happened to us on occasion, those who are in primary, they have had to change school. This can be the reason for changing schools, but not dropping out*». These reflections are related with the concept of social capital, relations between parents and children that take the form of emotional support, supervision, encouragement and the possibility of reaching independent decisions, imply a family model related to the best school results. It is a concept based on the family process and not only on structural variables such as social class, type of family or belonging to a minority group (Rumberger, 2001).

In case of some minorities, such as the group of gypsies, in the interviews the risk is mentioned of living through this process as a loss of identity: they «*become payos*» (non-Gypsies). In other words, they acquire features of identity that distance them from the «traditional model», while simultaneously assimilating and identifying them with «general society». In this respect, joint work with the reference group based on associations and support groups is very important. Thus it is possible to achieve a «global change» led by their own group of reference.

### 2.3.2. Curricular adjustments

Students under 16 years have to remain in compulsory education, this factor means that the staff of different educational agencies

(schoolteachers, heads of *Berritzegunes*, teachers of vocational centres) have been providing different alternatives intended to support the links between young people at risk of dropping out and centres of reference. In other words, in the face of a lack of student motivation and the verification of a need to improve the possibilities of integration in the labour market, the educational strategies for pupils at risk of dropping out or who have left the school system need to be differentiated from the educational models of compulsory education: «*We have diversification, personal reinforcement, support spaces, teachers of therapeutic pedagogy*». They try to promote different skills so that these persons do not lose the possibility of «plugging back into» the educational process and to facilitate their access to the labour market in better conditions. Though the professionals are conscious of the difficulties of the process: «*We aim to avoid anyone dropping out but there are situations that are already so deteriorated that it is very difficult. If attendance is not more or less regular the educational system can hardly do anything. There is no possibility (...)*». For these reasons, the goals proposed are often more intended to support work habits and certain social skills rather than to learn the curricula appropriate to this age: «*Our aim is not that, but something else: this dropping out of school, to make a vocational course possible at 16 years old, then we are starting to see success, small successes, but I'm telling you that in this group of 22 we are sure that 19 of them would now be on the street or at home. They are coming, and have a school model and an educational model*».

The teachers of the CIP understand that their own organization and methodology constitute the principal motive of success, within the group of young people who come to this type of centre: «*When they arrive they are pretty disoriented about it all, what they have clear is that do not want to study, they have it clear, after two months when that see that can learn things that they thought they could not, they see theoretical things and learn them, a dynamic of positive change, now you can get them to do anything. You can tell them to study nine hours a day … they apply themselves. They even start to have interest again in getting their high school diploma, and some can go to further studies to have a future, to whatever, but they have make this change, go from a phase of "learning isn't for me" and "I don't want to know anything about studying", they arrive with this perspective, and the question is to change their minds.*» In this respect, the centre's purpose helps to improve the involvement of the students, one of the principal motives for dropping out: «*What they want is a more practical training, and on the other hand a training in which they acquire a few basic skills*

*and learn a trade so they can get a job. When they leave compulsory schooling they can't go to work because neither their qualifications nor their age permit it, their parents tell them that at 16 years old they won't let them go to work».* Thus, their work seems to adapt better to the profile of these students.

The educational strategies of these centres are very different compared to high schools. The majority of the teachers see an advantage in these new possibilities since it allows them to work in areas, integrate projects and motivate pupils through the accomplishment of specific tasks: «*Here at the vocational centre we try to work through integrated learning projects, most of the content, of whatever discipline, have or seek a relation with the technical workshop projects that the student has to do, so that if you are teaching the student to make a table, there is a series of technical questions of mathematics, calculation, trigonometry, so that the table stands up or has the appropriate angles, that it is made of natural materials, that are found in certain type of forest, that grows in a certain type of climate… a series of content in one social-employment area or work orientation, to make the budget for the table, how much it costs, the VAT, the labour, there are many contents related to this project that come from diverse disciplines and we take advantage of the specific projects of technical work that they have to study these contents, I think this is one of the principal differences. In this way the students see that to do what they want (e.g. make a table) it is necessary to learn a series of things, and thus start losing their fear of learning more theoretical things. And besides they see that it's necessary, that they don't teach mathematics to take an exam, which is neither here nor there. Nevertheless, if to do what they want, they see that mathematics are useful, that natural science is useful, that language is useful (e.g.: to write down the steps needed to make a table and give them to a companion), they see the practicality of this type of thing and are capable of learning it. This is changing the methodology to turn the trend around. For whatever reasons… but the principal one is the level of interest of the student; then the reasons for this lack of interest are multiple».* Nevertheless, it is not an easy task. The persons in charge of these centres also reflect the same difficulties in doing their jobs when they have to complement the practical training: «*Motivation in general is low, especially they have less motivation in the theoretical classes, there's a big difference with the more practical workshop sessions, and then when you have to teach more theoretical knowledge it is very obvious*».

Some investigations in this area have centred on the evaluation of the educational task in alternative centres; thus the research of Dugger &

Dugger (1998) in this field proposes that alternative school programmes achieve advances in areas such as making the student body attend class regularly, but it is more complex to achieve significant benefits in content (reading, mathematics and languages). One of the persons interviewed in Bilbao called attention to the dangers derived from curricular adaptations since it runs the risk of provoking «*impoverishment of the curriculum*» from primary level. So that when the pupils get to secondary they have more difficulty learning. This is a very important aspect since the fundamental dilemma is related to the different levels of equity. In our context, the first levels, of access and of treatment, have been achieved, the danger highlighted is that adjustment can lead to difficulty in achieving equity at the highest level, or equality of results. That is to say, obtaining worse school results, lower percentage of access and of obtaining the high school diploma, and greater difficulty of access to the labour market (Marchesi & Martín, 1998). For all these reasons, it is necessary to break with the conception that basic education is sufficient in our environment. Knowledge is increasing and if a quality education is not received, which allows acquisition of skills and knowledge necessary to develop in the current society, students run the risk of remaining excluded (Elboj, Puigdellívol, Soler & Valls, 2002). Some examples of testimony that reflect this idea: «*To lengthen the training period to the maximum, to achieve the maximum academic level so as to achieve a learning of high expectations*», «*things with a future, which are useful to continue studying, to get a job, not doing macramé*».

### 2.3.3. Improvement of students' self-esteem

The change of method and the form of work imply an opportunity to experience situations of success that model self-esteem, which in many cases is very damaged: the pupils say «*what am I going to do with my life?*». The professionals also worry about this aspect: «*How they arrive, eh? Then throughout the years they remain here, and once they are involved in the workshop, they experience, shall we say, situations that are not related to failure. They feel useful... Also they arrive and, well, many of them have been last in the class, in the sense of "don't be a nuisance", "there's nothing to be done with you"... and they come with very low self-esteem. And here they meet a group that are all equal. They all feel among equals: "I am neither the last nor the first". Then they might begin to stand out for whatever reason, but they themselves are the ones who are recognizing the work... "Well this works" or*

*whatever... there's a spirit of collaboration in learning. And the rhythms are guided by, let's say, an individualized education».*

To spur and increase the student's interest in learning and to get then to take part in the life of the centre, to feel like they belong, is a guarantee to reduce school failure (Marchesi & Perez, 2003). With this aim, the different professionals try to adapt objectives centred on personal development and improvement of self-esteem: «*We try to make them independent and responsible, and responsibility is very much linked to the themes of punctuality, attendance, cleanliness, organization, respect…».*

Since we are dealing with a group of pupils accustomed to failure, another strategy used is to provide experiences of success: «*The experiences of success, I think, promote the adult (…) We have to think what we are going to do so that something comes out well for us».* Another person says it in these words: «*That they feel comfortable, that they feel a valid person and that they feel themselves capable of doing things, of starting on the way... making the leap, like on a diving board…».* These affirmations corroborate these young people's need to feel responsible for their own lives. In other words, to improve the locus of internal control associated with self-responsibility and motivation for achievement (Dudley-Marling, Snider & Traver, 1982; Schunk, 1984, 1991). Some strategies destined to avoid dropping out are based on «*teaching self-education*» such as allowing the experience of success, offering opportunities for choice, extending the experience of learning beyond the academic environment. We are talking about a planned education, with a positive social-affective environment, where the good relation established with the teachers favours this aim: «*Making a debate, but really it's just talking, they have a great need to talk, to talk about how they feel, their feelings, then there teachers who find this difficult because they think that for example to get social and start talking to them, for example, about how they feel, their feelings, this and that is a waste of time, but it is a need, and for example this year with fourth grade, they asked me for it a lot and we have done it, and it is based on this that you gain a lot in affection with them, you win them over, because often they and I too realize on a personal level that you want to teach them Basque but it turns out that there are so mentally blocked that they can not learn Basque, they have another problem and what they want it is to share this problem, and say this is happening to me».* In fact, one of their principal goals is the socialization, integration and participation of the groups that are the object of this intervention.

Many of the teachers defend the value of promoting autonomy through responsibility. Some of them specify the type of responsibilities that are given to the pupils in class and the level they establish depending on the pupil. In general, these are responsibilities related to the work in class and which are established gradually, for example by means of specific activities (for example a student takes charge of the cement mixer). On occasions, strategies such as contracts or agreements with the pupils are mentioned as means of generating responsibility: «*responsibility, what we try to do is, little by little, get them to assume responsibilities, that they become responsible for their materials…*». On another occasion events related with the school are mentioned: «*they are preparing an end of year party and practising their own dance (...) We are going to have an end of year party with participation by the kids, some are going to do theatre, others dance. They are delighted with the idea, they organize everything, then they are going to do a casting, which they like much*». These answers confirm the practical importance of self-determination and the role of the adult as external agent in the acquisition of the aforementioned skills (Wehmeyer, 1995, 1996).

### 2.3.4. Profile and training of the teaching staff

This section is related with the professional profile of the teacher and the training of the teaching staff**.** The teacher is central and is included among the strategies of change to improve dropout rates. Hegarty (2003) recalls that teachers are the key to guarantee a good education. In our investigation, very different personal careers are seen in secondary school teachers and in teachers at vocational education centres. Though their qualifications are different, they all show great motivation for their work which, partly, compensates for the effort of their job and the scanty results that they achieve. «*The job in itself, I always have said, is, shall we say, hard work, which takes a lot out of you because of the involvement that you have with all of them, but at this point in the year, results are seen already... then the motivation is always strong, isn't it? The baggage or the years that I have spent here, well, since I know that in the end there are good results, so you say: I'll work my fingers to the bone... But then again, you come here, work your fingers to the bone and it seems that you are not getting anywhere, doesn't it? Often you are overwhelmed by the situations that arise. It seems like you aren't getting across. But the motivation, yes... it is a job that gets you hooked, it's hard but it gets you hooked*».

Professionals in secondary education are generally graduates, specializing in the teaching of certain disciplines such as mathematics, history or language, but they have little training in fields related to the strategies of complementary education. In this field, the assistance of the administration is recognized in the development of complementary methods where teachers work in teams with other professionals, although certain difficulties are seen: «*teachers learn to be experts in mathematics, languages and whatever, but not to work like this. And they do not teach social educators to be teachers, so we're all mixed up*».

In the interviews with the young people a question was included about their ideal teacher which helps us to understand this figure. In this case, the young people interviewed want more support on the part of their teachers. In this respect they admire the interpersonal competences of the teachers, such as their skill in relation and communication, listening, empathy or group dynamics, as those that are most highly valued by the student body: «*The teacher was very, very nice... very..., very good fellow, who explained things very well. And whenever we needed him for something, when we... when we had some problem or anything..., we could count on him. For whatever*». Similar results to those of other investigations such as that carried out in francophone Canada which our study used as a model of reference (Ministère de l'Education, 1991). Nevertheless, they think that a teacher is not a friend. This is a person you can rely on but who belongs to a different group, perhaps these are the very characteristics that inspire the student with confidence. Thus, when asked about the characteristics of their teacher of reference, they point out the following: «*He should talk to you and so on. But he should also be firm, as well. But at the same time, if something happens to you or you have some problem, you can ask him, can't you?*». The teachers mention the professional competences needed to work in this context, such as capacity for negotiation and placing limits: «*they will always be testing you, that's what's tough on you, but you see that they're looking for it and it's a need. And that in the end, what they thank you for is that someone has been firm, firm, firm... well, that you give... because here everything is by negotiation*».

As a result, training needs are complex, aside from knowledge of the content, they have to be trained with enough breadth that they are also skilled in conflict resolution, changes of attitude, solving teaching problems that are found more and more often in schools. In our interviews, the professionals also refer to this factor: «*He does not have to be merely a construction professional but he also a pe-*

*dagogical professional, it's complicated, today in construction there's a lot to know, but he has to know that it's complicated to be here with the lads, he has to be patient, has to be able to get over to them, to be able to put himself on their level, draw them in, drag them onto his ground, then have a high professional level, to be up-to-date in machinery, tools, materials, to be concerned about staying up to date…».* Some pupils are also capable of understanding the difficulties of the teacher's role: «*Well yes, it is complicated, especially the idea of educator I believe is very important... the idea of educating... what do you need? I'd say above all a lot of patience (laughs)... to be able to recognize the good and that we all have possibilities... and then, to be very motivated...».*

### 2.3.5. Coordinated work

The search for solutions involved the coordinated work of different agents given that alternatives to dropping out must be found. School legislation itself, with the obligatory nature of education up to 16 years, obliges relations and fluid communication among different agents: «*Before 16 they have to be in secondary schooling. Failures before this age, the route that they have to leave school is not a complete exit, it is complementary, and it is in the last two years of education, between 14 and 16, through a few special requests and a lot of red tape, approval by inspectors, by the technical personnel of the Berritzegune corresponding to the school… by many people, the parents, the student… they request a special measure which is incorporation in a complementary centre like this one. They are young people who are linked to a secondary school, have their reference group there (their tutor…), they continue as pupils of the school but they come to another centre with a different curricular dynamic to try to turn it around and to take advantage of the time more, but well, those are exceptions».*

Cooperative work in networks implies a possibility for intervention that constantly fed by information, resources and opportunities created by multiple relations. But this is not something easy. Some individuals present resistance to change or do not know «where and when to begin» (de la Riva & Moreno, 2004). In the interviews this aspect appears when talking about the need for ongoing training of the teaching staff, as some interviews mention: «*reflection in teams*», «*knowing different approaches*». Thus «*creating a space of reflection in the centre (...) especially in secondary*» is one of the measures praised in another interview. Especially it requires a «training of the

whole staff, in the professorial team». This measure is related to another measure, previously mentioned, a change of school culture.

For individuals who take part in the educational process there are aspects that imply a certain commitment to reality, one example is the transformation of schools as democratic public spheres, educational spaces shared and organized among the different social groups that form the community (Elboj, Puigdellívol, Soler & Valls, 2002). For this reason schools consider important the participation of other groups, such as the family and associations, local institutions and NGOs. As a response to cultural diversity, this model favours communication between the groups that comprise the social fabric in an environment open to dialogue and collaboration. In consequence, it is related to a complex vision of the environment, complex as described by Bronfenbrenner (1987). In such a way as to produce a series of immediate environments organized as concentric structures, in which each is contained in the following one, from the micro up to the macro. All are entities that influence the family and the child, and their change must be a shared change.

## 3. **Conclusions**

From the practice of the research and the interviews with the people involved we can bring together some conclusions:

a) *With respect to the family*: The family environment and expectations seem to be decisive factors in the scholastic career of the students. The collaboration between family and school is one of the strategies to generate confidence between the two institutions.

b) *From the professionals involved*: We note an interest and a reflection on the subject of abandonment, this is a motivated group that analyses the situation of the people with whom they work, their relations and their professional role. Nevertheless, the teaching staff can run the risk of adaptation to a situation of failure and deterioration, which is reflected in the acceptance of the limitations of the pupils and the reduction of expectations.

The training of this group is varied, with different professional itineraries. The people interviewed are very motivated by their work and interested in completing their training, they especially mention certain subjects like the resolution of conflicts, and adaptation to groups.

Various strategies are followed in order to integrate the students at risk of abandonment in obligatory scholastic process or in training to

obtain professional competences (adaptations, practical teaching, modelling, etc.).

Another of the topic mentioned is teamwork: both within the team of school teachers, as a joint task, and of the school with the families and social agents. Collaboration between the institutions mentioned (school, family, groups of reference) would allow a joint evolution and the formation of a joint culture, assuming paradigms that, in the absence of such joint evolution, can be converted into opposing paradigms.

c) *With respect to the students*: Low expectations and low motivation to continue studies appear in the interviews carried out. A greater ability to understand and accept knowledge related to employment practice is noted. The need is noted to improve their self-esteem, their capacity for achievement as bases to obtain greater involvement in educational tasks. Children and young people are the main beneficiaries of joint and coordinated work, given that it results in coherent educational lines.

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# 8.

# Representing the cultural other in primary-school readers: A comparative study[1]

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## Introduction

Most scholars in the field of literacy instruction of students of diverse socio-cultural backgrounds (Banks, 1988; Cummins, 1989; Reynolds, 1994) would agree that the kind of reading materials children are exposed to in the early stages of their education have a significant impact on their school performance and results. Some would even argue that the high rates of dropouts and failure among students belonging to culturally different and socially underprivileged groups derive, to a great extent, from the inadequacy of the pedagogical materials and instructional methods that teachers employ at these levels. There is absolutely no question that the needs of children growing up in these contexts are remarkably different from those others detected among children who are part of the mainstream society. Serious hindrances such as their language problems, extremely low levels of self-esteem, widespread feelings of exclusion and

[1] This contribution is part of the outcome of the research project «Por la escritura a la integración» (MV-2004-1-12) funded by the Department of Education, Research, and Universities (Dirección de Política Científica) of the Basque Government, which was carried out by the author at the University of Pittsburgh, PA, between September 2004 and June 2005. My gratitude to the Staffs of St. Bede School, Point Breeze, in Pittsburgh and Azkorri Ikastetxea in Algorta-Getxo, Bizkaia.

alienation, or their habitual difficulties in relating to other children often interfere with their potential to do well at school. Although it is a fact that there are elements of structural inequality —economic, political, social, etc.— which transcend the scope of influence of the education system (Gollnick and Chinn, 1990; Kozol, 1991; Goodman, 2001), there are some other barriers which school instructors and educators could help to taper by simply rethinking the values present in the texts and teaching techniques they bring into the classroom. Au observes on this point that «In school literacy instruction we should seek to develop students' ability to read and write through approaches that do not threaten their cultural identity or violate their cultural values» (29).

No doubt, a number of changes have been underway in this direction —at least in some English-speaking countries— these last two decades. On the one hand, the reading curricula have been under a rigorous process of scrutiny and revision and, on the other, teachers have been encouraged to introduce new instructional patterns more enticing and adequate for this type of students. Among the main goals pursued by the inclusion of new materials and teaching techniques, the following could be mentioned: a) to make students feel positive about themselves and their culture, b) to give more importance to their in-class contributions, c) to offer them adequate role models they can emulate, and d) to promote more fluent relations with other groups (see Friedman, 173-190). It would be unfair and inaccurate not to admit that, in most of these countries, the education system has moved a long way in terms of representing cultural diversity and showing a more respectful attitude toward the «cultural Other.» A mere glance at the kind of texts students are assigned to read and the activities they are asked to carry out reveals that the profession has grown conscious of the necessity for key transformations. As Giroux has rightly claimed, «Teaching is complex, much more complex than mastering a body of knowledge and implementing curriculums. The thing about teaching is that the specificity of context is always central» (17). Incidentally, if anything has become clear to educators and school officials in recent times, this is the fact that teachers are no longer working with culturally «uniformed» and homogeneous student bodies. It is no surprise, then, that greater resources should be funneled to assist these multicultural communities in their efforts to come closer to their aims. Still, these moves toward a more democratic and egalitarian education should never create feelings of self-complaisance, for there are still several areas in which analyses and transformations are urgently needed.

Spain and the Basque Country (BC), in particular, present us with a remarkably different scenario, since the innovation and adaptation of school curricula and teaching practices have rarely been perceived as such a pressing matter. The reasons for this apparent lack of concern are of a multifarious nature. On the one hand, up to the year 2000 the contingent of foreign students in the BC never exceeded 2 percent, which made their incorporation in the system fairly uncomplicated. Until this last decade, then, it was generally assumed that with a little linguistic and socio-cultural assistance, these children could be smoothly integrated into the public education system. However, things have changed quite dramatically these last five years when the number of foreign students has grown exponentially (over 40 % each year),[2] especially in the early stages of the education programs (Kindergarten and Primary School). But even after this quantum jump in the immigrant presence in schools, Basque politicians and administrators have insisted that the education system is perfectly able to tackle the problems that may arise from the new situation. M.ª Angeles Iztueta, Basque Counselor of Education, for one, declared in April 2002 that «We are still at the «zero moment» of immigration in the BC, since the rates are perfectly assumable as yet.» On the other hand, an additional reason that may partly account for the «levity» with which questions of multicultural and transformative education have been dealt with is the fact that the school system has been simultaneously involved in a process of reanimating the Basque culture. As is well known, for almost half of the 20th century the Basque language and folk traditions were forced to go underground and, as a result, two generations were mostly deprived of the chance to cultivate their own cultural heritage. While admitting that the recovery of that heritage is certainly important, it would be naïve not to see that significant resources may have been diverted from other equally pressing exigencies, which have suffered the side-effects of this deviation.[3] Finally, but perhaps most importantly, like all other education systems, the Basque system also exhibits what Bourdieu and Passeron called «the imposition of a

[2] All the data about the presence of immigrant students are from the document «Programa para la atención del alumnado inmigrante», published by the Department of Education, Universities and Research of the Basque Government (2005: 4). See *http://www1.hezkuntza.ej-gv.net/dif8/PROGRAMA.pdf*.

[3] The conflict staged this last spring by the Higher Tribunal of Justice of the BC (TSJPV) and the Basque Dept. of Education may find its roots in one of these «deviations.» The main cause of the conflict was the Tribunal's decision to warranty immigrants the right to receive their education in Spanish (*Gara*, March 18, 2005).

cultural arbitrary» (xi). That is, the pedagogic action is likely to reproduce culture and a whole social structure by simply prolonging an arbitrary cultural scheme —both in content and form— based upon traditional and well-consolidated power relations. My point here is that despite repeated claims qualifying the Basque public school system as «plural, bilingual, democratic, [...] participatory, compensatory of inequalities, and integrative of diversity» (BOPV 1998: July 30) the fact remains that empirical research still shows that classroom practices are far from abiding by these ideals. As my analysis below hopes to demonstrate, reading materials, students' attitudes, instructional patterns, privileged perspectives, etc., clearly suggest that the profession in our region is lagging behind in taking up an in-depth reflection on what the new social environment demands from them.

Most educators would agree today that in order to promote a truly multicultural and transformative education one of the first steps should be to direct our efforts to the examination of the social contexts where changes are needed. Kincheloe notes that «In multicultural teaching, the study of contexts that shape students, teachers, educational goals, and particular schools becomes an important teaching activity» (xvi). No need to explain that these contexts encompass areas of experience much broader than the particular contents taught in schools or the skills regarded as especially functional in the instruction of minority children. Although the centrality of curricular adaptation and teacher training in multicultural issues cannot be denied, lately there have been other forces that challenge the socialization and integration of culturally diverse children into the mainstream society. These forces may sometimes be less tangible than the blatant examples of prejudice and discrimination in the treatment of history, social studies or the so-called «literary canon.» However, we would be suffering from a worrying case of analytic myopia if we failed to consider a number of approaches and theories that, for some time now, have tried to interfere with the progress toward a more diverse and intercultural educational ethos.[4] Marchesi and Martín observe on this point that, apart from biased school materials and negative expectations on the part of the teachers, factors such as the violent collision between home and school values, the reproduction of majority attitudes and beliefs, and the generalized view that these kinds of students are seldom able to meet the standards required by the school system often doom

[4] See Thomas SOWELL'S: *Inside American Education: The Decline, the Deception, the Dogmas* (1993). Especially pp. 70-99.

minority children to be perceived as «deficient» or problematical (224-225). It is probably in the United States (US) where the «culture wars» (Graff, 1992) —a controversy which has pitted the most conservative and ultra-religious groups against multicultural and cultural pluralist reformers— have become most inflamed. However, we would be distorting the real situation on this side of the Atlantic if we dismissed these social and economic factors, which obviously have a bearing on how the «cultural Other» is perceived in the school context. According to Goodman, «it is meaningless to provide "multicultural education" without addressing issues of inequity in our society and how these issues are played out within the classroom» (18). It would be, therefore, nonsensical to embark on a study of the representations of the «cultural Other» and the treatment they receive in the classroom without keeping in mind that the situation is *always already* biased by the powerful forces outlined above. In this sense, although I will be focusing mostly on the textual evidence of those representations, it is important to stress that they are usually related to broader contextual factors that will inevitably condition and narrow down the kind of transformations that are feasible.

## 1. **Sources and Aims of the Study**

The main object of my contribution is to offer a comparative analysis of the kind of representations of other cultures to be found in reading materials and related activities included in Primary-School readers both in the US and the BC. For this purpose, I have decided to focus on the even grades (2nd, 4th, and 6th) of this stretch of the children's education, since trying to cover all of them would have been quite impossible, given the scope of this essay. It seemed important, however, to bring into the study materials from the early and late stages of this six-year period because, as will be addressed below, there are some prominent differences in the degree of «visibility» endowed to diversity and intercultural topics in each of them. Likewise, I also wanted to establish whether the approach to these topics in fact evolved throughout the students' education or, instead, remained very much the same. Tackling these questions is essential in any debate about which instructional methods can best solve the pervasive problems of culturally diverse students because, as Coles (1998) and others have demonstrated, literacy achievement depends to a great extent on the adequacy and thoughtful implementation of materials that early readers are able to decode and comprehend. In this sense,

one should never forget that the reading and writing processes always take place within —and are greatly shaped by— social influences and personal interactions.[5] Trying to teach literacy to children by merely providing them with lists of phonetic, syntactical, and semantic rules is most likely to fail, since children will not easily discern the relevance of what they are learning at school to the world in which they live. Olson notes in this regard that «What our new understanding requires is that we move away from the causal talk about what literacy does to people and towards the instrumental talk about what people do or can do with literacy» (xiii). This more instrumental understanding of literacy should have particularly positive effects on minority children as they would eventually come to see their differences as a liability rather than a deficit. It is not clear, however, whether this change of paradigm has in fact occurred in the field of literacy instruction because reading books still give little importance to the children's life outside school, native language information, cognitive and emotional processes, and the teaching/learning conditions at school. Devising ways in which these other areas of experience are finally represented in school curricula and practices should be one of the principal goals of any education system if, that is, they really intend «to assure that "cultural" factors don't get in the way of equal educational opportunity and high student achievement» (Fullinwider, 3).

My primary sources are two series of reading textbooks —targeted at 2nd, 4th, and 6th graders— published by MacMillan/McGraw-Hill (2001) and the Spanish Editorial Santillana (1998-2002). In spite of some conspicuous differences in terms of the books' appearance —the American texts are hard-cover and much bulkier, probably due to the fact that they are passed down from one class to the next—, there are also a number of similarities which hint at some interesting coincidences concerning their philosophy and goals. For instance, both series reveal a heavy reliance on pictorial materials in the early years, which decreases in the higher grades, and a marked emphasis on the acquisition of vocabulary and grammatical notions, and the development of reading comprehension skills. While the inclusion of visually reinforcing materials is perfectly justified by the importance of capturing and focusing the reader's attention, the huge space devoted

[5] Two important volumes advancing this thesis are: J. CRAWFORD'S: *Bilingual Education: History, Politics, Theory and Practice* (Rev. ed.) (Los Angeles: Bilingual Educational Services, Inc., 1995) and R.V. PADILLA'S (ed.): *Ethnoperspectives in Bilingual Education Research: Bilingual Education and Public Policy in the United States* (Ypsilanti: Eastern Michigan University, 1972).

to testing the children's skills and abilities in using their new knowledge would be more difficult to explain. Although the Santillana readers appear to display more variety in the activities intended to help students master these techniques, the primary objective of both series is to develop the «abilities that learning to read imply.» Nobody would dare to question the view that the acquisition of comprehension skills and a new terminology to talk about textual organization and meaning are among the principal goals at this stage. Nevertheless, serious problems may arise when standardized activities, requiring a mechanistic and hierarchical approach to the texts, displace other objectives —such as diversification and socialization— in teaching the children to deal with different types of discourse. Korn has warned in connection with this point that «Multicultural education as a route to increased school achievement is easily circumvented or pushed aside in the pressured atmosphere of high-stakes test preparation that currently pervades public education from early childhood through the adolescent years» (2). Indeed, prioritizing the mastering of a set of reading skills aimed at improving exam results may well turn into a case of the tree not allowing us to see the woods. By falling into these traditional patterns of instruction —which often rely too much on memorization and individual work—, teachers are in fact enlarging the gap between the culture at home and that at school, and preventing students of various backgrounds from achieving the desired levels of literacy. In this sense, as Au complains, «students from diverse cultural backgrounds enter the game with many disadvantages, because school practices often do not recognize the values and standards of their own culture» (12). We shall see then that in order to change the predictable misperceptions reinforced by conventional activities and tests, it is essential to accommodate new materials and evaluative strategies that better meet the needs of students from diverse backgrounds.

Unfortunately, there are still many neo-conservative scholars who maintain that «the basic goal of education in a human community is acculturation, the transmission to children of the specific information shared by adults of the group or polis» (Hirsch, xvi). Although these pro-assimilation views may seem retrograde and unsound to many of us, the fact is that some of their ideas —contending that multiculturalism is to be blamed for the current fragmentation of culture and poorer school results— have gained incredible resonance in some countries. The main objection to these positions is, of course, that they wrongly assume that both school standards and a less monolithic curriculum are mutually exclusive and, also, that the preservation of traditional assessing methods and parameters of accountability are strictly

necessary. Paradoxically, although the US has very likely produced the largest group of academics writing against the reforms in literacy and cultural studies,[6] in many ways the case for renewed curricula and profound transformations in teaching methodology has also been building up in this country like nowhere else around the globe since the 1970s. Sonia Nieto (1999), for example, has expressed the hope that a transformative multicultural education, if properly handled, will eventually translate into better academic outcomes. In her opinion, important steps have already been taken to reduce the extant inequities in the education system and to open new venues of collaboration among students, teachers, parents, and school officials. My comparison of the American and Spanish/BC textbooks will reveal, in this sense, that the former are remarkably more sensitive to issues such as the appreciation of other cultures and the wish to close the gap between the school context and the larger community. Oakes and Lipton write in the «Preface» to *Reclaiming Democracy* that «today education in the US is changing [...]. Subject-matter knowledge and subject-specific pedagogies are becoming infused with sociocultural and cultural historical learning theory, cultural and linguistic awareness, and methods for working in diverse classrooms» (Romo viii). Although these significant changes have taken some time to consolidate, it should be evident by now that there are areas in which reading textbooks across the Atlantic are well ahead of the materials and practices we are familiar with in the BC. As will be observed, cultural and linguistic heterogeneity are often represented in American readers in ways that have not yet been introduced in our textbooks, and there is a constant preoccupation to make the children learn about traditions and customs other than their own.

The main body of my article is divided into two sections that, to a great extent, elaborate on the two key findings of my research. On the one hand, I discuss at some length the positive innovations detected in the US readers, which could fairly easily be transposed to our pedagogical materials and instructional dynamics. Obviously, as Habermas (1982) and others have shown, leaving behind the powerful myths we have inherited from the Enlightenment and Modernist periods —one of them being, no doubt, our ethnocentric views— is by no means an

[6] To mention only a few of them, see Arthur SCHLESINGER, Jr.'s: *Disuniting America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society* (1992), Allan Bloom's *Closing the American Mind: How Higher Education Has Failed Democracy and Impoverished the Souls of Today's Students* (1987), and Michael LIND's: *The Next American Nation: The New Nationalism and the Fourth American Revolution* (1995).

easy task. Nevertheless, it is perhaps in the domain of education and intercultural studies where this shift toward a more dialogical and communicative approach to current global challenges should make headway. In this regard, and despite the considerable contextual differences, looking into the experiences already gone through in countries with a longer tradition of ethnic-minority cohabitation and immigration may prove extremely productive. Aware of the risks of taking direct borrowings from such a distant and distinct education system, it is my intention here to highlight only a few areas where I think our school curricula and classroom practices would benefit significantly from following suit with a number of trends long-adopted in the US. On the other hand, one still runs into images, values, and activities in these reading textbooks used in the States which can hardly be said to help minority students feel more comfortable and integrated in the mainstream society. Probably two radically different causes lie at the heart of these negative components. To start with, there is the inevitable tendency among teachers and educators to remain «*culturally encapsulated*» and to assume that their value system is to be accepted as a model by the children. One does not need to be too perspicacious, though, to see the awful consequences that the imposition of the majority-group values may have on students of differing socio-cultural backgrounds. Because the lifestyles and local cultures in our country are generally more varied, this problem may not imperil so seriously the backbone of the education system. As a matter of fact, although probably unknowingly, the Spanish readers incorporate materials and activities that may help the students gain respect for diverse viewpoints and traditions, and capacitate them to negotiate differences across regional and social boundaries (cf Bursztyn 189). The second cause of these problematical representations takes just the opposite direction; that is, educators sometimes become so enthusiastic and celebratory about anything «different» or «exotic» that they may turn their books and classrooms into sites of minority cheerleading.[7] When this happens, there is always the danger of insisting too much on ethnic identification, and violating in fact individual freedom of choice. Banks (1988) has written along these lines when he concludes that democratic societies should protect and provide opportunities for cultural diversity while, at the same time, promoting some basic principles such as justice, equality and human

[7] The book *Murder in the Playground: The Burnage Report* (London: Longsight Press, 1989) describes the awful consequences that these excessively partisan attitudes had in a multiculturally-oriented school in Manchester, U.K.

dignity that are accepted by all the groups. As we shall see, the US readers analyzed here may sometimes generate intercultural boundaries that make it difficult for the children to find their niche in a larger civic society working for the common good. As is frequently the case, the best option would be to find a perfect balance between an interest in and respect for minority cultures, and the promotion of some values and habits of mind to be shared by everybody. Or as Fullinwider has put it, «the ideal of citizens working together in a common polity while retaining their memberships in distinct cultural communities that accord one another mutual respect» (16).

Before I move on to tackle the issues outlined above, let me explain very briefly why I believe that the question of how the «cultural Other» is represented in Primary-School readers is so crucial. There is absolutely no doubt that our history bequeaths to us a language, cultural values, and even some social institutions which are drenched in the assumptions and images that episodes of cultural encounter and colonization have left in them. For this reason, most of the social categories on which we rely to construe our world are inevitably impinged by those traces of the past—traces which are terribly difficult to erase or change.[8] Zizec (2000) has shown that, in fact, most societies in the western hemisphere have concocted clever ways of disguising many of the elements of social categorization in order to satisfy their new demands for justice and equality. The key aim is then to manage to incorporate difference —be it racial, sexual, ideological, etc.— into the hegemonic system, without the power relations in that system being much affected by the incorporation. Since education plays such a major role in the regulation of which linguistic, cultural, and ethical practices need to be modified and which others perpetuated, the responsibility of instructors and educators is quite overwhelming. As several multicultural scholars have argued, though, many contemporary schools are characterized by the emergence of a racial and class code of silence that succeeds in obviating some of the most clamorous prejudices and discriminatory behaviors (see Kincheloe xii). If teachers fail to unveil and break that poisonous code, the education system will keep perpetuating categories and images of the «cultural Other» that will condemn them to the marginal spaces they have mostly been pushed to occupy. Michel Wieviorka (1995) has written insightfully about how particular representations of culturally

[8] The list of critics who have analyzed these processes is just too long to render here, but just to give a few of them: Edward Said, Stuart Hall, Gayatry Spivak, Cornell West, etc.

different groups have fostered prejudiced attitudes in native populations by rationalizing and justifying concrete social relations. Failing to see that young children are more receptive and vulnerable to this type of influences would destine the education system to reproduce errors of the past that have contributed to alienating and excluding some minority students. As Dewey (1916) concluded nearly a whole century ago, any attempt to democratize an education system should be preceded by an analysis of the social context and a realization that knowledge can never be fully disconnected from the other experiences of students.[9] Hence, school instructors have the heavy responsibility of determining which aspects of those experiences in the larger society can usefully be brought into the classroom and which need to be critically approached and corrected to smooth the children's path toward integration.

## 2. **What to Learn from US Reading Textbooks**

Much of the research carried out these last two decades has revealed that children of diverse backgrounds find it easier and more attractive to deal with culturally conscious readings that recognize their identity and help other students to understand it. Applebee (1991), for example, points out that literacy achievement among these students can only be improved if they are given the opportunity to work on literature that they find more interesting and relevant to their own lives. It is not surprising in this sense that most reading textbooks in US schools include selections by multiethnic authors whose work usually affirms their particular cultural identity and often validates the experiences and perspectives of other individuals belonging to the same group. Furthermore, some of these pieces may well inspire minority children to follow in some of their characters' footsteps, as they are seen to succeed after overcoming some typical problems. Out of the thirty units comprised in each of the three McGraw-Hill readers, nearly half of them provide narratives reflecting experiences of ethnic-minority characters. Not only do these essays and stories contribute to making children feel proud of their cultural heritage, but they can also be used «to introduce students to key social issues through well-drawn characters, authentic situations, and compelling stories» (Au, 178).

[9] For an excellent selection of the influential American philosopher's writings on education, see *John Dewey on Education*. Ed. Reginald Archambault (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1964).

Indeed, short pieces such as «Welcome to a New Museum» or «Fernando's Gift,» included in the 2nd grade reader, give the children an invaluable opportunity to learn more about the history of African-Americans in the US or the hazards confronted by the rainforests in Central America. Most of these narratives are meant to offer the children an accurate and more complete view of the forces that have shaped American society and of the achievements of people from different cultural minorities. Donaldo Macedo rightly claims that the juxtaposition of «subaltern (hi)stories» like the above «points to a pedagogy that enables readers to link the flux of information in order to gain a more critical reading of reality» (132). There is no doubt that exposing the children to these multicultural narratives is an important instrument to escape from the often fossilized and disempowering knowledge found in more traditional materials. Culturally diverse students will only manage to find their own voice in an alien context if, rather than being required to conform to age-old scripts, they are taken to narrative sites they can easily access, and which show them experiences they can identify with. Predictably, little of this cultural variety and critical attitude to mainstream views is to be observed in the readers in the BC. The textbooks aimed at 4th and 6th graders introduce a few readings telling them about distant cultures, but they are mostly informational in character and can hardly be said to advance a transformative education among the students.[10]

A second aspect of the US readers that powerfully captures the attention of any outside analyst is the fact that from very early in their education students are introduced to a great variety of writing styles. While the Santillana textbooks mostly depend on a few genres —realistic stories, poetry, fairy tales, and drama—, which allow children «to discover new worlds, new friends, and adventures» (2), the US readers widen the scope to include discourses that may sometimes intersect with those of other school subjects. Evidently, behind this assortment of discursive styles —biographical, informational, historical, scientific essay, etc.—, there is an attempt to familiarize the children with different ways of structuring ideas and conveying meanings in the mainstream culture. This is certainly an important added value to traditional conceptions of literacy since students are not only acquiring basic reading and writing skills but also learning how those activities

[10] For a very enlightening discussion of what we should understand by a «transformative education,» see J.A. BANKS and C.A. BANKS'S: «Introduction» to *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives* (2nd ed.) (Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 1993).

are tied to the available literate resources of the society. As Olson and Torrance note, this broader kind of cultural literacy is bound to have a transformative effect «by providing a means for the development of the specialized forms of competence and specialized social roles» (14). Hence, pieces like «Tomás and the Library Lady» (2nd grade) or «The Rajah's Rice» (4th grade), apart from using culturally specific materials to help children improve their receptive and creative abilities in the use of language, can also be employed to initiate the students in basic techniques of book cataloging and accounting. In an era in which we are constantly reminded of how important it is to build bridges between the disciplines in order to produce competent professionals in the future, these types of readings seem especially productive. Moreover, the fact that the school subjects cannot be so clearly compartmentalized any more often encourages the teachers to get the students involved in projects in which their diverse cultural backgrounds may provide them with unexpected and valuable resources. It is not unusual, for instance, to come across collaborative activities in which children are invited to contemplate their personal experiences and cultural baggage to try to solve problems and think critically about particular issues. A humorous story like «The All-American Slurp» (6th grade), which tells the adventures of two young girls —one Japanese, the other American—, and the difficulties of the former in persuading her family to let her behave as her friends do, can profitably be transferred to the Social Science class to examine the cultural clashes that immigrant children sometimes suffer. By doing teamwork of this sort with their classmates, minority students will not only be compelled to use their literacy skills but they will also learn to think of themselves as important sources of knowledge that have a great deal to contribute to the general development of the class. Trueba reminds us that these activities, «fostering a constant interaction with the peer reference group», are essential to prevent the cultural and psychological isolation that frequently befalls minority students and inhibits them from participating in the classroom (202). No transformative teacher with a minimal degree of perception would fail to notice that this exposure to a greater variety of discourses can help children of diverse backgrounds to connect in new ways with other students and to develop strategies in which their experiences and knowledge can be turned into an invaluable asset for the rest of the class. Moreover, these collaborative patterns of learning and instruction are also likely to be beneficial to students of the mainstream culture, especially in a society like the North American, which so easily turns inward and forgets about what is going on in other parts of the planet.

Last but not least, these multicultural pieces, apart from giving students the confidence to talk and write from their unique points of view and to use their personal experiences, also compel them to get involved in emotional and moral reflections on the alternatives for change and improvement in the surrounding society. These readings often make them conscious of the various circles of power that exist in their society and how particular identity formations are placed in the power hierarchy. By examining all these circumstances, they are given an opportunity to develop their own instruments of criticism and resistance, which will allow them to bring to light some of the flagrant inconsistencies between the founding ideals of American democracy and the day-to-day practices that usually bypass them. Robert Coles (1999) has written extensively on what he calls «the moral intelligence of children», which would explain their urgent desire to stretch the boundaries of knowing and feeling about consequential socio-historical phenomena. In his opinion, «an elementary school child shows a capacity for probing moral analysis that encompasses the very nature of a belief, a value as it connects to a lived experience» (100). This capacity is particularly precious in the case of minority children because, exposed to the right kind of attitudes and materials, they will be able to muster individually and collectively in the way of critical and moral understanding. Thus, a story such as «Amelia's Road» (4th grade), about a little brown Mexican girl who has to travel and work all the time with her family of sharecroppers, is likely to awaken sentiments of empathy and solidarity in minority children as some of them will probably find several of their own grievances resonating in the narrative. Likewise, a biographical sketch such as «Mandela» (6th grade) will remind African-Americans of the torturous road they have walked —and, in some cases, are still walking— toward the recognition of their civil rights, and equal treatment by the dominant groups. This kind of texts, which foster a more active emotional and moral involvement on the part of the reader, seem to be more easily accommodated in the textbooks of the higher grades, for they, no doubt, require a psychical and ethical maturity that younger children may still lack. In a similar vein, teachers dealing with these works need to be better-informed and more responsive to the viewpoints of the different minorities. As Cushner (1998) has maintained, the building of societies which are inclusive of all people and proactive in addressing the needs of disadvantaged groups is very much in the hands of pedagogues able to relate the school resources to the children's lives. This task may be even more complicated in the case of children under eight because they have not developed yet the confidence to question, take risks, or think critically and in moral terms. Still, other chords may be

touched at those ages, which are equally effective in arousing intense responses from the younger students.[11] For instance, including stories in their native language or with some references to rituals or traditions with which they are familiar will definitely inspire them to take a more active part in the discussions and face their assignments with a very different attitude. «Fernando's Gift» and «Luka's Quilt» (2nd grade) are exemplary pieces in this regard since the former presents the Spanish and English version side by side and the latter focuses on the South Pacific islanders' tradition of making family quilts. This more diverse and inclusive selection of readings, together with a transformative instructional practice, capacitate students of different backgrounds «to examine [their] own racial and ethnic identity development, access or lack thereof to power, and the role of [their] families, communities, media, schools, and other organizations in [their] growth» (Romo and Bradfield, 120).

One cannot feel but deeply disappointed by the Santillana readers, which fail clamorously to represent the cultural diversity already present in our society. As Juan García recognizes, «la escuela ha actuado durante mucho tiempo desde un modelo claramente selectivo y aún hoy, cuando se procuran actuaciones integradoras desde movimientos asociativos y poderes públicos, tendríamos que analizar el peso que sigue teniendo la concepción selectiva en la cultura imperante de nuestras escuelas» (94). If we were to judge the evolution observed in the BC education system in recent times by the kind of readings and activities that the students are assigned, the results would be quite disheartening. While it is true that the reading materials are enjoyable and are logically sequenced to help the children develop their basic literacy skills, they are still as «selective» as they were twenty or thirty years ago. Little is found in them to suggest that the cultural make-up of our society has radically changed this last decade or that an increasing number of children are arriving to our schools with very different abilities, interests, and motivation. This is especially striking because other type of resources and publications are already incorporating works by culturally diverse authors which could be productively introduced in the school curricula. If as García defends, new adaptive strategies need to be implemented in order to socialize the newcomers successfully, it is evident that representing other cultures in textbooks, coordinating the teachers' efforts to stimulate a

[11] A. Haas Dyson's prizewinning volume *Social Worlds of Children Learning to Write in an Urban Primary School* (New York: Teachers College P, 1993) offers useful examples of these techniques.

more instrumental literacy, and involving the children and their families in discussions of the moral dimensions of their learning process are all important initial steps. Unfortunately, due to the limited diversity in the materials and the overwhelming preoccupation with «school results» —generally defined by scores of standarized tests and acquisition of specific skills—, there is little hope that our children will see their perceptions of culturally different boys and girls truly transformed in the near future.

## 3. **What to *Unl*earn from US Readers**

So far, I have most likely given the impression that both pedagogical materials and teaching methodologies across the Atlantic are well ahead of our own. However, a mere glance at statistics of school achievement/failure on both settings[12] and a closer examination of how power and privileges are distributed in the real classrooms in the US soon make it clear that, as many ethnic Americans would argue, «the most things change, the more they stay the same.» Romo and Bradfield have tried to explain this apparent contradiction by observing that «On the one hand, we enshrine our immigrant roots, yet on the other, we reject current newcomers in covert ways reminiscent of our xenophobic heritage» (2). Indeed, as I advanced earlier on, most modern capitalist societies have invented their own subterfuges to project an image of justice and tolerance while, at the same time, they exert a «symbolic violence» (Bourdieu & Passeron xi) intended to keep the power structures in place. As is to be expected, this Foucaultian dissemination of hierarchies and order, aimed at perpetuating the status quo, is by no means so easy to discern as the more explicit changes toward equality and democratization. In her book on the social influence of representation, Knowles has contended that «whether we acknowledge and understand it or not, the present operates as a multitude of pragmatic accommodations with a past that may be unacknowledged» (205); that is, human beings are invariably stigmatized by the social and political conditions that have historically governed their relations. Bearing this in mind, it would be rather illusive to suppose that a country with a long history of race-based exploitation and discrimination like the US could have changed so

[12] See National Center for Education Statistics: *The Condition of Education 2003*. (NCES 2003-067) (Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, 2003). *http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2003/2003067.pdf.*

much so rapidly —in about four decades— its psychological functionings. So, while it is true that multicultural views have penetrated in some cases the school agendas, many communities keep reinforcing assimilationist and selective approaches, which endanger the accessibility and equal opportunity of large segments of students. As several specialists have pointed out, even in those institutions which have embraced curricular revisions, transformations in teaching styles or more appreciative attitudes toward other cultures, there is a high likeliness of finding what Ramón Flecha describes as «a systematic dynamics to hegemonize our main educational resources, thus radically restricting the possibility of different worldviews» (64). My observations below hope to show that, in fact, the US readers I am discussing here can easily become double-edged tools which both advance some desirable changes in the perception of the «cultural Other» and radically restrict the kind of life choices and identities that children may wish for themselves.

Brian Street (2001) has cautioned us that today there is a close relationship between literacy and nationalism, as the dominant and standard model of literacy is seen to serve the interests of state politics. From his perspective, although research offering ethnographic detail to describe the «original ways in which people transform literacy to their own cultural concerns and interests» (430) is valuable, we should never forget that literacy practices are inextricably tied to cultural and power structures in society. As a result of this, there is an urgent need to investigate how literacy education is related to the institutions and ideologies of communication in the contemporary world. Failing to study how dominant values and discourses find their way into all kinds of educational practices would be an unpardonable negligence, since it is in this terrain where we are most likely to find some of the ethnocentric stereotypes of other cultures and attitudes which directly derive from such key notions in the past as the «great divide» between the civilized and primitive societies. Giroux has correctly noted that these discourses have created borders in the Western culture around the axes of power and difference: «These are not only physical borders, but cultural borders historically constructed and socially organized within the maps of rules and regulations that either limit or enable particular identities, individual capacities, and social forms» (136). Therefore, there are whole sets of ideals and standards of success —inadvertently encoded in textbooks and teaching practices— which will very much regulate and define the kind of thoughts and behaviors privileged by the mainstream society.

The Mcgraw-Hill textbooks are, of course, no exception to the influence of the system of values that most North Americans go by in

order to make sense of their lives and those of other people.[13] Consequently, behind the surface tolerance, diversity, and inclusiveness, it is not difficult to unearth instances of a conspicuously monolithic and monocultural value system, which undergirds most of the practices and goals portrayed in the narratives. Even in the pieces in which characters and styles of life clearly belong to other traditions, we are still likely to come across ways of seeing and expectations that manifestly derive from the majority-group value system: individual achievement, competitiveness, time-emphasis, scientific methods, etc. Thus, in «The Roundup at Rio Ranch» (2nd Grade) or «Gluskabe and the Snow Bird» (4th Grade), two young boys of Hispanic and Native American descent, respectively, are faced with some major trials which will mark their transition towards a more mature selfhood. Although the first piece is highly realistic and the second is an adaptation of a Native folk tale, both of them are characterized by the kind of journey-of-initiation structure so habitual in the Western canon. While it is a fact that both narratives include interesting information about the customs and lifestyles of the two communities, it would be harder to decide whether, actually, Antonio and Gluskabe's actions respond to the beliefs upheld by their communities. The fact that both characters seem to be more concerned with individual success and material consequences suggests that they may well have been refashioned into what Macedo calls «a veiled cultural information-banking model based on a selection of Western cultural features…» (117). Anybody minimally familiar with these minority cultures will feel a bit disconcerted by the absence of any communal goals or the limited presence of spiritual aspirations. But, again, one should also consider to what extent these alternative values are compatible with those fostered by the dominant culture. In her classic study of counseling across cultural boundaries, Sue (1981) showed how difficult it is for educators and counselors to overcome their value biases, especially when there are still curricular materials which keep reinforcing them. In this sense, multicultural and transformative teachers have the heavy responsibility of calling for engagements with the questions and problematics engendered by those materials and fighting the profound biases they themselves are likely to suffer from.

But even more pernicious than the frequently unconscious imposition of the majority-group value system are the cases in which

[13] The collection of essays *The American Cultural Dialogue and its Transmission* (London: Falmer Press, 1990), edited by G. Spindler and L. Spindler, offers several priceless discussions of this value system.

specific images and representations are used by instructors to indoctrinate certain ideological viewpoints. Interestingly, this kind of brainwashing seems less likely to occur in the BC education system because the textbooks include stories whose characters —often animals or rather unusual people— and events are substantially estranged from the children's daily experiences. Even the Santillana 6th-grade reader mostly encompasses different types of tales —scary, popular, fantastic, magical, etc.— which can hardly be said to straitjacket individuals in particular roles or create any expectations about the characters according to their class, gender or ethnic differences. If it is true that these more imaginative narratives preclude the study of significant contemporary socio-cultural issues, it is also clear that only an extremely manipulative teacher would find ways of using these materials for the propagation of prejudices and negative stereotypes. Although, as Trueba points out, teachers always act as cultural brokers and, as a result, «may perpetuate or change the existing social order [...] through the process of cultural transmission» (1), it is always much more difficult to make students see reality through a particular ideological and ethical prism when the materials at hand do not precondition their views. On the other hand, the US reading textbooks contain representations that may easily turn into degrading messages sent to culturally diverse children to inform them of their restricted opportunities in the larger social system. For example, pieces like «Teammates» (4th Grade) and «Opera, Karate, and Bandits» (6th Grade) may conveniently contribute to consolidating the notions that African-Americans are especially gifted to excel in sports and Asian Americans are invariably proficient in martial arts, respectively. Of course, if wisely treated by the teacher, these generalizations may be completely harmless to the self-image and identity processes of black and Asian students. However, if stereotypes of this kind fall into the hands of incompetent instructors who simply transmit old social forms, they may turn into the most effective means to keep minority children in the marginal and segregated positions they have historically occupied. To prevent this from happening, argues Korn, «schools [and instructors] are called to identify and to make explicit the underlying assumptions and expectations of the dominant culture and to examine how these are negotiated within the culture of the particular school» (6). Only a thorough and constant examination of this kind will be able to warranty that the stereotyped and caricatured images of certain racial/ethnic groups still prevalent in our society are not going to be passed down to the younger generations.

Finally, as I already mentioned above, attempting to project an ameliorated or romanticized image of the «cultural Other» may prove as harmful in the long run as presenting it in the often debasing roles of the past. Friedman (2001) and others have maintained that minority children gain pride in their ethnic identity when their parents and teachers celebrate holidays such as Martin L. King's birthday or the Chinese New Year, or when they actively participate in supporting ethnic organizations. Certainly, all these activities fulfil the important purpose of building bridges between the cultures children are taught in school and at home. Furthermore, there is ample evidence that culturally diverse students show a greater degree of involvement when they are given literacy assignments related to aspects of their cultural heritage and current problems. Still, despite these positive contributions to the cultural construction of an identity and the smoother integration into the mainstream society, there are also some dangers in putting too much emphasis on the achievements and unique virtues of any particular human community. As Bursztyn has explained, «uncritical celebration of culturally diverse practices and traditions [...] creates blind spots regarding the protection of individual rights, since different cultures have variable operational definitions of personal freedom» (193). Indeed, while a majority of minority children relish a deeper knowledge of their culture and mother tongue, there are always others who feel little identification with the historical sufferings or ancient traditions of their people. For the latter, bringing into the classroom celebrations of figures or rituals connected with their heritage may seem not just irrelevant but even detrimental to their education in the ways of the larger society. The 4th-grade McGraw-Hill reader contains, for instance, pieces of historical fiction («Baseball Saved Us» or «A Place Called Freedom») which remind particular communities of some of the most painful chapters in their collective history. Now, learning how Japanese-Americans spent their time in reclusion camps during World War II or how a group of freed slaves created an all-black town in the American South before the Civil War may provide students with alternative versions of the history of the nation. Nevertheless, if instructors employ these materials to become excessively contentious and opinionated, their original purposes will be easily betrayed. Anthony Appiah (1992), in his insightful study of the African presence in Western philosophy, has observed that the representations of minority cultures will only be positive if a balanced is established between these peoples' collective historical scripts and the personal aspirations of their newest members. Multicultural instructors, therefore, should be aware that culturally diverse students often

undergo complex processes of personal construction of identity which are influenced not just by their particular ethnic background but by many other forces that have absolutely nothing to do with it. Giving too much importance to the grievances and achievements of a human group may, in this sense, prove counterproductive if it becomes an exclusionary practice.

## 4. **Conclusions**

This study has tried to show that the comparison of the reading materials employed in Primary Schools in two countries with very different immigration histories may offer an important initial step in the transformation of school curricula and teaching methods. Although everybody would agree that literacy acquisition among children of diverse cultural backgrounds should be one of the primary aims of any multicultural society, it is also evident that specialists often differ with regard to the means that should be used to attain this aim. My analysis has shown that, although the Basque Department of Education has been intent on «a) including multicultural contents; b) using culturally diverse teaching techniques; c) representing other cultures in the classroom; d) giving access to multicultural resources; [...]» («Programa» 6), the reading textbooks used in BC schools are far from accomplishing these goals. As I have argued, the fact that there is an obsession with traditional ways of assessing reading and writing, and the limited communication between teachers of different subjects are hindrances which will need to be overcome if we want to see some decisive changes in the near future. In this sense, a consideration of the type of reading materials and collaborative activities put forth in the US textbooks is likely to provide some ideas about the possible deficits of our teaching resources and the education system as a whole. My contribution has shown that due to the cultural variety of the texts represented, the interdisciplinary nature of some of the teaching, and the more instrumental character given to literacy instruction, teachers in the BC would do well to borrow some ideas from those American textbooks. On the other hand, the second half of my article has concentrated on some of the shortcomings and questionable components that can also be found in those same books. Here, it has become evident that, depending on the values and the training of the instructor, the McGraw-Hill readers can become an invaluable intercultural asset or a very dangerous tool, which can be used to perpetuate certain prejudices and stereotypes. All things considered, it

could be said that this comparison throws significant light on the kind of changes that are desirable and urgent in the reading curricula of Primary School and those others that should never be permitted to take place.

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# 9.

# Immigration and labour market in the Basque Autonomous Community. Entrepreneurship: Route to integration in the host society?

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## Introduction

Immigration is a phenomenon that is acquiring ever greater relevance in the international arena. The European countries are finding it difficult to take in individuals coming from less economically advanced countries. Consequently, the *integration* of immigrants constitutes one of the principal challenges facing the countries of the European Union and, therefore, Spain and the Basque Autonomous Community (henceforth, BAC).

One of principal routes towards the social participation of immigrants is their participation in the labour market. During the last decade the percentage of foreign workers in Spain has increased considerably. The presence of immigrant workers is evident in those sectors characterized by precarious labour conditions, that is to say, services, construction and agriculture. One of the alternatives to

unemployment and to the aforementioned labour conditions in which many immigrants work is self-employment.

The creation of companies by immigrant entrepreneurs or *ethnic entrepreneurship* has been a topic widely studied both in the United States and in Europe, but not in Spain (probably due to the fact that this is a recent phenomenon and that the beginning of business activity is a process that it takes time to learn). Nevertheless, unlike others who have studied this topic, we do not understand the company created by immigrant entrepreneurs as a particular type of company different from others; although we do observe some limitations and advantages that characterize the immigrant entrepreneur by virtue of undertaking a business activity in a country to which he or she is foreign, coming from a culture different from the majority culture of the host country and the experience acquired as a result of having lived in different countries. Consequently, we will approach the topic from an economic and social point of view using the terms *immigration* and *entrepreneurship* instead of *ethnic entrepreneurship*.

In the present chapter the creation of companies is proposed as a possible route to integration of immigrants in the host society. To this end, we will start with a diagnosis of the labour situation for foreign workers in Spain and, specifically, in the BAC. Later we will present the factors that can influence the success of such companies and their possible relation with the social participation of the immigrants. Finally, we will present the most relevant conclusions of our analysis and proposals for future research work.

## 1. **Immigration and the Labour Market in the BAC**

### 1.1. *Immigration in Spain*

The presence of immigrants in European cities is becoming increasingly obvious. In spite of the fact that the number of immigrants as a percentage of the whole population in Spain and, specifically, in the Basque Autonomous Community (4,1 % and 1,4 % respectively)[1] is not as high as in other European countries such as Germany, France or the United Kingdom, in recent years this percentage has been growing rapidly (see table 1).

[1] It is a question of percentages relating to the year 2003, to which it would be necessary to add 30% of illegal immigrants on the whole of foreigners calculated by the Permanent Observatory of the Immigration in September, 2004. (Still the estimations are not known on the number of irregular immigrants after the process of normalization).

**Table 1**

Immigrant population of the EU according to origin (%)

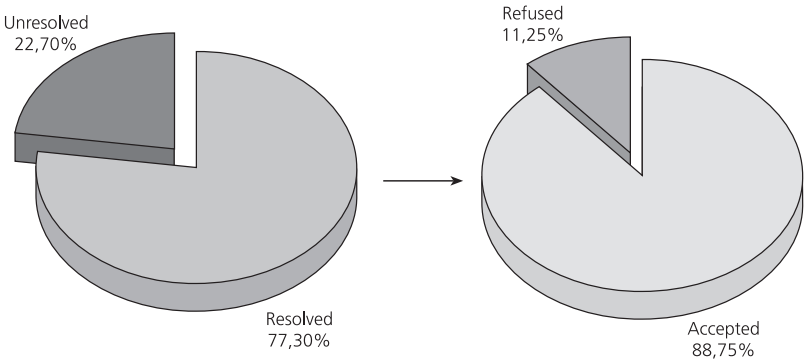
| | EU | Non-EU | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Belgium | 5.3 | 2.9 | 8.2 |
| Germany | 2.2 | 6.5 | 8.7 |
| *Spain* | *1.5* | *2.6* | *4.1* |
| France | 2.0 | 3.8 | 5.8 |
| Luxembourg | 32.5 | 5.2 | 37.7 |
| Austria | 1.4 | 7.5 | 8.9 |
| Sweden | 1.6 | 3.3 | 4.9 |
| United Kingdom | 1.6 | 3.0 | 4.6 |
| *BAC* | *0.7* | *0.7* | *1.4* |
| Araba | 0.9 | 1.9 | 2.8 |
| Bizkaia | 0.6 | 0.4 | 1.0 |
| Gipuzkoa | 0.7 | 0.6 | 1.3 |

*Source:* Prepared by the authors from information of the Permanent Observatory of Immigration (2004).

After the process of regularization of illegal immigrants that took place in Spain between February and May, 2005, the Department of Work and Social Affairs indicates that, of all 690,679 requests received and 77.30 % resolved in the aforementioned period, as of 26 July 473,832 authorizations had been granted, i.e., 88.75 % of the total of the applications processed. 22.70 % of the remainder are still unresolved (see graph 1). Madrid and Catalonia are the communities where the

**Graph 1**

State of processing of applications




*Source:* Prepared by the authors from information of the Department of Work and Social Affairs (2005).

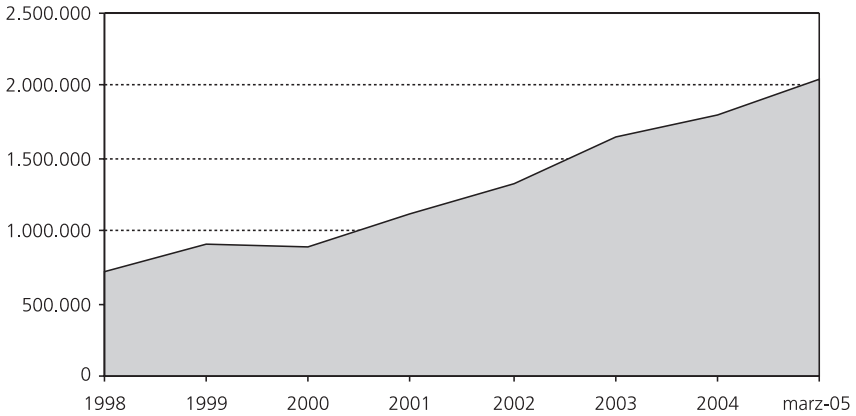
greatest number of applications have been made (170,784 and 138,537 respectively).

In the case of the BAC the number of requests is 13,171 distributed as follows: 8,138 in Bizkaia, 3,341 in Gipuzkoa and 1,692 in Araba. Of all 13,171 requests presented, as of 26 July 9,185 had been accepted. As regards the nationality of the foreigners registered for social security as a result of the aforementioned process, natives of Ecuador (88,402), Romania (61,211), Morocco (40,910) and Colombia (35,235) constitute almost two thirds of the total. By age, foreigners between 25 and 39 years constitute more of the half of the total registered for social security (59.92 %), a very significant fact pointing to the principally economic character of the current migratory process; immigrants from 40 to 65 and from 16 to 24 years comprise a further 20.95 % and 19.50 %, respectively. Of the registrations for Social Security as a result of the process of normalization, the distribution by sectors was as follows: Home: 33.98 %, General Construction: 19.10 %, Agriculture: 14.21 %; Hotel & Catering: 10.40 %.

Immigration is a social phenomenon that invariably continues to rise in the European continent. Graph 2 shows the rapid increase of the foreign population in Spain during the last seven years, where it has grown almost by a factor of three from 719,647 foreigners in 1998. The number of immigrants with a residence card or permit registered in March 2005 in Spain was 2,054,453, which implies a

**Graph 2**

Development of the immigrant population in the Spanish State




*Source:* Prepared by the authors from information of the Permanent Observatory of Immigration (2004) and the Department of Work and Social Affairs (2005).

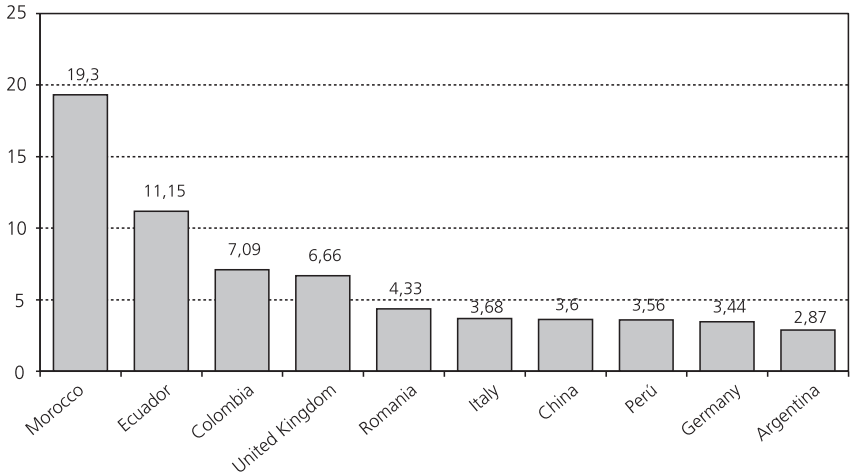
growth of 17.94 % in a year with respect to March 2004 (Department of Work and Social Affairs, 2005). Unlike previous periods of immigration, the current phenomenon is protagonized by individuals who, in the main, have higher educational standards and who come to our countries in search of opportunities that their countries of origin can not offer them.

As regards the origin of the immigrant population in Spain, in March 2005 Latin-American immigrants were the most extensive group with a percentage of 32.93 % of the foreign population as a whole, closely followed by EU immigrants (25.49 %), Africans (24.90 %), non-EU Europeans (8.66 %), Asians (7.13 %), North Americans (0.83 %) and natives of Oceania (0.06 %) who were the least numerous group (Secretariat of State of Immigration and Emigration, 2005).

By nationality, the majority groups were Moroccans (with 396,668 persons), Ecuadorians (229,050), Colombians (145,656) and British (136,766); followed by Rumanians (with 88,940 persons), Italians (75,636), Chinese (73,936), Peruvians (73,145), Germans (70,774) and Argentineans (59,008). The highest percentage increases from December 2004 to March 2005 were among the Poles (15.37 %), Bolivians (8.13 %), Rumanians (6.68 %), British (6.61), Uruguayans (6.58 %), Colombians (6.03 %) and Argentineans (5.01) (see graph 3) (Secretariat of State of Immigration and Emigration, 2005).

**Graph 3**

Foreigners with residence card or permit in force by nationality (%)




*Source:* Prepared by the authors from information of the Department of Work and Social Affairs (2005).

By autonomous community of residence, Catalonia, Madrid, Andalucia, Valencia and the Canary Islands receive 73.36 % of foreigners with residence permits; data that are not surprising if we take into account that Madrid and Barcelona are the two principal cities of the State, that the type of labour required in the aforementioned communities is not specialized and that the most accessible zones by geographical proximity for African immigrants are Andalucia, Valencia or the Canaries.

With respect to gender, in Table 2 it can be seen that 54 % of foreigners with authorization of residence in effect in March 2005 were males and 46 % females. By sex and continent, among Latin Americans the majority were women —Brazilian women stand out, constituting 70.46 % of all Brazilian immigrants— whereas among immigrants from other areas men constitute the majority, especially among natives of Pakistan (85.61 %) and Senegal (79.43 %).

**Table 2**

Foreigners with residence card or permit in force by autonomous community by sex, age group and average age (2005)

| | | Sex (%) | | Age group (years) | | | | Avg, age |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | F | M | 0-15 | 16-64 | > 64 | N/A | |
| Andalucia | 240,475 | 46.54 | 53.46 | 26,418 | 190,500 | 23,508 | 49 | 38 |
| Aragon | 57,865 | 41.02 | 58.98 | 9,001 | 48,069 | 794 | 1 | 30 |
| Asturias | 17,422 | 52.67 | 47.33 | 1,756 | 14,855 | 809 | 2 | 35 |
| Balearics | 95,565 | 48.18 | 51.82 | 11,718 | 76,980 | 6,867 | | 36 |
| Canaries | 131,566 | 48.64 | 51.36 | 12,772 | 107,484 | 11,295 | 15 | 38 |
| Cantabria | 14,540 | 49.84 | 50.16 | 1,405 | 12,684 | 451 | — | 33 |
| Castilla-La Mancha | 54,455 | 43.90 | 56.10 | 9,194 | 44,538 | 720 | 3 | 30 |
| Castilla and León | 59,824 | 48.20 | 51.80 | 8,573 | 49,988 | 1,254 | 9 | 32 |
| Catalonia | 470,991 | 43.58 | 56.42 | 78,047 | 379,057 | 13,853 | 34 | 31 |
| Valencia | 237,679 | 46.20 | 53.80 | 27,117 | 177,451 | 33,106 | 5 | 40 |
| Extremadura | 19,643 | 42.20 | 57.80 | 3,734 | 15,117 | 791 | 1 | 32 |
| Galicia | 45,224 | 51.21 | 48.79 | 4,727 | 37,895 | 2,600 | 2 | 36 |
| Madrid | 424,045 | 48.76 | 51.24 | 58,441 | 355,699 | 9,846 | 59 | 32 |
| Murcia | 94,216 | 37.54 | 62.46 | 14,644 | 76,660 | 2,908 | 4 | 31 |
| Navarre | 25,783 | 44.73 | 55.27 | 4,339 | 21,110 | 332 | 2 | 30 |
| Basque Country | 39,309 | 46.62 | 53.38 | 4,698 | 33,365 | 1,241 | 5 | 33 |
| La Rioja | 16,226 | 41.31 | 58.69 | 3,128 | 12,899 | 199 | — | 29 |
| Ceuta | 2,430 | 51.67 | 48.33 | 227 | 2,079 | 124 | — | 36 |
| Melilla | 4,052 | 55.96 | 44.04 | 730 | 3,131 | 191 | — | 32 |
| N/A | 3,143 | 48.52 | 51.48 | 87 | 2,442 | 614 | — | 45 |
| Total | 2,054,453 | 46.00 | 54.00 | 280,756 | 1,662,003 | 111,503 | 191 | 34 |

*Source:* Prepared by the authors from information of the Department of Work and Social Affairs (2005).

By age group, foreigners between 16 and 64 stand out, constituting 80.90 % of the total. Young people from 0 to 15 constitute 13.67 % and, finally, those over 64 constitute 5.43 %. The average age for both women and men was 34. The fact that immigrants of working age predominate once again confirms that immigrants leave their countries of origin in search of new and better working opportunities.

The number of immigrants registered with Social Security as a percentage of all persons registered on 31 December 2003 was 5.92 %. Of these, 34.42 % are South Americans, 22.35 % from the Economic European Area (henceforth, EEA), 11.48 % from the rest of the European countries, 24.3 % from Africa, 6.82 % from Asia, 0.56 % from North America and 0.06 % from Oceania. 69.57 % of all registered foreign workers were in the general sector, 10.47 % were self-employed, and the remainder were in the sectors of agriculture (12.25 %), domestic service (7.37 %), maritime workers (0.28 %) and mining (0.07 %).

Of the 14,668,063 contracts registered in 2003 in Spain, 1,539,547, that is to say, 10.50 % of the total, corresponded to foreign workers. 81.46 % of the contracts for foreigners were for immigrant workers between 25 and 54 years old, the majority (68.68 %) males. Latin Americans were the immigrant group who received most contracts (36.26 % of all immigrants contracted), followed by Africans (32.22 %), immigrants from the EEA (14.49 %), from other European countries (11.26 %) and, finally, Asians (5.23 %) (Permanent Observatory of Immigration, 2004).

As for the educational level of the contracts registered to immigrants in 2003, the majority had secondary education (75.84 % of all immigrants contracted), 14.83 % had not finished primary education, 6.62 % were illiterate, 2.04 % had university studies and the remaining 0.67 % were professionals with higher qualifications.

By activity, more of the half the immigrants contracted were in the services sector (54.12 %), followed by construction (20.76 %), agriculture (18.37 %) and industry (6.75). 90.8 % of the contracts registered in 2003 were temporary and 9.2 % permanent (Permanent Observatory of Immigration, 2004).

With regard to the number of foreigners seeking employment, there were 141,251 on 31 December 2003, that is, 4.45 % of all job-seekers. The average age of foreign job-seekers was 36; they were seeking employment in the services sector (53.88 % of the total of foreign job-seekers), construction (15.55 %), industry (7.41 %) and agriculture and fishing (6.72 %). 81.2 % had finished secondary education, 14.32 % not finished primary education, 2.95 % had a university degree, 0.8 % were

illiterate and 0.73 % were professionals with higher qualifications. Finally, the origin of foreign job-seekers coincides with that of foreigners with contracts. Latin Americans (34.77 % on all foreign job-seekers) and Africans (33.36 %) were the largest groups, followed by those from the EEA (20.55 %), other European countries (8.02 %) and Asians (2.66 %).

### 1.2. *Immigration and Labour Market in the BAC*

Due to the economic crisis suffered by the Basque Country at the start of the 1990s and the structural characteristics of its economy —where the industrial sector predominates— the migratory balance was negative until 1999. Nevertheless, as Table 3 shows, during the last seven years the number of immigrants has increased notably, from 16,995 in 1998 to 39,309 in 2005.

Bizkaia (with 50.20 %) remains the province that receives the majority of immigrants, followed by Araba (27.57 %) and Gipuzkoa (22.23 %), an understandable phenomenon if we consider that the Metropolitan area of Bilbao, contains almost half the population of the whole autonomous community. Nevertheless, in December 2003, Araba was the province with the highest proportion of foreigners, 2.73 % of the population, twice that of Bizkaia (1.24 %) and Gipuzkoa (0.98 %) (Permanent Observatory of Immigration, 2004).

**Table 3**

Foreigners' evolution with residence card or permit in the BAC

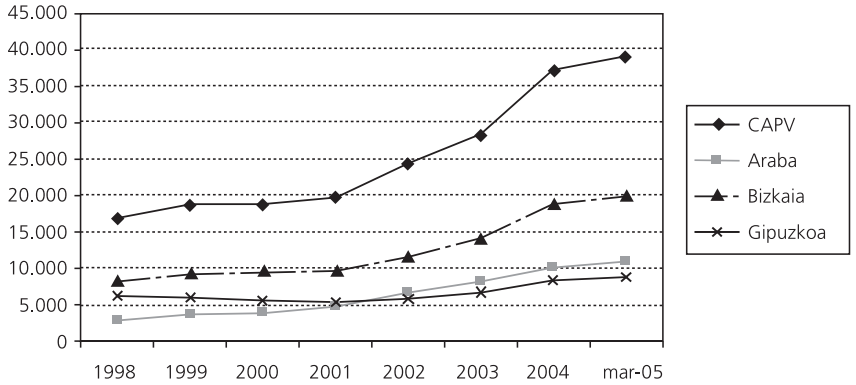
| | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | Mar 05 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| BAC | 16,995 | 18,622 | 18,822 | 19,515 | 24,201 | 28,600 | 37,150 | 39,309 |
| Araba | 2,747 | 3,471 | 3,886 | 4,630 | 6,630 | 7,978 | 10,063 | 10,841 |
| Bizkaia | 8,105 | 9,110 | 9,288 | 9,493 | 11,679 | 13,972 | 18,810 | 19,728 |
| Gipuzkoa | 6,143 | 6,041 | 5,648 | 5,392 | 5,892 | 6,650 | 8,277 | 8,740 |

*Source:* Prepared by the authors from information of the Permanent Observatory of Immigration (2004) and the Department of Work and Social Affairs (2005).

Graph 4 shows the notable increase that has taken place in Araba, where the immigrant population increased by a factor of four between 1998 and 2005. Bizkaia experienced an increase of 143 %, while in Gipuzkoa, the number of foreigners increased by 42 %. The spectacular increase of the foreign population of Araba may be due to the importance of the agricultural sector of the province, where there

**Graph 4**

Development of the number of foreigners with residence permit in the BAC




*Source:* Prepared by the authors from information of the Permanent Observatory of Immigration (2004) and the Department of Work and Social Affairs (2005).

is demand for low-paid, unqualified labour. (We will see that in Araba, in December 2003, the agricultural sector comprised 22 % of the immigrants registered with Social Security, twice the average for the BAC).

As regards the origin of the immigrant population in the BAC, table 4 shows the clear predominance of the Latin American group, which an even higher percentage than the state average. In second place, similar to the Spanish average, is occupied by European Union natives, followed by Africans, Asians, non-EU Europeans, North Americans and immigrants from Oceania. This order differs from the state average in that in Spain non-EU European immigrants are in

**Table 4**

Foreigners with residence card or permit in force by continent. By provinces (horizontal %s)

| | EU | Rest of Europe | Africa | Latin America | North America | Asia | Oceania | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Spain | 25.49 | 8.66 | 24.9 | 32.93 | 0.83 | 7.13 | 0.06 | 100 |
| *BAC* | *24.05* | *5.49* | *20.63* | *41.55* | *1.37* | *6.66* | *0.19* | *100* |
| Araba | 16.39 | 6.64 | 29.91 | 40.65 | 0.58 | 5.74 | 0.04 | 100 |
| Bizkaia | 24.77 | 4.22 | 17.03 | 43.67 | 1.76 | 8.24 | 0.25 | 100 |
| Gipuzkoa | 31.91 | 6.94 | 17.24 | 37.88 | 1.45 | 4.28 | 0.25 | 100 |

Source: Prepared by the authors from information of the Department of Work and Social Affairs (2005).

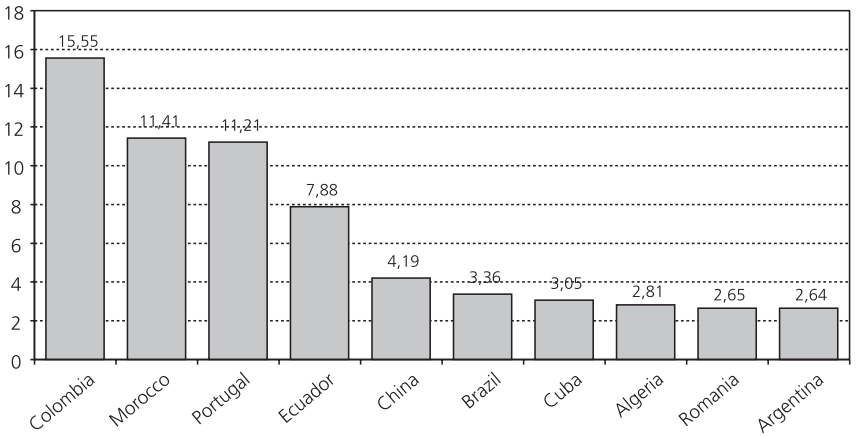
fourth place, ahead of Asians. As regards to origin by provinces, Latin Americans are first in all three Historical Territories, though in Gipuzkoa the difference with respect to EU citizens is not as notable as in the cases of Araba and Bizkaia. Africans are the second biggest group in Araba, and in third place in Gipuzkoa and Bizkaia. Non-EU Europeans are in fourth place in Araba and Gipuzkoa and Asians in Bizkaia.

By nationality, the majority groups come from Colombia (with 6,114 persons), Morocco (4,487), Portugal (4,408), Ecuador (3,099), China (1,649), Brazil (1,322), Cuba (1,200), Algeria (1,104), Romania (1,044) and Argentina (1,037) (see graph 5). The most significant differences with respect to the nationality of immigrants at state level are as follows: Moroccans comprise the largest group in Spain as a whole, while Colombians are the biggest group in the BAC, with twice the state-wide percentage; Portuguese, who are not in the top ten in Spain as a whole, are in third place in the BAC; in percentage terms, there are twice as many Ecuadorians in Spain as there are in the BAC; Brazilians, Cubans and Algerians are among the top ten groups in the BAC but not state-wide; while British, Italians, Peruvians and Germans are among the top ten groups at State level but not in the BAC. Colombians, Moroccans and Ecuadorians are in the top four groups in both cases.

As for the gender of the immigrants in the BAC, the percentages presented by Department of Work and Social Affairs on 31 March 2005

**Graph 5**

Foreigners with residence card or permit in force by nationality (%)




*Source:* Prepared by the authors from information of the Department of Work and Social Affairs (2005).

were similar to the state average: women constituted 46.62 % of the total and men the other 53.38 %. By age groups, the majority of foreigners were of working age (84.88 % compared to 80.9 % state-wide), 11.95 % (compared to 13.66 % state-wide) young people up to 15 and 3.16 % (compared to 5.43 % state-wide) over-64s.

The number of foreigners registered with Social Security as a percentage of the total registered in January 2004 was 2.39 %. This percentage varies greatly depending on province: Araba, with immigrants comprising 4.39 % of the total number of persons registered, was twice as high as Gipuzkoa (2.13 %) and Bizkaia (1.91 %), which, in spite of receiving the majority of the immigrants to the BAC, had the lowest index (Permanent Observatory of Immigration, 2004).

With regard to regions of origin, it must be noted that, unlike the Spanish State, where Latin Americans were in first place as regards number of members, in the BAC 37 % (compared to 22.35 % state-wide) of all registered foreigners came from the EEA (the Portuguese stand out with more of the half the individuals registered); 31.9 % (compared to 34.42 % state-wide) were from the south and central America, 18.18 % (6 points less than state-wide) were of African origin, 5.88 % (almost the half of the state percentage) were from the rest of Europe, 6.62 % were Asian and the remaining 1.09 % were from North America and Oceania. In registrations by province, almost the half the Latin Americans (48.59 %) and more of the half the Asians (54.09 %) registered in the BAC did so in Bizkaia; in Araba, Africans stood out (37.26 %) and in Gipuzkoa, EEA natives (35.14 %) (Permanent Observatory of Immigration, 2004). 66.93 % of all registered foreign workers were in the general sector (2.64 points below the state average), 11.44 % were self-employed (in comparison with 12.41 % state-wide), and the rest were in the sectors of agriculture (11 % in the BAC compared to 11.97 % state-wide), domestic service (9.32 % compared with 11.27 % state-wide) and maritime workers (1.30 % compared to 0.28 % state-wide). By provinces, in Gipuzkoa self-employed workers stand out with 4.69 points over the BAC average, Araba has twice the BAC average in the agriculture sector and Bizkaia stands out in domestic service (4.75 points over the BAC average) and maritime workers (1.03 points over the BAC average).

The percentage of immigrants contracted is increased year after year. Of 742,386 contracts registered in 2003 in the BAC, 36,038, that is to say, 4.85 % of the total number of *contracts*, corresponded to foreign workers, while the percentage of foreigners among *individuals contracted* during the same year was 6.38 %. In the same year,

81.06 % of contracts to immigrants went to those between 25 and 54 years of age, and the majority (72.54 %) were male. The origin of the immigrants most often contracted to December 2003 in the BAC differs from the state-wide pattern: foreigners from the EEA constituted 25.49 % of the total of foreigners contracted in the BAC, whereas the state average was 14.49 %; while non-EEA Europeans comprised 5.32 % in the BAC, less of the half of the state average. In both cases, Latin Americans were in first place with 33.65 % of foreign contracts in the BAC, followed by Africans (30.38 % in the BAC) and Asians were in fifth place with 4.37 % of all contracts to foreigners in the BAC. (Permanent Observatory of Immigration, 2003).

Nevertheless, Table 6 shows a change in this trend inasmuch as immigrants from the EEA were the most contracted in the BAC during 2003, followed by Latin Americans and Africans from the Maghreb and the sub-Saharan region. As for gender, men proceeding from EU, followed by those from central and south America and from north Africa, were the most contracted during 2003; whereas, in case of women, those from the central and south America were in first place and the EU in second place (Basque Observatory of the Labour Market-LANBIDE, 2004). Finally, the majority of contracts in Araba were to African workers, in Bizkaia the majority were to Latin Americans and in Gipuzkoa the majority were to foreigners from the EEA.

The educational level of immigrants who come to Europe in search of work opportunities is increasing. The education of the persons contracted in the BAC up to December 2003 was over the state average: 83.42 % had taken secondary education (compared to 75.84 % state-wide), 7.95 % had not finished primary studies (below the 14.83 % state-wide), 3.64 % were illiterate (almost the half the 6.62 % state-wide), 3.30 % had university studies (compared to 2.04 % state-wide) and 1.69 % were qualified professionals (in comparison with 0.67 % state-wide). By economic sector, the percentage of immigrants contracted as of December 2003 in the BAC both in the services sector (where 57.39 % of all contracts to foreigners were registered) and in construction (25.27 %) were very similar to state-wide figures; nevertheless, the contracts registered state-wide in the agricultural sector were twice those in the BAC (7.3 %) and those registered in the industrial sector in the BAC were 3.33 points over the state level.

Nevertheless, in Table 7 a new change can be seen in the trend of contracts in the BAC, since almost a third of the contracts during 2003 were in the construction sector, 15.9 % by temporary employment agencies (ETTs), 11.8 % were in the hotel and catering sector and 10.4 % in manufacturing industry. Among those contracted in agriculture and

**Table 6**

Immigrants contracted in the BAC. by sex, age and region of origin (2003)

| | Men | | | | Women | | | | Total | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | <24 | 25-44 | >45 | Total | <24 | 25-44 | >45 | Total | <24 | 25-44 | >45 | Total |
| Unspecified | 0 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 5 | 2 | 7 |
| Stateless | 4 | 29 | 4 | 37 | 5 | 14 | 2 | 21 | 9 | 43 | 6 | 58 |
| Europe 15 | 1,003 | 2,809 | 691 | 4,503 | 302 | 664 | 120 | 1,086 | 1,305 | 3,473 | 811 | 5,589 |
| Oceania | 3 | 22 | 0 | 24 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 23 | 0 | 25 |
| Rest Europa | 107 | 524 | 104 | 735 | 30 | 150 | 17 | 197 | 137 | 674 | 121 | 932 |
| China | 101 | 260 | 27 | 388 | 46 | 73 | 8 | 127 | 147 | 333 | 35 | 515 |
| Japan | 2 | 5 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 5 | 0 | 7 |
| Rest Asia | 63 | 439 | 49 | 551 | 7 | 43 | 16 | 66 | 70 | 482 | 65 | 617 |
| Subsaharian Africa | 181 | 943 | 78 | 1,202 | 29 | 122 | 8 | 159 | 110 | 1,065 | 86 | 1,361 |
| North Africa | 449 | 2,139 | 174 | 2,762 | 66 | 128 | 11 | 205 | 515 | 2,267 | 185 | 2,967 |
| North America | 3 | 26 | 6 | 35 | 3 | 29 | 8 | 40 | 6 | 55 | 14 | 75 |
| Central/south America | 530 | 3,148 | 321 | 2,999 | 392 | 1,735 | 237 | 2,364 | 922 | 3,883 | 558 | 5,363 |
| All foreign | 2,445 | 9,347 | 1,456 | 13,248 | 880 | 2,961 | 427 | 4,268 | 3,325 | 12,308 | 1,883 | 17,516 |
| Native | 46,314 | 346,135 | 20,840 | 149,886 | 38,036 | 73,404 | 13,377 | 124,817 | 68,100 | 156,136 | 34,217 | 274,703 |
| *% verticales* | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Stateless | 0.16 | 0.31 | 0.16 | 0.27 | 0.56 | 0.47 | 0.46 | 0.49 | 0.27 | 0.34 | 0.31 | 0.03 |
| Europe 15 | 41.02 | 30.05 | 47.45 | 33.99 | 34.31 | 22.42 | 28.10 | 25.44 | 39.24 | 28.21 | 43.06 | 0.33 |
| Oceania | 0.12 | 0.23 | 0.00 | 0.18 | 0.00 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 0.02 | 0.06 | 0.99 | 0.00 | 31.90 |
| Rest Europa | 4.37 | 5.60 | 7.14 | 5.54 | 3.40 | 5.06 | 3.98 | 4.61 | 4.12 | 5.47 | 6.42 | 0.14 |
| China | 4.13 | 2.78 | 1.85 | 2.92 | 5.22 | 2.46 | 1.87 | 2.97 | 4.42 | 2.70 | 1.85 | 5.32 |
| Japan | 0.08 | 0.05 | 0.00 | 0.05 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.06 | 0.04 | 0.00 | 0.03 |
| Rest Asia | 2.57 | 4.69 | 3.36 | 4.15 | 0.79 | 1.45 | 3.74 | 1.54 | 2.10 | 3.91 | 3.45 | 3.52 |
| Subsaharian Africa | 7.40 | 10.08 | 5.35 | 9.07 | 3.29 | 4.12 | 1.87 | 3.72 | 3.30 | 8.65 | 4.56 | 7.77 |
| North Africa | 18.36 | 22.88 | 11.95 | 20.84 | 7.50 | 4.32 | 2.57 | 4.80 | 15.48 | 0.89 | 9.82 | 16.93 |
| North America | 0.12 | 0.27 | 0.41 | 0.26 | 0.34 | 0.97 | 1.87 | 0.93 | 0.17 | 4.18 | 0.74 | 0.42 |
| Central/south America | 21.67 | 33.67 | 22.04 | 22.63 | 44.54 | 58.59 | 55.50 | 55.38 | 27.72 | 0.04 | 29.63 | 30.61 |
| All foreign | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |

***Table 6***

*Immigrants contracted in the BAC. by sex, age and region of origin (2003)*

| | Men | | | | Women | | | | Total | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | <24 | 25-44 | >45 | Total | <24 | 25-44 | >45 | Total | <24 | 25-44 | >45 | Total |
| % horizontales | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Stateless | 10.8 | 78.3 | 10.8 | 100 | 23.8 | 66.6 | 9.5 | 100 | 15.5 | 74.1 | 10.3 | 100 |
| Europe 15 | 22.3 | 62.4 | 15.3 | 100 | 27.8 | 61.1 | 11.0 | 100 | 23.3 | 62.1 | 14.5 | 100 |
| Oceania | 8.3 | 91.7 | 0.0 | 100 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100 | 8.0 | 92.0 | 0.0 | 100 |
| Rest Europa | 14.6 | 71.2 | 14.1 | 100 | 15.2 | 76.1 | 8.6 | 100 | 14.7 | 72.3 | 13.0 | 100 |
| China | 26.0 | 67.0 | 7.0 | 100 | 36.2 | 57.5 | 6.3 | 100 | 28.5 | 49.7 | 6.8 | 100 |
| Japan | 28.6 | 71.5 | 0.0 | 100 | — | — | — | — | 28.6 | 71.5 | 0.0 | 100 |
| Rest Asia | 11.5 | 79.7 | 8.9 | 100 | 10.6 | 65.2 | 24.2 | 100 | 11.5 | 78.1 | 10.5 | 100 |
| Subsaharian Africa | 15.1 | 78.5 | 6.5 | 100 | 18.3 | 76.8 | 5.0 | 100 | 15.4 | 78.3 | 6.3 | 100 |
| North Africa | 16.3 | 77.4 | 6.3 | 100 | 32.2 | 62.4 | 5.4 | 100 | 17.4 | 76.4 | 6.2 | 100 |
| North America | 15.1 | 74.2 | 17.1 | 100 | 7.5 | 72.5 | 20.0 | 100 | 8.0 | 73.3 | 18.7 | 100 |
| Central/south America | 16.3 | 71.6 | 10.7 | 100 | 16.6 | 73.4 | 10.0 | 100 | 17.2 | 72.4 | 10.4 | 100 |
| All foreign | 18.4 | 70.6 | 11.0 | 100 | 20.6 | 69.4 | 10.0 | 100 | 19.0 | 70.3 | 10.8 | 100 |
| Native | 30.9 | 55.2 | 13.9 | 100 | 30.5 | 58.8 | 10.7 | 100 | 30.7 | 56.8 | 12.5 | 100 |

Source: Prepared by the authors from information of the Labour Market Observatory-LANBIDE (2004).

**Table 7**

Contracts registered in the BAC, by economic activity and place of origin (2003)

| | EU | Non-EU Europe | China | Rest Asia | Sub-saharan Africa | North Africa | C. & S. America | Others | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Agriculture, livestock | 756 | 92 | 0 | 52 | 134 | 215 | 225 | 5 | 1,479 |
| Manufacturing industries | 359 | 114 | 3 | 115 | 178 | 503 | 527 | 14 | 1813 |
| Construction | 2,108 | 343 | 62 | 246 | 259 | 1,076 | 1,154 | 31 | 5,279 |
| Retail | 266 | 65 | 50 | 44 | 66 | 264 | 524 | 18 | 1,297 |
| Hotel and catering | 322 | 73 | 389 | 67 | 42 | 170 | 978 | 43 | 2,064 |
| Agencies (ETT) | 486 | 111 | 5 | 64 | 455 | 526 | 1,120 | 18 | 2,785 |
| Others | 1292 | 134 | 6 | 29 | 227 | 213 | 835 | 43 | 2,799 |
| Total | 5,589 | 932 | 515 | 617 | 1,361 | 2,967 | 5,363 | 172 | 17,516 |
| *Vertical %s* | | | | | | | | | |
| Agriculture, livestock | 13.5 | 9.9 | 0.0 | 8.4 | 9.8 | 7.2 | 4.2 | 2.9 | 8,0 |
| Manufacturing industries | 6.4 | 12.2 | 0.6 | 18.6 | 13.1 | 17.0 | 9.8 | 8.1 | 10.4 |
| Construction | 38.0 | 36.8 | 12 | 39.9 | 19.0 | 36.3 | 21.5 | 18.0 | 30.1 |
| Retail | 4.8 | 7.0 | 9.7 | 7.1 | 4.8 | 8.9 | 9.8 | 10.5 | 7.4 |
| Hotel and catering | 5.8 | 7.8 | 75.5 | 10.9 | 3.1 | 5.7 | 18.2 | 25.0 | 11.8 |
| Agencies (ETT) | 8.7 | 11.9 | 1.0 | 10.4 | 33.4 | 17.7 | 21.0 | 10.5 | 15.9 |
| Others | 23.1 | 14.3 | 1.2 | 4.7 | 16.7 | 7.2 | 15.6 | 25.0 | 16.0 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

***Table 7***

*Contracts registered in the BAC, by economic activity and place of origin (2003)*

| | EU | Non-EU Europe | China | Rest Asia | Sub-saharan Africa | North Africa | C. & S. America | Others | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Horizontal %s* | | | | | | | | | |
| Agriculture, livestock | 51.1 | 6.2 | 0.0 | 3.5 | 9.1 | 14.5 | 15.2 | 0.3 | 100 |
| Manufacturing industries | 19.8 | 6.3 | 0.2 | 6.3 | 9.8 | 27.7 | 29.1 | 0.7 | 100 |
| Construction | 40.0 | 6.5 | 1.2 | 4.7 | 4.9 | 20.4 | 21.9 | 0.6 | 100 |
| Retail | 20.5 | 5.0 | 3.9 | 3.4 | 5.1 | 20.4 | 40.4 | 1.4 | 100 |
| Hotel and catering | 15.6 | 3.5 | 18.8 | 3.2 | 2.0 | 8.2 | 47.4 | 2.1 | 100 |
| Agencies (ETT) | 17.5 | 4.0 | 0.2 | 2.3 | 16.3 | 18.9 | 40.2 | 0.6 | 100 |
| Others | 46.1 | 4.8 | 0.2 | 1.0 | 8.1 | 7.6 | 29.8 | 1.5 | 100 |
| Total | 31.9 | 5.3 | 2.9 | 3.5 | 7.8 | 16.9 | 30.6 | 1.0 | 100 |

*Source:* Prepared by the authors from information of the Observatory of the Labour Market-LANBIDE (2004).

livestock, EU natives predominate, as in the construction sector, followed by north Africans and central and south Americans; the latter are the majority in the retail, hotel and catering sectors and in contracts by temporary employment agencies.

As regards statistics on modes of contracting, table 8 shows that 92.7 % of the contracts signed during 2003 were temporary and only 7.3 % permanent (1.9 % below the state average). Graph 6 shows that, in both temporary and permanent contracts, more than twice as many

**Table 8**

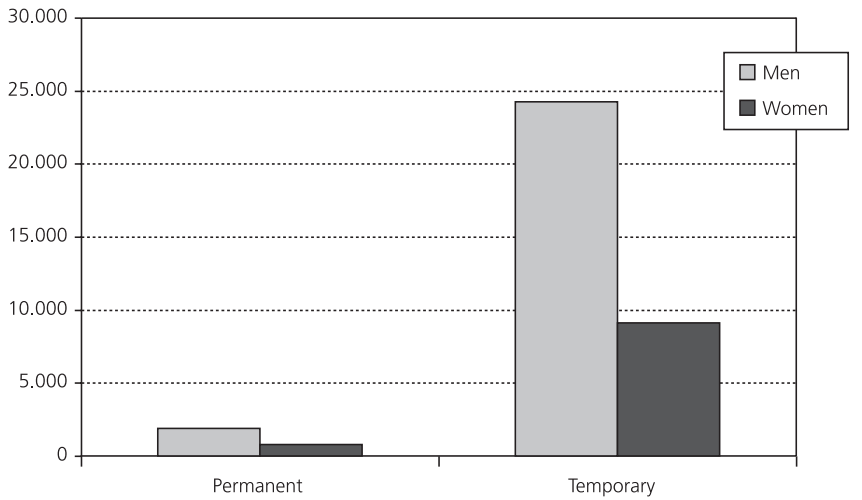
Contracts to foreigners by modalities of contracting and sex

| | Permanent | Temporary | Total foreigners | Permanent as % of total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 1.874 | 24.267 | 26.141 | 8,2 |
| Women | 763 | 9.132 | 9.895 | 6,4 |
| Total | 2.637 | 33.399 | 36.036 | 7,3 |

*Source:* Prepared by the authors from information of the Observatory of the Labour Market-LANBIDE (2004).

**Graph 6**

Contracts to foreigners by modes of contracting and sex




*Source:* Prepared by the authors from information of the Observatory of the Labour Market-LANBIDE (2004).

male foreigners received contracts as females. In spite of the fact that the number of immigrants contracted and, therefore, the number registered with Social Security, is rising, not all immigrants find work immediately, which leads to an increase in job-seekers at both state and BAC levels. As of 31 December 2003 the number of immigrants registered with INEM (unemployment agency) as job-seekers in the BAC was 3,505, that is to say, 2.84 % of job-seekers in the BAC and 1.41 % lower than the state-wide percentage of foreign job-seekers. The average age of foreign job-seekers was 35, and they were seeking employment in services (46.82 % of the total of foreign job-seekers, in comparison with 50.88 % state-wide), construction (17.23 %, compared to 15.55 % state-wide), industry (10.10 % compared to 7.41 % state-wide) and agriculture and fishing (8.50 compared to 6.72 % state-wide) (Permanent Observatory of Immigration, 2004).

The information relating to the origin of job-seekers in the BAC as of December 2003 does not present significant differences either with regard to state percentages nor with regard to the order, in percentage terms, of the origin of the most contracted immigrants in the BAC as of December 2003. Latin Americans represented 36.63 % of foreign job-seekers, followed by Africans (35.43 %), those from the EEA (18.97 %), those from other European countries (5.36 %) and Asians (2.76 %). As regards job-seekers by provinces, the percentage from the EEA in Gipuzkoa was above that of Araba and Bizkaia (although they constituted the third largest group behind Latin Americans and Africans ones), the number of African job-seekers was higher in Araba and that of Latin Americans in Bizkaia (Permanent Observatory of Immigration, 2004).

Just as with the academic level of individuals contracted in the BAC as of December 2003, the academic preparation of foreign job-seekers in the BAC on 31 December 2003 was higher than the state average and, even higher than that of individuals contracted. 87.45 % (compared to 81.20 % state-wide) had secondary education, 7.87 % (almost half the state average) had not finished primary studies, 3.48 % had a university degree (compared with 2.92 % state-wide), 0.80 % were qualified professionals and only 0.40 % (half the state average) were illiterate.

As regards the educational level of job-seekers registered in the Basque Placement Service, LANGAI, table 9 shows that the average academic level of foreigners was lower than that of native job-seekers. 60 % of foreign job-seekers had only finished primary studies (twice the percentage of 29 % for all job-seekers in the BAC); 19 % had taken secondary school (12 % for job-seekers as a whole); 8 % were professionals (almost one-quarter of the figure for native job-seekers);

**Table 9**

Job-seekers registered in LANGAI by region of origin and educational level (%)

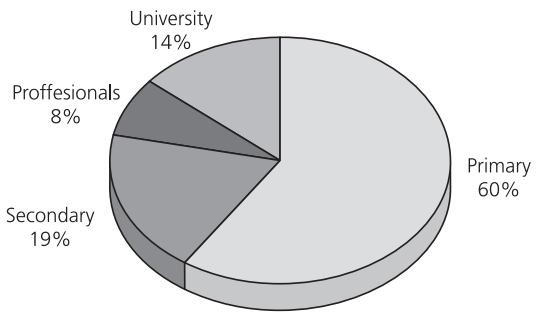
| | Primary | Secondary | Professionals | University | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Africa | 75 | 13 | 6 | 5 | 100 |
| North America | 10 | 30 | 33 | 27 | 100 |
| Asia | 66 | 11 | 6 | 17 | 100 |
| EEA | 37 | 16 | 15 | 32 | 100 |
| Mahgreb | 74 | 14 | 6 | 6 | 100 |
| Oceania | 17 | 17 | 50 | 17 | 100 |
| East Europe | 47 | 16 | 14 | 24 | 100 |
| Latin America | 57 | 24 | 7 | 13 | 100 |
| Total foreign | 60 | 19 | 8 | 14 | 100 |
| Total job-seekers | 29 | 12 | 31 | 28 | 100 |

*Source:* Observatory of the Labour Market LANBIDE (2004).

whereas those with university education constituted 14 %, that is to say, half of the figure for all job-seekers (see graph 7). Those from the EEA and Eastern Europe had a higher academic level than the average for foreign job-seekers (in the case of foreigners from the EEA, the percentage of university students was even higher than that for native job-seekers in the BAC), compared to those from Africa and the Maghreb, who, on the whole, had only taken primary education. This disadvantaged situation that immigrants suffer compared with natives reduces their possibilities of finding good jobs, forcing them to accept

**Graph 7**

Job-seekers registered in LANGAI by studies (%)




*Source:* Observatory of the Labour Market-LANBIDE (2004).

jobs requiring less qualifications and, normally, with more precarious conditions.

### 1.3. *Conclusions regarding the Labour Situation of Immigrants in the BAC*

International immigration from economically less developed countries towards more advanced countries is becoming ever greater at world scale. In Spain the number of immigrants has increased from 719,647 at the end of 1998 to 2,054,453 in March 2005. For its part, the BAC has gone from having 16,995 immigrants with a residence permit to 39,309 in the last seven years. Bizkaia, in absolute terms, and Araba, in percentage terms, are the provinces that receive most immigrants in the BAC.

The fact that the proportion of immigrants in the population of the BAC is below the state average (1.4 % compared to 4.1 % state-wide in 2003) may be for several reasons. First, the economic crisis of the early 1990's heavily damaged the economy of the BAC, where unemployment reached high levels. This could be one of the reasons why interannual variations of immigrants did not start being relevant until 2002, when immigration saw an increase of 24 % with regard to 2001, while in Spain this variation took place since 1998. Secondly, taking into account that the principal motive for the current migratory phenomenon is an economic one, we can think that the academic-professional profile of the immigrants, who —with the exception of the Portuguese— during the first years were principally from Latin American and African countries, was not adapted to the needs of the Basque economy, where the industrial sector predominates. In this regard, the fact that in March 2005 foreigners proceeding from the European Economic Area are the biggest group in terms of registrations for Social Security and contracts in the BAC (whereas state-wide it is Latin Americans) turns out to be relevant. Thirdly, due to the labour opportunities on offer, big cities and their environments tend to be the principal areas of immigration. In effect, Madrid and Barcelona are the cities that have most immigrants in Spain; Bilbao, the capital most populated by foreigners in the BAC, is not significant in the state area. Finally, both geographical and cultural proximity may turn out important factors —which are not fulfilled in the case of the BAC— in the choice of destination. The nearest regions —probably in both senses— to the African continent (Andalucia, Valencian Community and Canary Islands) are the three communities, after Madrid and Catalonia, with the largest immigrant population in the State. Also, we

must remember that Moroccan immigrants comprise the largest group of foreigners (19.3 % of the total population) in Spain, whereas in the BAC they constitute the second group (7.89 points below the state average) behind Colombians.

The percentage of foreigners registered with Social Security out of all those registered in the BAC in December 2003 constituted half of the same percentage in the state as a whole. The same occurred with the number of contracts registered and the number of foreign job-seekers out of the whole of the population in the aforementioned areas. Nevertheless, the proportion of immigrant in employment (out of all immigrants) in the BAC with regard to the state set gives a different point of view. In spite of the fact that the proportion of immigrants out of the whole population in December 2003 was higher in Spain that in the BAC, this did not occur with the percentage of immigrants registered with Social Security nor with the number of contracts registered by the immigrant population of working age at that date. The numbers of immigrants affiliated to Social Security shows that 62.9 % of immigrants employed in the BAC were registered with Social Security, whereas in the state this figure was 59.1 %. Finally, the percentage of foreign job-seekers out of the immigrant population of working age was greater state-wide (14.37 %) than in the BAC (10.50 %).

If we compare the percentages of immigrants with respect to the total population (1.4 % in the BAC and 4.1 % in Spain) in December 2003, with the percentages of contracts to immigrants (4.85 % in the BAC and 10.5 % in Spain) and of immigrants registered with Social Security (2.39 % in the BAC and 5.92 % in Spain), we observe that the percentages of foreign participants in the labour market are higher than the percentage of the foreign population over the total population. In the case of the BAC, the numbers relating to foreigners in the labour market are double the percentage of the foreign population. A possible interpretation of the difference between the percentages of foreign participants in the labour market compared with all participants in Spain and the BAC, is that this difference is principally due to the lower percentage of immigrant population in the BAC compared with the total population, which constitutes almost a third of the average percentage for the state.

After this brief analysis of the labour participation of foreigners on the state and autonomous labour market of the Basque Country, it would be easy to draw the conclusion that job-seeking by immigrants is more successful in the BAC than in the state as a whole; nevertheless, the percentage of foreigners with respect to the total

population of the BAC remains far below the state average. On the other hand, the lower presence of the immigrant population in the BAC and, therefore, the lower percentage of job-seekers, might explain their higher participation in the labour market of the BAC with respect to the whole State. It would be necessary to analyse the reasons that lead to the lower presence of the immigrant population in the BAC in comparison with the state, taking into account that their level of participation in the labour market is higher in the Basque Country than in the state as a whole.

As regards the characteristics of the immigrants who take part in the BAC and state labour markets, we observe that, in contrast with the gender of the total immigrant population both in the BAC and in Spain, where the proportion of men and women is very similar, men take a greater part in the labour market (the percentage of foreign men contracted was 72.54 % in the BAC and 68.68 % in the State). Also some differences exist in relation to the origin of foreigners who take part in the labour market in the BAC and in Spain. If in general, the immigrant population of the Spanish State and of the BAC comes, in order of importance, from Latin America, the EEA, Africa, Asia and the rest of the European countries, the majority of persons registered with the Social Security in the BAC come from the EEA, followed by Latin Americans, Africans, the rest of the European countries and in last place, Asians. By provinces, registrations of foreigners from the EEA stand out in Gipuzkoa, Africans in Araba and Latin Americans and Asians are above the BAC average in Bizkaia. The academic level of the immigrants to the BAC is above the state average, but continues below the level of the general public of the BAC. Finally, the sectors of activity in which foreigners work or seek work, both in the BAC and the state, are, in order of importance, services, construction (increasingly relevant in the BAC), agriculture and industry.

We have just presented the characteristics of immigrants with a residence card or permit who work or seek employment in the Spanish State and, especially, in the BAC. Nevertheless, we must not forget the existence of foreigners who live and/or work irregularly. The percentage of illegal immigrants suggested by the Permanent Observatory of Immigration in September 2004 was 30 % of the total number of foreigners. Although there are no known official estimates of the effects of the process of normalization on the number of irregular immigrants, we might consider that this percentage has diminished. On the other hand, among foreigners with a residence card or permit there may be individuals who work illegally, such as, for example, women who come to Spain through family regrouping and

who, therefore, do not need a work contract to get a residence permit. Consequently, one might conclude that both illegal immigrants and some immigrants with a residence permit take part in the black economy.

In this situation of labour precariousness and difficulties to find better work (as the result of a lower academic level than that of the native population, difficulties for the recognition of other knowledge and skills of foreigners in the host society and ignorance of the language and the labour market of the host society) finding work is the basic aim of the immigrants, as well as their first route of participation in the new society. Nevertheless, not all the agents of the host society are prepared to face the needs arisen from the new wave of immigrants in recent years.

One of the alternatives, and a possible route towards social participation, for the immigrants who find themselves either outside the labour market or working in precarious conditions —whether in the black economy or the regular labour market— to the disadvantaged situation that they experience compared native job-seekers and workers, is self-employment or the creation of businesses.

In the following paragraph we will describe, first of all, the factors that can facilitate both the creation of businesses by immigrant entrepreneurs and their success; and, secondly, we will present the possible benefits of the creation of businesses for the social participation of immigrants in the host country.

## 2. **Immigration and Entrepreneurship: Keys for success and social benefits**

In the previous section we analysed the situation of immigrants in the state labour market and, specifically, in the BAC. We have seen that 11.44 % of all of foreigners registered with Social Security in the BAC in January 2004 were in the Self-Employed sector. In the case of Gipuzkoa this percentage was as high as 16.13 %. In spite of the fact that not all the members of this group should be considered as entrepreneurs, since often, for example, in case of construction workers, the decision to register as self-employed may have been determined by the person who has hired them (Phizacklea, 1988), often it will have been the entrepreneur, on his or her own initiative, who has taken the decision to create a business. In the following section we will refer to the latter group.

First, we will identify the factors that can determine the success of the company and, secondly, we will explain the possible benefits that

the creation of companies can contribute to the participation of immigrant entrepreneurs in the host society.

### 2.1. *Factors that determine the success of the company*

The elements that affect the success, understood as survival and growth, of companies can be grouped in various ways. A possible classification proposed in recent studies on creation and growth of new companies (Peña, 2004; Schutjens and Wever, 2000; Gimeno *et al.,* 1997) is shown below and is organized around three principal axes: Human Capital, the Company and the Environment. Table 10 shows schematically these fields and the explanatory factors that we consider relevant within each area.

**Table 10**

Factors that affect the success of companies

| Human capital | Company | Environment |
|---|---|---|
| Education | Size | Location |
| Experience | Age | Industrial sector |
| Motivation | Resources | Macroeconomic |
| Characteristics | | |
| Knowledge and skills | Competitive strategies | Institutional environment |

#### 2.1.1. Factors of Human Capital

The explanatory factors of human capital change according to different authors. Basing on diverse studies on the effects of the entrepreneur's human capital on the success of the company (Peña, 2002; Honing, 2001; Zacharaskis, 1999) and on *ethnic entrepreneurship* (Light 1984; Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990; Mata and Pendakur, 1999) we propose the education, experience, motivation and knowledge and skills of the entrepreneur as human capital factors that affect the success of the company.

A high level of education, understood as formal education and business management courses, enriches the human capital of the entrepreneur and, consequently, exercises a positive effect in the success of the company (Peña, 2004; Honing, 2001). On the other hand, some authors claim that immigrants with low educational level are more inclined to create companies as an alternative to unemployment or to

the precarious employment situation that they suffer (Mata and Pendakur, 1999). From these affirmations we might expect that the immigrant entrepreneurs of the BAC, with a higher educational level than that of the immigrant population of Spain as a whole, but below the average of the total population of the BAC, would be inclined to entrepreneurship; nevertheless, the low level of education, as regards formal education and business management courses, which characterizes the majority of foreigners would exercise a negative effect on the success of their newly created companies.

A more advanced age, which has given the entrepreneur the opportunity to acquire knowledge and experience, previous professional experience in management and managerial positions, creation of businesses, and experience accumulated through parents, other relatives or friends who are entrepreneurs, influence the success of the company positively (Carvajal, 2004; Peña, 2004; Stuart and Abetti, 1990; Cooper *et al.,* 1989). In relation to experience we must take into account two questions: first, the majority of foreigners come from economically less developed countries where, probably, they have neither worked in managerial positions nor taken part in processes of business creation; secondly, especially in cases where immigration has happened recently, it is likely that the entrepreneur does not know the market, the sector and the strategies of action of the host country.

Arias, Carvajal and Peña (2004) differentiate between two initial motivations when creating the company: *necessity-driven* and *opportunity-driven.* For *necessity-driven* entrepreneurs, the beginning of the business activity implies an alternative to unemployment, marginal employment or social assistance, while for *opportunity-driven* entrepreneurs, the creation of their own company constitutes a professional and personal challenge. According to Carvajal (2004) the initial *necessity-driven* motivation (which would characterize the majority of the immigrant entrepreneurs) affects the success of the company positively. Marital status, the number of children, the previous labour situation and family income are factors that it would be necessary to take into account when analysing the initial motivation of the entrepreneur.

Finally, knowledge of languages, managerial skills, gender, so-called *networking ability* or the ability to create and use social networks to benefit the company, and the skills derived from the origin of the entrepreneur, influence the success of the companies (Carvajal, 2004; Levent *et al.*, 2003; Dallago, 2000; Littunen, 2000; Lerner, 1997; Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990). Unanimity does not exist as regards the effect of gender on the success of the company. While some studies

(Carvajal, 2004) show that women obtain worse results, others (Levent *et al.*, 2003; Lerner, 1997) show the opposite. On the other hand, some authors (Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990; Light, 1984) claim that immigrant entrepreneurs are especially characterized by relying on intra-ethnic solidarity networks where there obtain the human resources and finance necessary to undertake their activity as well as the contacts with clients and suppliers, and which benefit the development of profitable activity. Teamwork through ethnic networks, intercultural competences (for example, knowledge of several languages) acquired as a result of living together with other cultures in different countries, and flexibility as regards changes of residence, workplace and schedules are skills that characterize the foreign workers and entrepreneurs. Nevertheless, we must remember that the knowledge and skills of the immigrant entrepreneur, which may be valid in his or her country of origin, may be under —or not at all— valued in the host society (ignorance of the language is often the greatest difficulty for access to the market and development of profitable activity) (CREA, 2005; Carrasco, 2003). In this regard, Mata and Pendakur (1999) affirm that the decision to start a business needs a period of time, in which the future entrepreneur acquires the knowledge and skills necessary to undertake profitable activity in the host country; therefore, the year of immigration turns out to be a decisive factor in the creation of companies. In the case of the BAC, especially in Basque-speaking areas, it is necessary to consider that knowledge of Basque, as well as Spanish, might benefit the success of the profit-making activity.

### 2.1.2. Characteristics of the Company

The characteristics of the company constitute the second group that explains of the success or failure of the company. Of these, we emphasize the size, age, resources and competitive strategies of the company.

Empirical studies (Sutton, 1997; Mata *et al.,* 1995) suggest that the size of the company is a determining factor for the survival of the company. According to Gibrat's law (Sutton, 1997) the expected periodic size increase of the company is proportional to its initial size. First, we must take into account that 94 % of Basque companies are micro-companies; secondly, we remember that the majority of immigrant entrepreneurs decide to start their own business as an alternative to a precarious working situation, which leads us to deduce that, due to a lack of financial resources, they cannot employ more than ten workers.

Together with the initial size of the company, Geroski (1995) states that age also influences the survival and growth of newly created companies. According to this author, the accumulation of tangible and intangible resources, as well as the development of the learning capacity at the beginning of the business activity, can be important to explain the survival and growth of the aforementioned companies. According to a recent study, 48 % of Basque companies created during the period 1900-2000 ceased their activity in the first five years of existence (Peña, 2004). Agarwal and Audretsch (2001) add that even small companies can survive when they include strategic market niches.

Apart from the size and age of the company, Peña (2004) suggests that resources, to the extent to which they help enrich the basic competences of the recently created company, and the effective implementation of a competitive strategy, seem to affect the performance of the company. When tackling an activity, the number of associates also constitutes an important element of the company's human resources. The results of certain studies (Woo *et al.*, 1989) reveal that the success of newly created companies is greatest when they have been created not by a single individual but by a group of entrepreneurs. The origin of resources may be another relevant aspect in the success of the company. Some authors (Butler and Greene, 1997; Phizacklea, 1988) claim that access to the family or to members of the ethnic community as cheap labour constitutes a competitive advantage for many entrepreneurs that they classify as *ethnic* (that is, foreigners); whereas others (Zimmer and Aldrich, 1987) affirm that all capitalist societies are characterized by using personal and family links. As regards the origin of financial resources, Light (1972) suggests the existence of credit systems and of special funds within the ethnic community; to which Min (1988) adds that the majority of ethnic entrepreneurs also resort to personal savings and family loans. These sources of capital would exercise a positive effect on the development of company activity, inasmuch as they facilitate the financial resources necessary to carry it out.

The competitive strategies such as price, opening hours and the type of client to whom the product is directed can influence the survival and growth of the company. The businesses of immigrant entrepreneurs tend to be characterized by being economical (for example, the restaurants or «pound shops» run by Chinese entrepreneurs) and their wide opening hours; these strategies might have a positive effect on sales but a negative one on the survival of the company, since due to the small profit margin that the immigrant entrepreneurs obtain, often they are forced to close the business (Rath and Kloosterman, 2000). On the other hand, Light (1972) indicates

that the ethnic entrepreneurs tend to target clients from the same ethnic group in the first phase of activity, which gives them a competitive advantage compared to entrepreneurs of other ethnic groups. Nevertheless, other authors (Aldrich *et al.,* 1985) point out that if these entrepreneurs do not open up to a wider clientele their growth potential will be small in the long run. Finally, Aldrich and Waldinger (1990) refer to self-exploitation, the increase of production or the opening of new establishments, funding from ethnic commercial associations and alliances with other families through marriage as ethnic strategies that have arisen as a response to the additional problems that immigrant entrepreneurs face in initiating and maintaining their activity.

### 2.1.3. Characteristics of the Environment

The location of the company, the industrial sector, the macroeconomic characteristics and the institutional environment are factors that can affect the success of the company.

The selection of an urban, rural or peripheral geographical area (Stearns *et al.,* 1995), the proximity of clients, suppliers, competitors, etc. (Peña, 2004) and the degree of similarity with the environment of origin of the immigrant entrepreneur can influence the success of the company. Besides, the immigrant population of the environment in which the company is located might specially affect the development of the activity of immigrant entrepreneurs. The location of the company in a commercial enclave where there is a concentration of immigrant entrepreneurs, with their own commercial networks, can, in first place, bring together individuals of the same group who are looking for products from their places of origin; second, it can constitute an attraction for those individuals who, not being from the same ethnic group, demand products that they perceive as different or even exotic.

Sandberg and Hofer (1987) maintain that companies that operate in unstable markets characterized by a heterogeneity of products and with high barriers to entry present better results that those that operate in the reverse conditions. According to Rath and Kloosterman (2000), 60 % of immigrant entrepreneurs operate in the sectors of retail, textiles and hostelry, where the barriers to entry are relatively low and, consequently, the degree of competition is high. The strategy that immigrant entrepreneurs adopt to face this competition is based more on price than on quality; therefore, as already mentioned, due to the scanty benefits that they obtain, often these companies are forced to cease activity after a relatively short period of time.

The macroeconomic environment and, especially, the economic cycle in which the company is created, affects its probability of success, phases of expansion being the most propitious to begin activity (Peña, 2002). Rath and Kloosterman (2000) underline the importance of analysing the macroeconomic conditions —changes in the economic structure, in general, and in specific sectors, especially— in which the immigrant entrepreneurs operate, affirming that they have been considered to be static and have even been ignored by many researchers of ethnic entrepreneurship.

In last place, the institutional environment, understood as the state and regional legal framework on immigration, entrepreneurship, assistance to immigrants and promotion of new companies, is another factor that can influence the success of companies created by immigrant entrepreneurs. Peña (2004) indicates that the public policies whose aim is the promotion of new companies should affect positively, not only the creation of companies, but also their survival and growth. Aldrich and Waldinger (1990) add that, implicitly, the policies in place in western societies —via applications for licenses, bureaucratic and workplace safety requirements, etc., which are costly for small businesses— impede the development of ethnic companies. On the other hand, they suggest that the effect of programs of economic assistance to immigrants and ethnic minorities is less than the indirect effect that entrepreneurship policies produce. It would be necessary to carry out an in-depth examination of state and autonomic immigration policies and entrepreneurship policies to deduce their possible effects on the performance of the immigrant entrepreneurs.

### 2.2. *Entrepreneurship: a route of integration into the host society?*

After having exposed the factors that we think relevant to explain the success of companies created by immigrant entrepreneurs, later we will consider in what way this success can benefit the participation of both entrepreneur and non-entrepreneur immigrants in the host society.

There is evidence that ever more foreigners come to work in Spain as wage earners and then decide to form a company so as not to lose the residence permit (National Federation of Associations of Self-Employed Workers, 2005). Consequently, the beginning of a business activity by an immigrant entrepreneur might imply a strategic decision to maintain the residence permit in Spain. We think that entrepreneurship might facilitate the participation of immigrant entrepreneurs in the host society for several reasons: first, because it constitutes an alternative to

unemployment and, consequently, an indispensable source of income to live and act in any society; secondly, because a relationship is established with clients and suppliers (though often they are of the same ethnic group), associations and other traders in the neighbourhood and the city. Finally, we think that the step from a situation of unemployment or work in precarious conditions to creating and directing a business might have a positive influence on the self-esteem and social prestige of the entrepreneur and, therefore, stimulate his or her participation in the host society.

On the other hand, we believe that non-entrepreneur immigrants can also be benefited by the business activity of other immigrants and, especially, by the activity of entrepreneurs of the same origin, in that they constitute points of encounter for individuals where the immigrants can exchange information about job availability, accommodation, associations and other activities.

To evaluate the real effects that entrepreneurship can have on the participation of immigrants in the host society it would be necessary to carry out a study among the foreign population of the BAC.

## Conclusions

In the present chapter the creation of companies has been proposed as a possible route for integration of immigrants in the host society. To this end, we have begun from the diagnosis of the labour situation of foreign workers in Spain and, especially, in the BAC. We have seen that immigration from economically less advanced countries is growing ever more important in the state as a whole. As a result, the presence of immigrants on the labour market, whether as employees, self-employed, job-seekers or irregular workers, increases intensively. The sectors of activity in which foreigners work or seek work are services, construction and agriculture, which are characterized by precarious working conditions.

A possible alternative to a situation of unemployment or to precarious working conditions in which many immigrants are employed is the creation of companies. In view of the high risk of failure that characterizes small businesses in their initial phases and the disadvantaged situation which immigrant entrepreneurs experience compared to natives, we have the factors that we consider relevant to explain the success, understood as survival and growth, of the aforementioned companies. First, among the factors of human capital, we propose to analyse the effect of the entrepreneur's training, ex-

perience, motivation and knowledge and skills on the success of companies created by foreigners in the BAC. Secondly, among the characteristics of the company, it would be necessary to analyse the effect of size, age, resources and competitive strategies on the success of the company. Finally, we propose the analysis of the effect that environmental factors, that is, location, industrial sector, macroeconomic characteristics and the institutional environment, can have on the development of immigrants' business activity.

To conclude, we have explained the reasons why we think that the creation of companies might facilitate participation of immigrants in the host society. On the one hand, we have presented the hypothesis that foreign entrepreneurs might be favoured by economic benefits, the relations that they establish with their surroundings and the social prestige that they gain through their business activity. On the other hand, we have indicated that these businesses —inasmuch as they constitute meeting points for immigrants of the same origin— might, in turn, facilitate the labour and social participation of non-entrepreneur immigrants.

Due to limitations as regards the magnitude of the work and the lack of data, we have not been able to go into some aspects that we consider important to explain the migratory phenomenon and its participation both in the labour market and the host society. In future work it would be interesting to consider how the low percentage of the immigrant population in the BAC with respect to the state as a whole can be explained, when the percentage of foreigners registered with Social Security and the proportion of the contracts awarded to immigrant among foreigners of working age in the BAC are higher than the state averages; what are the explanatory factors for the higher percentage of self-employed workers in the provinces of the BAC, and especially in Gipuzkoa, than state-wide; finally, it would be interesting to compare the relations between entrepreneurship and the social participation of foreigners in the BAC with the state as a whole.

International immigration is an unstoppable phenomenon that is generating changes both in the societies of origin and destination. Finding work in the destination country is the fundamental aim of immigrants. Nevertheless, they often find situations of unemployment, precarious working conditions or work in the black economy. One alternative to this type of situation, and a possible route towards the social participation of immigrants in the host country, that we propose in this chapter is self-employment. In future research work we will try to go in greater depth into the relationship between the creation of companies by immigrant entrepreneurs and their participation in the host society.

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This book on *International Migrations* aims to show the diversity of topics and problematics contained within immigration, revealing certain situations that make the migratory phenomenon more comprehensible. The text collects the work experience of some members of the Research Unit on International Migrations of the University of Deusto, who analyze immigration from sociological, anthropological, educational, economic, political and legal perspectives. The different contributions are linked by three axes: 1) migratory processes and their protagonists, in this case minors, women and African young people; 2) migration and public policies, focusing on the topics of transnationality, linguistic politics and co-development policies; and 3) institutional contexts and immigration, referring to two specific institutional scopes: the economy through the labour market and education through the formal educational system.


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