Rosa Santibáñez Gruber and Concepción Maiztegui Oñate (eds.)

Immigration: Views and reflections

Histories, identities and keys of social intervention

University of Deusto

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Prologue

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Migration as a complex phenomenon implies protagonists of different origins and provokes repercussions in multiple contexts, both in the host countries and those of origin and in very diverse dimensions: cultural, political, family, employment or linguistic. In 2005, the University of Deusto began a *series* of books entitled *International Migrations (Series)*, with the aim of creating a space for publication and reflection on a phenomenon that is becoming one of the principal concerns and challenges for western societies and for ours in particular.

This new number of the series includes a summary of ten articles by members or collaborators of the *International Migrations* research team of the University of Deusto belonging to the European network of excellence IMISCOE (*International Migration, Social Integration and Cohesion in Europe*). It is structured in two main sections. The chapters of the first section, *Reconstructing histories, roles and identities: Views of immigration*, offer a panoramic vision of the subjectivities, experiences or views of its protagonists and of the host population. Immigration that physically moves groups through the world's geography, "from South to North", from countries of Latin America, Morocco or sub-Saharan Africa to regions and cities like Toronto, Massachussets, Paris, or Orduña. Immigration that, also, does not distinguish between ages, roles or affections, and includes adults of working age and children of school age; fathers and mothers and sons and daughters; executives and teachers and students; first generations with a clear cultural awareness and identity of origin, and second generations, with a crisis and reconstruction of mixed identities, both personal and cultural. These chapters use diverse methodologies, from anthropological and sociological research,

to analysis of the content of social representation contained in literature and the mass media. In the second section, *Responses from the mirror: Keys to social intervention*, we analyze the responses of the host society as a reflection of the view of the protagonists, although the mirrors are often distorted and offer less than coherent responses to the needs felt by the protagonists. This section presents keys to intervention to obtain greater social integration from diverse contexts such as social services, the working environment or the educational world.

The first part, *Reconstructing histories, roles and identities: Views of immigration,* begins with a chapter by Aitor Ibarrola, who through an analysis of the work *In the Skin of a Lion* by M. Ondaatje (1987), brings us closer to the experience of the most disadvantaged immigrants in Toronto. The novel describes the problem of immigration, the constant power struggles and changes suffered by the most vulnerable social groups. In this way, the text recovers the vision and perspective of the most excluded and helps to reconstruct a more egalitarian and equitable representation of history.

In the second chapter, Andrea Ruiz Balzola analyzes how the Otavalo Kichwa community develops its social, political and cultural life simultaneously in more than one nation. On the other hand, and together with the maintenance of a series of keys of identity, the researcher raises the question of changes in transnationl migratory movements and the effects on their cultural structures. The author identifies very differentiated two stages in the transnational migration from Otavalo. In the first stage, it was an entrepreneurial migration formed by male weavers and merchants, belonging to a social and political elite in their communities of origin. Whereas in the second, more recent stage, this migration has evolved towards the movement of persons outside the aforementioned elite: young families, inexpert in trade and who compete with products of low quality and price. The Kichwa community has shown a great capacity for organization, the creation of networks, and achieving mobility throughout Europe, supporting a strong cultural identity and a solid unity between their members. One of the principal questions that the author raises refers to the existing relations between the phenomenon of transnationality and the practices of power.

In the two following chapters, the third and fourth, the processes of identity in reconstruction are considered both from the point of view of the second generation and from the challenges that migrations produce in the experience of motherhood. Eider Muniategi presents us, in the third chapter, with the experience of the second generation. For Muniategi, the French disturbances of 2005 are an evident symptom of the lack of social cohesion in Europe. The author brings us near to their

social actors, through describing their origins, culture and religion, and also analyzes the short and long-term reasons and the implications or possible results of these facts. She considers the real recognition of these groups to be indispensable, which would involve both cultural identities and economic concerns materialized in the right to employment, housing and education. In the fourth chapter, Claire Firth, from the other side of the ocean, presents the process of reconstruction of the maternal identity of Brazilian women who live in Massachussets. Transnational motherhood implies the pain of separation, the search for social support for the care of their children, attempts at family reunification and an important emotional cost for both the mother and the children. Firth transmits us her concern for the repercussions in the mental health of these women who experience anxiety, distress and separation.

If up to this point the book recounts the personal experiences of its protagonists in their history of movement and migration, Trinidad Vicente, in the fifth and last chapter of the first part, shows us the "other side of the coin": the experience, perception and evaluations of the managerial and educational teams who are faced with the phenomenon of increasing incorporation of the immigrant population into the educational system. From a representative sample of the educational centres of the CAPV, the author presents the results of a survey of 152 headmasters as well as to 300 teachers. The generalized opinion, both among the managers and the teachers, is that the presence of immigrant students involves very important advantages for the school, in regards to cultural wealth and stimulus to reflection on difference. Together with these benefits for the learning process, the increase in immigrant minors has allowed classrooms that were projected to close to remain open, as well as having more supporting teachers. At least at a theoretical level, the idea of an intercultural education seems to have become deeply rooted, based on respect for and maintenance of other languages and cultures. Almost unanimously, the teachers of the BAC maintain that the immigrant students should learn our languages but preserve theirs. The teachers feel the need to know and better understand the cultures of the immigrant students to facilitate their integration. But, the perception is not only of profit, but also of difficulty and problems, like for example in the performance of the educational task, principally due to ignorance of languages or cultural keys.

The second part, *Responses from the mirror: Keys to social intervention,* groups five chapters on responses and strategies for social intervention. It begins with the sixth chapter, in which Mabel Segura affirms that although migration is a part of history, the characteristics of the current phenomenon with its contribution of linguistic,

cultural and religious elements demands reception and more effective strategies of integration. Conscious of the enormous quantity of different difficulties that can arise, be they legal, bureaucratic, in detection of new needs and assumption of responsibilities, the author defends a model of integration based not only on the offer of a series of minimal services or resources that cover needs at the moment of reception, but a whole integral process of recognition of rights, assumption of duties and responsibilities as well as the involvement of immigrants in the life of the community. Her chapter is organized around three main axes: policies, social services and professional challenges. Segura reviews the principal social policies of integration with the immigrant group implemented in the BAC as well as the structure of the social services, and finishes by expressing the principal challenges that confront both professionals and the social services to face this reality.

In the seventh chapter, Maria Luisa Setién and Isabel Berganza remind us that figures close to 19% place the Spanish state as the European country with the greatest percentage of unaccompanied foreign minors, a trend that has continued and increased in recent months. The representation given in the mass media runs the risk of showing the most troubled side of these young people and producing fear and rejection in public opinion. The authors indicate the public responsibility of each autonomous community to respond to unaccompanied immigrant minors and review the diverse types of intervention that are carried out with them. The study not only allows us to better understand the representation of these minors that the administration has in mind when it plans specific political or social intervention. The intervention is carried out in all the models analyzed through specific centres, managed mainly by associations or NGOs and with educational teams that are mixed, both by sex and by their cultural, linguistic and professional origins. Since unaccompanied immigrant minors emigrate, fundamentally, looking for work and an opportunity for a better life, the intervention tends to be very focused on the processes of incorporation in social life and the labour market. For this purpose, a rapid incorporation is promoted through learning Spanish and professional initiation through short courses. In contrast with this process of training and autonomy, public tutelage and responsibility seems to involve, in turn, a process of infantilization and de-responsabilization of these minors. It therefore constitutes an important challenge, to give minors greater protagonism, favouring the normalization of these processes and services, creating opportunities for their participation in their own processes of insertion and thus promoting their integral development.

In the eighth chapter, the editors of the book, Rosa Santibáñez and Concepción Maiztegui, present an experience of socio-educative intervention in the school environment which seeks to favour social integration as well as to improve the academic results of young immigrants. The very name of the project, *Bultzatzen-Encouraging Success*, metaphorically represents the educational response of "pushing" in the process of social and school integration in the neighborhood of Astrabudua (Erandio). Though the project is not directed specifically at the immigrant population, the rapid demographic changes and the continuous arrival of groups of immigrants in the neighborhood affect it, occupying 50% of enrollment. For this reason, the authors carry out an analysis of the project from the perspective of this group. Bultzatzen is a project constructed in three phases; reception and snack, directed study, and workshops on socio-cultural development, which promotes equality of learning by trying to eliminate social barriers that may arise. It is based on the participation of its members, the family and the community in general, without renouncing quality or school success. Though the information is not still conclusive, the authors consider to be positive the results obtained up to now in the two years since the project began.

In the ninth chapter, Paul Angulo presents the challenges that the integration of immigrants causes for the labour market. The author analyzes our socioeconomic reality using the criteria that William Fogel, Nobel Laureate in Economics, developed to explain the contribution of the immigrant population to the success and economic development of the USA. Thus, he maintains that sociological studies contribute sufficient information on the advantages of immigration for the cities and society that receive it. The immigrant population, far from taking work from the local population, dynamizes the economic fabric by filling those jobs least demanded by natives, such as, in Spain, the construction sector, domestic service, caring for the elderly and the agricultural sector. Nevertheless, the trend towards increasing competition produces deregulation and increasing precariousness of employment, extension of informal work and an increase in less qualified employment. Immigrants and members of ethnic minorities are most affected by these phenomena, entering the underground economy, unqualified, precarious employments and with poor conditions or guarantees of work. Angulo finishes the chapter with a reflection aimed at those responsible for establishing public policy. The effects of immigration are not implicit in themselves, but depend to a great extent on the actions that the host society articulates. Migratory movements, well channeled and arranged, will benefit both parts, both the entrepreneurs and the immigrants themselves. Nevertheless, if the recruitment of workers continues to take place under

exploitation and marginalization, not only will the immigrants suffer, but a social discomfort will be generated that will affect the whole of society. Therefore the author pleads for the adoption of positive actions that allow the promotion of both effective equality of opportunities and positive stimulus to occupy places of greater responsibility, to update their level of education, knowledge of languages and the development of management skills.

In the same line, the book concludes with the tenth chapter, devoted to patterns of self-employment in the immigrant population, by Iñaki Peña and Nahikari Irastorza. The authors study the reasons and effects that environmental aspects can have on patterns of self-employment among immigrants established in the Basque Autonomous Community. Internal factors such as origin, gender and age of the entrepreneur or the initial size of the company, as well as other external factors, such as the development of the immigrant population, its share of the labour market, the immigration policies of Spain and the index of unemployment in the Basque Country, help to understand current trends. After analyzing the business activity of immigrants in the BAC during a period of ten years, they think that those companies initiated by women, young people and immigrants have fewer possibilities of surviving than those initiated by older men from the native community. As a result, they consider that the increase in the immigrant population has produced an increase in the percentage of contributors to the social security system, not in the percentage of entrepreneurs. This information is explained by Peña and Irastorza with the tendency observed in the general population towards less entrepreneurial initiative as well as a decrease in the unemployment rates during the period of years studied. In this context, the immigrant population appears as a group that, if possible, is more vulnerable to environmental changes and they demand more appropriate immigration policies that facilitate their entrepreneurial activity.

Part I

Reconstructing histories, roles and identities. Views of immigration

Stretching the boundaries of canadian narrative fiction: The immigrant experience in M. Ondaatje´s *In the Skin of a Lion*

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> Ondaatje's presentation of the city [Toronto] and its history as being in a constant state of metamorphosis reveals the value and potential of migration and movement and, at the same time, eliminates the determinism inherent in more linear conceptions of geographies and subject positions.
>
> Susan Spearey, "Mapping and Masking."

> Official histories, news stories surround us daily, but the events of art reach us too late, travel languorously like messages in a bottle.
>
> "Only the best art can order the chaotic tumble of events. Only the best can align chaos to suggest both the chaos and order it will become".
>
> Michael Ondaatje, *In the Skin of a Lion.*

Introduction

The two quotations above highlight a number of features of contemporary historiographic metafictions which have definitely contributed to transforming our perception of literature and history. On the one hand, there is the challenge to traditional master narratives by means of the inclusion of the discourse of the cultural "Other" and, on the other hand, substantial emphasis is laid on the role of the (anti)aesthetic in any critique of previous ways of representing reality. To be sure, Michael Ondaatje's *In the Skin of a Lion* (1987), a novel which offers a "re-vision" of some key chapters in the history of the city of Toronto from the point of view of the marginalized newcomers, falls squarely into this recent trend in narrative fiction. Like other works in this tradition, Ondaatje's novel is keen on deconstructing earlier social and narrative orders to reinscribe them later in more open and indetermined *teleologies*.[1] This reconfiguration of earlier teleologies implies a process of interpretation and ideologization since the facts must be given new meaning in accordance with the unusual settings visited by the author and the intricate personal relations among the characters involved. Gamlin (1992: 86) has argued on this point that "Ondaatje's retelling of hitherto unwritten history emphasizes especially the problem of immigration and the continual struggle for a more acceptable division of power within changing social constructs. Ultimately then, the novel allows an egalitarian voicing of previously marginalized perspectives." Although one must admit the inevitably political nature of these reconfigurations, which are anything but neutral, they present the reader and the critic with the formidable dilemma of deciding what kind of ideological position the text is demarcating for their response.[2]

It is fairly clear that the novel exhibits a highly critical and almost subversive attitude towards any attempts to homogenize and totalize the historical facts in order to produce what we could refer to as an "official" or "neat" version of the events. As a matter of fact, the two characters who stand for this type of historical rendition in the novel—city commissioner Rowland Harris and theatre entrepreneur Ambrose

[1] For two seminal collections which introduce us to some of these key changes in postmodern fiction, see Douwe Fokkema and Hans Bertens, eds. *Approaching Postmodernism*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1986, and Ihab Hassan, *The Postmodern Turn: Essays in Postmodern Theory and Culture*. Ohio State UP, 1987.

[2] Hassan (1987: 92) refers to indeterminacy, "or better still, *indeterminacies*" as one of the major features of postmodern fiction. As he uses the term, this means "a complex referent that these diverse concepts help to delineate: ambiguity, discontinuity, heterodoxy, pluralism, randomness, revolt, perversion, deformation."

Small[3]—are repeatedly displaced by more peripheral men and women who are allowed to hold the reins of the (hi)story in their stead. Nevertheless, coming to the easy conclusion that Ondaatje is simply inverting the positions of the *actants* to let the "powerless" take the centre stage and the control of the plotline would be an unpardonable interpretative blunder, and one that would transform the novel into what it certainly is not. Had the author merely decided to replace marginal others for the figures that conventional history had preserved, or to retrieve the loves and labors of those who remained silent and relegated to the position of outsiders, this literary work would not have differed so radically from others produced fifty years earlier. Although the changes in the connection between life and art may seem to take place first and foremost at the level of representation—in an attempt to display an objective and all-encompassing reality—, the fact is that the true changes occur on the level of structure, for it is language itself that constitutes reality.[4] The author himself (1990: 198) explained to critic Linda Hutcheon in an interview that "I go to writing to discover as many aspects of myself and the world around me as I can. I go to discover, to explore, not to state the case I already know." In the following pages, I delve in some depth into the elements of the novel that may have promoted some (mis)readings of the book as a piece of protest fiction and those others that, in my opinion, make of *In the Skin of a Lion* a much more open-ended and unstable "structure of signification," or to put it more bluntly, a representative piece of postmodernist metafiction.

1. **Connections with the tradition of "protest fiction"**

Concerning the first group of elements, the novel displays a number of thematic and stylistic patterns that are strikingly reminiscent of the brand of "social realism" that was being written by authors such as Upton Sinclair or John Dos Passos at the time of the key events in this narrative (from the 1910s to late 1930s). Indeed, in the opening sections of the text, the reader is likely to lose sight of the importance of its self-reflexivity, fractured structure, or the remarkable aesthetic experimenta-

[3] It is interesting to remark that Ondaatje's first version of the novel centered on this second character, and only later did he decide to shift his attention to more peripheral figures. See Jewinski (1994: 123).

[4] Hutcheon (1989: 67) has explained along a similar line that "the process of making stories out of chronicles, of constructing plots out of sequences, is what postmodern fiction underlines. This does not in any way deny the existence of the past real, but it focuses attention on the act of imposing order on the past, […]"

tion as her/his attention is almost entirely drawn to the inhuman conditions under which the "central" characters live and toil. We are deeply moved by Patrick Lewis's close contact with, in turn, the Finnish loggers near the town of Bellrock, the immigrant workers building the Bloor Street Viaduct in Toronto or, later on, those others excavating under Lake Ontario to complete the city's waterworks. In all cases, although we are allowed to get glimpses of the psychological and spiritual dimensions of the characters' personalities, their jobs reduce these people to little more than brutalized creatures struggling for survival.[5] Notice, for example, this description of the tunnelers at work under the lake:

> It is 1930. The cut of the shovel into clay is all Patrick sees digging into the brown slippery darkness. He feels the whole continent in front of him. They dig underneath one of the largest lakes in North America beside a hissing lamp, racing with the speed of their shadows. Each blow against the shale wall jars up from the palms into the shoulders as if the body is hit. Exhaustion overpowers Patrick and the other tunnellers within twenty minutes, the arms itching, the chest dry. Then an hour more, then another four hours till lunch when they have thirty minutes to eat.
>
> During the eight-hour shifts no one speaks. Patrick is as silent as the Italians and Greeks towards the *bronco* foremen. For eight hours a day the air around them rolls in its dirty light. From somewhere else in the tunnel there is the permanent drone of pumps attempting to suck out the water, which is constantly at their heels. All morning they slip in the wet clay unable to stand properly, pissing where they work, eating where someone else left shit. (106)

Passages like the above often come up in the novel in order to "betray the official history" (145) as it was recorded in the newspapers and other documents of the period. Not unlike the fiction of Steinbeck or Sinclair, this book also tries to incorporate the human factor into the superstructures of traditional historical accounts. Nevertheless, the formal and stylistic patterns Ondaatje uses to portray these anonymous existences are indicative of the serious difficulties that any artist faces when he tries to extricate these materials from the oblivion into which they have habitually fallen. Sarris (1991: 188) observes in this regard that "the novel attempts to register the dead who have been left off the record with a tenebristic modelling that reflects the ghostly evanescence of the unrecorded lives that lie behind the herringbone tiles and copper roof, and that can never fully emerge from the darkness."

[5] Some of the descriptions of the characters at work in Ondaatje's novel sound quite familiar and, in fact, they could be productively compared to those found in the novels Jack London, Frank Norris or Upton Sinclair.

There are several reasons why "the unrecorded lives" cannot be easily brought into light in the novel but a very conspicuous one is the complicated status of the main focalizer, Patrick Lewis, who is both as underprivileged and as isolated as most of the immigrant workers but who also enjoys some advantages over them. He comes from a rural area that "did not appear on a map until 1910" (10) and he belongs to a working-class family—deprived of a mother figure—which had to struggle to survive in this inhospitable region of the country. His childhood and young manhood are spent in the company of his abashed and solitary father from whom he learns some of the basics of farming and the art of using dynamite to move the logs that need to be transported down the river. But when he arrives in the city in his early twenties, he is not essentially different from the crowds of foreigners that come there seeking a better future:

> Patrick Lewis arrived in the city of Toronto as if it were land after years at sea. Growing up in the country had governed his childhood: the small village of Bellrock, the highway of river down which the log drivers came, drinking, working raucous, and in the spring leaving the inhabitants shocked within the silence. Now, at twenty-one, he had been drawn out from that small town like a piece of metal and dropped under the vast arches of Union Station to begin his life once more. He owned nothing, had scarcely any money. There was a piece of feldspar in his pocket that his fingers had stumbled over during the train journey. He was an immigrant to the city. (53)

The piece of feldspar that Patrick carries in his pocket is a token to remind him of his father's expert work and of his demise when he was setting charges in a feldspar mine. Like those of the foreign newcomers, his first impressions of the metropolis are characterized by feelings of entrapment and disorientation. Due to the lack of a well-established geographical and social background, he has difficulties in finding a niche for himself in the anonymous world which he has just moved into: "He spoke out his name and it struggled up in a hollow echo and was lost in the high air of Union Station. No one turned. They were in the belly of a whale" (54). He is deeply impressed by the incredible commercial activity and the tides of movement, as well as by the variety of unknown languages he hears. Such is the impact of this new world on him that he has trouble recognizing his own voice and his image when it is reflected in the glass of a telephone booth.[6] In this sense, he resembles most

[6] These images of individuals being estranged from their own appearances and voices are fairly common in the autobiographies by immigrants who traveled to America at the turn of the 20th century.

immigrants who, for some time, remain cut off from the host society and simply focus all their energy on their professional activities. Nicholas Temelcoff, whom we first meet working on the Prince Edward Bridge (or Bloor Street Viaduct), is a case in point because he, too, needs to lock away his past and affections to reinvent himself according to the exigencies of the moment:

> But during the time he worked on the bridge, he was seen as a recluse. He would begin sentences in his new language, mutter, and walk away. He became a vault of secrets and memories. Privacy was the only weight he carried. None of his cohorts really knew him. This man, awkward in groups, would walk off and leave strange clues about himself, like a dog's footprints on the snowed roof of a garage. (48)

As I will show below, Lewis has the great advantage of possessing an English name and being able to communicate in this language. Still, despite this linguistic privilege, "he is also an outsider or excentric, [since] the rural and the working-class (even if male) are also nameless in the city" (Hutcheon 1988: 96).

It is no coincidence, of course, that the first full-time occupation that Lewis takes up in the city, after working for a year at diverse odd jobs, is as a "searcher." In principle, the real object of his search is the millionaire Ambrose Small, who has been missing, and is looked for by an increasing number of people after the police failed in their attempts to trace him.[7] Nevertheless, the reader soon realizes that Lewis's research is not so much centered on "the jackal of Toronto's business world" (59) but, rather, on the private histories of less outstanding characters and their influence on the configurations of the public history of the city. As was to be expected, his efforts are only partly gratified since those "strange half-lit lives" (84) evince both some presences and significant absences.[8] Lewis gradually learns that there are important sections in the past of all these figures that they would not want to reveal to others and, naturally, cannot be easily documented in a library. He eventually admits that he is "nothing but a prism that refracted their lives" (157), and although he tries hard to link his life with those of the others, he still hears the

[7] Like in many of his other works of fiction, e.g. *The Collected Works of Billy the Kid* (1971) or *Coming through Slaughter* (1976), Ondaatje incorporates here a very diverse range of media into his writing. However, he does not usually privilege one over another but tries to explore the strengths and limitations of each of them.

[8] Several critics have noted that Lewis's problems to penetrate the psychology of his fellow characters is not unlike that which the author must have faced in trying to give shape to the history of the city. See Heble (1990: 101).

rattle of the empty space that constantly intrudes between him and the community. A second important feature, then, that the main focalizer shares with the other peripheral figures is that, no matter what work he happens to be doing at different stages of the novel—no matter what "skin" he is wearing—, he mostly moves in darkness and isolation, cut off from the other lives giving shape to the city:

> Although he dynamites for the foreman, Patrick works with the muckers in the manual digging. He is paid extra for each of the charges laid. Nobody else wants the claustrophobic uncertainty of this work, but for Patrick this part is the only ease in this terrible place where he feels banished from the world. He carries out the old skill he learnt from his father—although then it had been in sunlight, in rivers, logs tumbling over themselves slowly in the air. (107)

Sarris (1991: 193) has rightly observed that "along with the darkness, silence is used as a recurring motif to further underscore the character's isolation and alienation." Again, Nicholas Temelcoff's work on the bridge is also governed by these same conditions, which are clearly suggestive of the anonymity with which these lives are constantly associated. On foggy days, in particular, the viaduct becomes a terrifying monster ready to swallow the workers:

> Nicholas has removed his hat, stepped into the harness, and dropped himself off the edge, falling thirty feet down through fog. He hangs under the spine of the bridge. He can see nothing, just his hands and the yard of pulley-rope above him. Six in the morning and he's already lost to that community of men on the bridge who are also part of the fairy tale. (39)

No need to explain here that numerous workers had lost their lives at the bottom of the valley. Yet, as Patrick Lewis soon discovers, little can be found in the Riverdale Library about the hands that "actually built the bridge" (145). It is not surprising, then, that some scholars should think of *In the Skin of a Lion* as a novel that "deals with a silence that social ideology imposes upon individuals in order to prevent them from exercising power" (Bök 1992: 120).

Despite the immense silence and the darkness that surround most of the peripheral characters' labors, the author manages to endow them with a dignity and even nobility that turns them into the real heroes of the story. Curiously, although Ondaatje is clearly trying to open horizons to look at history and politics from an innovative perspective that challenges earlier conventions and ideologies, the trajectories of his new "heroes" do not differ all that much from those we discover in more traditional narratives. "The standard path of the mythological adventure

of the hero," writes Campbell (1973: 30), "is a magnification of the formula represented in the rites of passage: *separation—initiation—return*, which might be named the nuclear unit of the monomyth."[9] Of course, in the case of Ondaatje's novel much emphasis is laid on the stage of separation from the known world of previous places, and the "monsters" the "heroes" encounter are far from supernatural: a bridge, a tunnel, a prison or, more generally, the structures of capitalist oppression. Yet, all of them seem to be equipped with some skills and virtues that allow them to survive the most hazardous situations. Again, Temelcoff's bird-like flights around the viaduct give us a sense of the bravery and *savoir faire* that his occupation entails:

> His work is so exceptional and time-saving he earns one dollar an hour while the other bridge workers receive forty cents. There is no jealousy toward him. No one dreams of doing half the things he does. For night work he is paid $1.25, swinging up into the rafters of a trestle holding a flare, free-falling like a dead star. He does not really need to see things, he has charted all that space, knows the pier footings, the width of the cross-walks in terms of seconds of movement—281 feet and 6 inches make up the central span of the bridge. Two flanking spans of 240 feet, two end spans of 158 feet. He slips into openings on the lower deck, tackles himself up to bridge level. He knows the precise height he is over the river, how long the ropes are, how many seconds he can free-fall to the pulley. It does not matter if it is day or night, he could be blindfolded. Black space is time. After swinging for three seconds he puts his feet up to link with the concrete edge of the next pier. He knows his position in the air as if he is mercury slipping across the map. (35)

Although archive photographs of the building of the bridge show Temelcoff as little more than a "speck of burned paper" (34) along the wall of the sky, the narrative shows that the magnificent architectural construction would never have been completed without his art. One cannot fail to notice that, in spite of the isolation and dangers that their tasks definitely involve, these characters have developed a sixth—almost supernatural—sense that enables them to find their orientation in environments into which others would not even dare to venture.

Lewis's exploits in the tunnels and, later on, at the Wicket and Craig's tannery on Cypress Street are also shrouded in an aura of risk and know-

[9] I am aware that some would dispute this opinion because, in fact, except for a few cases, e.g. Temelcoff's friend, Daniel Stoyanoff, most immigrants do not return to their homeland. However, their integration into the new society may well be interpreted as a victory and a kind of "return" to a complete sense of selfhood.

ledge of one's profession that bespeak these characters' ability to make it through the most trying circumstances. As some commentators have noted, although we are aware that Ondaatje is writing a "fictional reconstruction of the past, the novel simultaneously maneuvers the reader into believing in its authenticity" (Heble 1990: 104). This is achieved thanks to a wealth of detail in the descriptions and the presentation of important insights into the psyches of the "heroes," which reveal their full dedication and commitment to their jobs. This is true even of characters whose activities most of us would consider illegal or illicit: Alice Gull and David Caravaggio. Yet, even the work of a thief such as Caravaggio is presented by the author as something that both humanizes and ennobles its possessor:

> He trained as a thief in unlit rooms, dismantling the legs of a kitchen table, unscrewing the backs of radios and the bottoms of toasters. He would draw the curtains to block out any hint of streetlight and empty the kitchen cupboards, then put everything back, having to remember as he worked where all the objects were on the floor. Such pelmanism. While his wife slept he moved the furniture out of her bedroom and brought in the sofa, changed the pictures on the wall, the doilies on the bedside table.
>
> In daylight he moved slowly as if conserving remnants of energy—a bat in post-coital flight. He would step into an upholstery shop to pick up a parcel for his wife and read the furniture, displacing in his mind the chairs through the window, the harvest table through the door at a thirty-degree angle veering right.
>
> As a thief he had a sense of the world which was limited to what existed for twenty feet around him. (189)

Like his namesake, the Italian baroque painter, this character relies on individualism and a profound knowledge of human habits to divine new ways in which one can perfect the art of stealing. Much in the same manner, Ondaatje fills the activities of the other marginal workers with resonances—from Kipling, Sinclair or ancient Babylonian legends—which magnify the achievements of his "heroes." However, what is not so clear is whether the social and political agendas advanced in those earlier literary landmarks would in fact be feasible in the modern Canadian contexts that he depicts in his novel.[10] The reader must acknowledge that characters are subject to all kinds of transformations

[10] Although the historical periods may be broadly the same ones, it is evident that Ondaatje is much more interested in the private spaces where the characters find refuge from their working lives. As most critics have noted, his fiction tends to represent much more intimate facets of the characters than the "social realists" did.

precisely because it is not at all easy to find that role in which they would feel completely fulfilled. Speary (1994: 46) says about this point that "Through these allusions and revisions, Ondaatje commemorates and extols the enactment of heroic deeds, while opening to question the conventions of epic narration, and its suitability for a contemporary context." But we shall hear more about this need to refashion traditional plots in the second half of the article.

What does seem beyond any doubt is that just as the anonymous laborers are given a name and brought to the centre stage of the narrative, so city officials and business tycoons fall into the background to become the malevolent all-controlling forces that try to silence the workers' voices and perpetuate their disenfranchised status. Early in the section "The Bridge," we observe Rowland Harris removing himself from a luxurious car, lighting a cigar, and walking onto the bridge at the end of the day: "He loved the viaduct. It was his first child as head of Public Works, much of it planned before he took over but he had bullied it through. It was Harris who envisioned that it could carry not just cars but trains on the lower trestle" (29). Of course, all the hands working on the bridge are expendable in Harris's eyes as long as his vision materializes and he is there on the day on which his construction is completed. What Ondaatje gives us, on the other hand, is how "as accounts of building the bridge are passed on and gradually become history, those who fought at the front line are immortalized while the planners who made the front page at its official opening sink into obscurity" (Gamlin 1992: 69). Interestingly though, if the immigrant workers' daily toils gain a heroic dimension, it is to a great extent because we are made aware of the overwhelming forces governing the business world in the city. Ambrose Small's management of the whole web of theatre traffic is a good instance of the kind of capitalist machinery in which marginal individuals live:

> Each morning he rose and walked to his offices at the Grand Theatre on Adelaide Street. He got there at least an hour before any of his staff and plotted out the day. This was the time he loved most, choreographing his schemes, theorizing on bids and counter-bids and interest rates and the breaking point of his adversaries. He pulled out an imported avocado pear, sliced it into thin green moons, and sat at his roll-top desk eating it and thinking. By the time his staff arrived he had worked out all possible scenarios at his empty desk. He went down to the barbershop, lay back, and was shaved and manicured. His day was over. The machine of Ambrose Small began to tick across the city. (58)

And yet, despite the mechanical and alienating character of most of the activities performed by these powerful figures, they are not without

human weaknesses and desires.[11] Small may be a business jackal all too ready to destroy his adversaries and buy up his critics in the press, but when he is with Clara Dickens, the actress whom he charms with his variousness, he becomes "gregarious, generous, charming" (58). So generous does he become that for some time he and Lewis, his "searcher," share the same woman. Eventually, Small will chase Lewis away from the large, recondite house where he has "disappeared"—curiously, he retreats to Patrick's birthplace—with his beloved Clara, but it will be more out of an instinct of self-preservation than for the sake of revenge or jealousy.

The other outstanding "villain" in the novel, city commissioner Harris, also enters the story as an arrogant and self-centered politician who reveals little concern for those that are carrying out his plans: "Commissioner Harris never speaks to Nicholas Temelcoff but watches often as he hooks up and walks at the viaduct edge listening to the engineer Taylor's various instructions. He appears abstracted but Harris knows he listens carefully" (42). Aware that the workers' need of his dreams to make a living, he is more than willing to sacrifice as many lives as necessary in order to see his "mission" fulfilled. Although the construction of the Bloor Street Viaduct and the water filtration plant took place at a time of economic depression—and there was also a public outcry about the conditions under which the laborers worked—, he was able to convince the press that he was in fact creating jobs for the newcomers: "The Commissioner would slide those facts out, bounce them off his arms like oranges to journalists" (110). Yet, as Ondaatje suggests in the second epigraph of this article, it is not so easy to deceive artists who, with the advantage of historical distance and a more comprehensive vision of the facts, are able to realign at least partly "*the chaotic tumble of events*" (146) to reveal the true motivations:

> But Harris was building it for himself. For a stray dream he's always had about water, water they should have taken across the Bloor Street Viaduct as he proposed. No one else was interested in water at this time. Harris imagined a place for it. He wanted the best ornamental iron. He wanted a brass elevator to lead from the service building to the filter building where you could step out across rose-coloured marble. The neo-Byzantine friezes depicted stylized impellers. He wanted herringbone tiles imported from Siena, art deco clocks and pump sig-

[11] This is an interesting difference with regard to more conventional "villains" in fiction. While it is evident that most readers feel little appeal for characters like Harris or Small, the fact is that later on in the text we see them transformed by events into more vulnerable and less self-sustainable subjects.

> nals, unfloored high windows which would look over filter pools four feet deep, languid, reflective as medieval water gardens. (110)

Harris's grand dreams and his obsessive investments in the waterworks eventually bear their fruits and, although the buildings need to be under constant surveillance for fear of acts of sabotage, his "Palace of Purification" begins to work like a healthy human body. But, again, the city planner's infatuation with his magnificent construction is such that he insists on "sleeping there in his office, was allowed in, a pistol kept beside his bed" (220). In the closing section of the novel, however, the reader realizes that despite Harris's huge power and all the measures he takes to protect his "baby," he is also vulnerable to other human interventions and made aware of his own limited control over the course of history. On July 7, 1938, on a moonless night, Lewis pays an unexpected visit to the city commissioner at his supposedly impenetrable fortress with a blasting-box under his arm. The object of Lewis's visit is to show the politician the kind of exploitation he has been enforcing and to take revenge for Alice Gull's death while she was trying to fight the unfair system. Harris, of course, tries to defend himself against his former employee's accusations:

> — You watch, in fifty years they're going to come here and gape at the herringbone and copper roofs. We need excess, something to live up to. I fought tooth and nail for that herringbone.
> — *You* fought. *You* fought. Think about those who built the intake tunnels. Do you know how many of us died there?
> — There was no record kept.
> — Turn off the light.
> — What?
> — Turn your light off. (emphasis in original; 236)

Initially, Harris refuses to admit any realities which disagree with those formulated in his original plans. However, the "hero" manages to reveal to him the instability of his position in the system: "Earlier Harris had understood why the man had chosen him, knew he was one of the few in power who had something tangible around him. But those with real power had nothing to show for themselves. They had paper. They didn't carry a cent. Harris was an amateur in their midst" (241-42). Lewis fails in his attempt to blow up what he takes to be one of the main symbols of their enemy's oppression and exploitation, but he does succeed at least in making Harris conscious of the "fallaciousness" of the history of the city as he had originally imagined it. In Gamlin's (1992: 76) opinion, "Both men agree that the initial wish and even the process of acquiring power in the skin of a lion is worthwhile. The instant of attaining this skin, how-

ever, holds potential limitations." One of the major limitations is that the power to construct historical accounts can always be co-opted by others who will represent the events in a completely different light.[12]

Going back briefly to the question of the main focalizer's status in the narrative, it could be said that Lewis replicates some of the difficulties faced by writer and reader when they try to unravel the lives of the marginalized others. He may investigate things and collect the scraps of those lives yet, as he admits, "there was a terrible horizon in him beyond which he couldn't leap" (157). This horizon is definitely related to his family background and the language he speaks. So, unlike many others who, "if they speak this way in public, in *any* other [language] than English, they will be jailed" (133), he enjoys the advantage of carrying out his research and expressing his opinion without any dramatic consequences. Even the fact that he is able to take up those many different professions and to undergo as many metamorphoses is indicative of opportunities that are usually denied to others such as Cato, Caravaggio or Temelcoff. As Alice Gull tries to explain to him,

> — You believe in solitude, Patrick, in retreat. You can afford to be romantic because you are self-sufficient.
> — Yes, I've got about ten bucks to my name.
> — I'm not talking about money. Working in the tunnels is terrible, I know that. But you have a choice, what of the others who don't?
> — Such as.
> — Such as this kid. Such as three-quarters of the population of Upper America. They can't afford your choices, your *languor*. (emphasis in original; 123)

Lewis defends himself by arguing that he has known people who have fully assimilated into the system and succeeded and, anyway, he is much more for compassion than for revolution. But, of course, the novel makes amply clear that Lewis's theses may be valid for those who, like him, prefer the individualist aestheticism of art—which sometimes glosses over history and human pain—to the social causes and "thunder" that Alice advocates.[13] Greenstein (1990: 120) writes about this

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[12] Hutcheon (1988: 87) has explained on this point that "The writing of history also involves a process of interpretation, for the facts must be given meaning in a particular context, whether they be the dates in a church ledger or the complex personal interactions of the people involved."

[13] Interestingly, Lewis will eventually decide to take action in the late stages of the novel. Moved by Alice's death, he decides to face his responsibility for the rest of the oppressed and to try to change the course of historical events as they are planned by the powerful and the wealthy.

point that "Patrick moves from place to place, book to book, window to window—a horizontal shape shifter who exchanges roles so that other readers or insects may temporarily assume the role of protagonists during a summer night's inquiry." Like Lewis, we may sometimes manage to see all these lives no longer as single stories "but as part of a mural, which was a falling together of accomplices" (145); still, it is uncertain whether his new plots dealing with the loves and labors of the peripheral figures will really occasion a true rearrangement of the scraps and chaos of the age. The closing section of the book suggests that we may well be transformed by this exposure to alternative (hi)stories, but it would be difficult to affirm whether human understanding—no matter how privileged or artistic—can really gain access to a meaningful culmination.

In order to give a sense of the serious problems that the bringing of light to these ex-centric and often isolated existences pose for the writer, Ondaatje makes use of several techniques that effectively show the incommensurable obscurity and silence in which these characters try to provide their lives with some meaning and direction.[14] A good instance of the artistic skill with which he handles these problems is found in the "Palace of Purification" chapter of the novel, when Patrick is invited to attend an illegal gathering/performance organized by the foreign hands at the waterworks. The whole object of the performance is to convey with great poignancy the dreadful plight of the immigrant in Upper America. Throughout the episode, the main focalizer of the novel moves in an expressionist microworld in which he has a hard time defining the boundary between the real and the theatrical.[15] This sense of disorientation becomes most conspicuous when he is searching for his friend and lover, Alice, backstage:

> So Patrick moved in this darkness, the eye of the flashlight swallowing the colours, the room turning under his gaze like a jewel. What had been theatrical seemed locked within metamorphosis. He wanted to put his hand up and unbutton a blouse, remove a shoe. He moved quickly towards a figure but it was only a queen draped over a chair, sitting the way a queen would sit. He heard the cheers from the hall once more.

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[14] See Sarris (1991: 192). In this critic's opinion, "Ondaatje's tenebristic narrative is such art [Caravaggio´s]; it suggests the vast, unmasterable darkness at the same time that it illuminates it. The darkness is a part of the past, and eternally part of the human condition."

[15] We could speak here of an element of "carnivalization," in Bakhtin's use of the term, since performance and perspectivism become important concepts to interpret the "gay relativity" of all human experiences. See Hassan (1987: 171).

> Patrick switched off the light and stood there. His eyes remembering scarlet, the puff of a blue sleeve, the flat brown feet pathetic as a peacock's under such grand costuming. A broken ocher hand. A splash. He turned to face the sound.
>
> He moved forward, one hand in front of him to hold away the costumed bodies, lifting his feet up high so he would not trip in the darkness. He thought, I am moving like a puppet. He touched an arm in the darkness not fully realizing it was human. A hand came from somewhere and held his wrist. "Hello, Patrick." He turned on the flashlight. She was waiting for the light, like a good actress, ready to be revealed. (120)

Many of these techniques, obliterating the division between high art and mass culture, were often used by the "muckrakers" in the first decades of the 20th century to make the need for a change in the social milieu and in power relations more evident. Yet, to think of *In the Skin of a Lion* as a piece of "protest literature" whose main object is to undermine all the values and ideology upheld by capitalist societies would certainly be far off target. As we shall see below, this self-undercutting literary piece calls into question not just the deterministic master narratives of the past, but also its own choice of the "marginalized" as the "center" of an alternative version to traditional historical and literary accounts.

2. **Beyond the conventions of positivistic social literature**

In the Preface to *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture,* Hal Foster speaks of two different forms of postmodernism: one of reaction, the other of resistance. While the former is characterized by a direct repudiation of the official culture of modernism, which is considered very pernicious to the verities of the humanist tradition, the latter is like a counter-practice to all the "false normativities" of the past and the present which are mercilessly deconstructed to uncover the dubiousness of their origins. Foster (1983: xii) sums up his discussion of the two forms by declaring that a resistant postmodernism "seeks to question rather than exploit cultural modes, to explore rather than conceal social and political affiliations." *In the Skin of a Lion* should be classified under this second type of postmodernism since it offers alternative, and somehow more human, formulations of history without ever completely disavowing those already existing.[16] Rather than trying to dismantle the enemy's

[16] For an enlightening discussion of this issue, see Craig Owens, "The Allegorical Impulse: Toward a Theory of Postmodernism." Part 1: *October*, 12 (1980): 67-86; and Part 2: *October*, 13 (1980): 59-80.

camp and regain the lost ground, which is how some of the social realists conceived of their literary incursions, Ondaatje is involved in the more subtle business of renegotiating the boundaries between different social groups and their conceptions of history. Being deeply aware that, as the second epigraph of the novel adduces, "never again will a single story be told as though it were the only one" (John Berger), he devotes his efforts to the exploration of the strengths and weaknesses of the various modes of endowing the "looseness of human experience" with some order and significance. Thus, never harnessed to any particular political or ideological agenda, *In the Skin of a Lion* is free to carry out what Hutcheon (1989: 34) believes to be one of the fundamental tasks of any postmodern artwork: "[...] to denaturalize both realism's transparency and modernism's reflexive response, while retaining (in a complicitously critical way) the historically attested power of both."

This denaturalization of some of the central tenets of realism and modernism is put into practice at different levels of the narrative but, given the limited space of my analysis, I have decided to focus on three aspects of the novel that I think illustrate these violations in very lucid ways. These aspects are the manner in which the characters are delineated and dealt with in their private spheres, how they come to form part of a public history from which they have usually been displaced, and the key role played by narrative constructions in any attempt to give shape and meaning to human experience in both contexts. By the end of this assessment of questions of characterization, history-building, and of the need to plot events into a narrative, it should be evident that *In the Skin of a Lion* is not one of those novels—so often challenged by postmodern writers—that "give you the right way to do things." What it does, instead, is raise our consciousness of the potentials and limitations of the human will to develop a complete selfhood, to build an all-encompassing history, or to create anything beyond a very partial and frequently inventive reformulation of the past. As Ed Jewinsky (1994: 124) points out, "For Ondaatje, political writing [is] a matter of imaginatively reclaiming, without lapsing into moralism or didacticism, those events in Canadian history that are often ignored, overlooked or slanted."

But before I move on to examine the above-mentioned topics, let me consider very succinctly two other interesting elements in the novel which ostensibly set it apart from the realist and the modernist traditions. As the reader opens the book, he is not immediately confronted with the story proper. Apart from the two intertextual epigraphs, he is faced with a narrative frame which only becomes fully meaningful in the last pages of the novel: "This is a story a young girl gathers in a car during the early hours of the morning. She listens and asks questions as the

vehicle travels through darkness" (1). Though unwary readers are likely to forget very early in the story the weighty implications of this narrative frame, its paramount significance becomes more than clear at the end of the book. The oral character, the fractured structure, the imagistic construction, or the inconclusiveness of the narrative are only explainable if we keep in mind the context in which this story is being related: Patrick Lewis driving young Hana—Alice Gull's daughter—to Marmora in order to bring Clara back to Toronto. No need to extend myself here on how realism's preference for linearity and closure, or modernism's aspirations to universality, are being explicitly subverted in this aural work of fiction. In the opinion of several critics, the diversity of the characters' experiences "is best rendered through oral narratives which defy conventional monomorphic presentations" (Gamlin 1992: 68). Secondly, as I have already noted, there are a lot of intertextual references to other literary pieces and their specificities which often produce the baffling effect of blurring the dividing line between art and reality. In the lines quoted below, for instance, Patrick's inner struggle to unveil every facet of Alice's personality after her death is articulated in terms of a certain way of reading:

> All these fragments of memory... so we can retreat from the grand story and stumble accidentally upon a luxury, one of those underground pools where we can sit still. Those moments, those few pages in a book we go back and forth over. (148)

Clearly, one is not likely to run into this type of self-conscious reflection on the way the story is being put together and the way the reader should proceed to reconstruct it in the literary works that saw the light before our postmodern era.[17] A noteworthy consequence of this ever-present intervention of the *scriptor* is that, as Spearey (1994: 49) has argued, "the novel [...] opens to question the ascendency of historical time consciousness in itself" and, therefore, we do not experience the events as part of a certain storyline but rather in the simultaneity of the writing or reading act. To a significant extent, the act of reading also participates actively in the process of textual creation.

As regards the type of characterization and subject positions offered by the novel, the feature that perhaps most clearly distinguishes it from more traditional narratives is that none of the characters is granted complete preponderance over the others. Although it is a fact that Patrick

[17] According to Hutcheon (1989: 61), what novels such as Ondaatje's offer is work "toward a critical return to history and politics *through*—not despite—metafictional self-consciousness and parodic intertextuality."

Lewis remains the main focalizer throughout several sections of the novel, one of his crucial realizations late in the book is that his own version of the events can only be thought to provide some sense and order if it is interconnected with those of the other characters:

> Patrick saw a wondrous night web—all of these fragments of a human order, something ungoverned by the family he was born into or the headlines of the day. A nun on a bridge, a daredevil who was unable to sleep without drink, a boy watching a fire from his bed at night, an actress who ran away with a millionaire—the detritus and chaos of the age was realigned. (145)

In fact, as the story moves on, we notice that some of the other "excentrics"—Alice Gull, Nicholas Temelcoff, and David Caravaggio—also find their opportunity to incorporate chapters of their past and their own perspective into the narrative. Very much like the players/puppets during the underground performances at the waterworks, who are allowed to take up the leading role at one point or another in the dramatization, here too the characters are given enough space and authority so as to complement and destabilize each other's representation of the facts. There are two most noticeable aftermaths to this redistribution of narrative power among these peripheral figures: on the one hand, their partial accounts resist the kind of completion that we are used to in realist stories; on the other, given the numerous gaps and the critical transformations that each of the renditions reveal, the private history of the characters remains mostly incomplete and ineffable. Even between lovers, like Patrick and Alice, there are always territories left unexplored:

> But with Alice, after the episode at the waterworks and in other performances, he can never conceive how she leaps from her true self to her other true self. It is a flight he knows nothing about. He cannot put the two people together. Did the actor—holding her on stage, reciting wondrous language, holding his painted face inches away from her painted face, kissing her ear in drawing-room comedies—know the person she had stepped from to be there?
>
> In the midst of his love for Alice, in the midst of lovemaking even, he watches her face waiting for her to be translated into this war bride or that queen of shopgirl, half expecting metamorphosis as they kiss. Annunciation. The eye would go first, and as he draws back he will be in another country, another century, his arms around a stranger. (153)

Incidently, this notion that there are areas of human experience that inevitably escape our understanding is eventually admitted by such a deep believer in the possibility of building totalizing narratives out of historical incidents as comissioner Harris. As noted above, he meets Patrick

near the end of the novel when the latter comes to place a bomb in the water filtration plant that he himself had designed and is now zealously protecting. A lengthy dialogue ensues between the municipal authority and the activist through which it becomes evident to both that while one should fight intensely for power, any attempt to retain that power for too long is problematical. Beran (1993: 77) has explained in this same line that "Ondaatje's text valorizes the interdependence among the workers, the powerful agents who control them, and the writer, who like them is both powerful and insignificant." Clearly, then, the kind of challenge that this narrative poses to traditional conceptions of the hero and of the human condition, in general, has very little to do with those we are familiar with in the literature of the first half of the 20th century.

In her book on the Canadian postmodern, Hutcheon (1988: 64) claims that "in historiographic metafiction the collective often balances the individual, just as the portrayal of reading balances that of writing." That the collective achieves great relevance in *In the Skin of a Lion* should be beyond any question after my comments above on how characters are portrayed and interlinked in the novel. However, to think of this work of fiction as one highlighting perspectives on historical events from the position of participants that had been disenfranchised to record them "officially" is certainly to oversimplify the kind of revision of the past that the novel offers. The fact that characters and readers are encouraged to think of history as a construct more contingent than what earlier generations conceived it to be is at least as important—if not more so—as the inclusion of those multiple, shifting points of view of the events. Patrick, like his father before him, sets out as somebody who, as a result of his bashful personality and his alienation from larger historical events, grows fond of (hi)stories that follow pre-established patterns and reach clear conclusions:

> All his life Patrick Lewis has lived besides novels and their clear stories. Authors accompanying their heroes clarified motives. World events raised characters from destitution. The books would conclude with all the wills rectified and all romances solvent. Even the spurned lover accepted the fact that the conflict had ended. (82)

But, of course, as long as Patrick remains a detached observer of the reality around him, he feels that he is missing the chance of taking advantage of the knowledge that results from his life experiences. It is only when he begins to interpret those events in terms of their human significance that, as Temelcoff tells us about him, he can become "that arrow into the past, [showing] him the wealth in himself, how he has

been sewn into history" (149). Naturally, this is never an easy task for any of the characters for it implies a Copernican turn in terms of the kind of referents that finally make it into the historical record, and traditional formulae are of little use to give them any coherence.

Rather than events of world significance involving well-known people, the reader hears about marginal folk's seemingly trivial passions and deeds.[18] These more human elements, however, are presented in such imaginative and convincing ways as to produce in us "a willing suspension of disbelief" that history could have been shaped in this manner. With regard to this point, Gamlin (1992: 76) has observed that "the resulting sense of rich intricacy and complexity—"the architecture of the past"—is suggestive rather than conclusive and stands in direct opposition to linear conventional historiography." There is little need to insist here that this alternative form of historiography is often more demanding for the reader but, as Ondaatje well illustrates at one point in the novel, it is equally fruitful and necessary:

> Within two years of 1066, work began on the Bayeux Tapestry, Constantin the African brought Greek medicine to the western world. The chaos and tumble of events. The first sentence of every novel should be: "Trust me, this will take time but there is order here, very faint, very human." Meander if you want to get to town. (146)

While most of us would associate the year 1066 with the Norman conquest of England, it is undeniable that other events were happening around the globe at that time which would have as much impact on the history of the western hemisphere. In a similar vein, Ondaatje prefers to fix his attention on episodes and characters whose historical relevance is not immediately apparent to his readers. For this kind of postmodern metafiction to work to its full potential, the reader is compelled to take an active part in the reconstruction of the historical past as much as the writer and the characters themselves.[19]

Finally, let me underline once more that despite the serious critique of traditional ways of telling and historicizing observable in *In the Skin of a Lion,* the author suggests that language and narrativity are amongst the few instruments anybody can use to establish the facts of history and

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[18] In his biography of the author, Jewinski (1994: 122) emphasizes that although "most Canadian histories have erased the record of [the minorities'] contributions, Ondaatje has acted to resurrect it."

[19] In Michael Greenstein's (1990: 124) opinion, "Deconstructing language, the poststructuralist *bricoleur* [Ondaatje, in this case] juxtaposes its parts in metonymic sequences for the reader to reconstruct; that is, the reader builds real and fictional structures with character and author."

of people's experiences. This idea is especially true of marginal individuals who are often deprived of any other means to define and assert their identity.[20] Nicholas Temelcoff, the Macedonian immigrant, for example, manages to climb the social ladder in Toronto through hard work on the bridge and finally becomes a successful baker "who is comfortable among ovens, the smell of things rising, the metamorphosis of food" (149). Nevertheless, he can only be said to fully appreciate his triumphs when Patrick helps him revisit his past life through narrative:

> […] Nicholas is aware of himself standing there within the pleasure of recall. It is something new to him. This is what history means. He came to this country like a torch on fire and he swallowed air as he walked forward and gave out light. That was all he had time for in those years. Language, customs, family, salaries. Patrick's gift, that arrow into the past, shows him the wealth in himself, how he has been sewn into history. Now he will begin to tell stories. He is a tentative man, even with his family. That night in bed shyly he tells his wife the story of the nun. (149)

While things are happening, few of the characters in the novel seem conscious of the real benefits of revisiting one's past. Not even those in power, such as Ambrose Small or Rowland Harris, seem able to go back into their private histories to re-collect the incidents of their lives that have turned them into what they are. Only when they feel death nearby do they come to realize that in fact the many anonymous "others" they have come across in their lives are an integral part of their existence. Taciturn Small surprises Clara by reeling off experiences and encounters that had been safely hidden before in the remotest recesses of his mind:

> In the days before he died, Small's mind slipped free of its compartments as if what had kept all his diverse worlds separate had been pulled out of him like a spine. So as he talked and muttered toward Clara, events fell against each other—a night with a lover, a negotiation at the Grand Opera House. Strangers and corpses of his past arrived in this sparse room with one lamp lit during the day, so the shadows were like moontides around it.
>
> Words fell from his mouth and shocked her in the intricacy of his knowledge of so many women, such deep interiors of the financial sea. She heard his varied portraits of her which had gone unspoken for years, his affections and passions and irritations and reversals, his sweet awe at her sense of colour with certain flowers, the memory of

[20] Cf. Paul Lauter, "Introduction" to *Canons and Contexts.* New York and Oxford: Oxford UP.

> her standing in a hall years earlier and smelling each of her armpits when she thought she was alone. (213-14)

Similarly, city commissioner Harris comes to a moment of epiphany during his intense conversation with Patrick Lewis when he realizes that his very survival may depend on his ability to convert the materials of his dreams into a captivating narrative. Not unlike the heroine in *Arabian Nights*, Scheherazade, he is compelled to improvise stories that will prevent his interlocutor from acting upon the ideas with which he came to their meeting:

> Harris knew he had to survive until early morning. Then a column of sunlight would fall directly onto his large desk, the pad of grid paper, his fountain pen. His gun was by the bed. He had to survive till the first hint of morning colour came through the oculus above him, eight feet in diameter, made up of eight half-moons of glass. He leaned forward.
>
> —One night, I had a dream. I got off the bus… (237)

We remain uncertain as to what extent this may be a metafictional comment on the position of the postmodernist writer who, by means of his narrative skills, needs to provide order and give form to the disparate facts in anybody's history. What seems beyond any doubt though is that Ondaatje is convinced that all characters—and human beings—have the potential to reinscribe themselves into history or to rub themselves out of it depending on how proficient they are in "turning the traces of the past (our only access to those events today) into historical representation" (Hutcheon 1999: 57). *In the Skin of a Lion* proves, therefore, to be a work of contemporary metafiction that succeeds in making some seemingly disconnected fragments of the past into an organic whole and a pleasurable reading experience.

3. **Conclusion**

The primary aim of this contribution has been to show that, despite its indebtedness to some of the patterns and motifs we encounter in the "social realist" fiction produced at the turn of the 20th century, Michael Ondaatje's *In the Skin of a Lion* stretches the boundaries of fictionalizing the lives of the socially marginalized by reinscribing them into a text that challenges "official" and more conventional forms or representation. This is accomplished by critically deconstructing some of the traditional strategies of character presentation and (hi)story building in order to show their "illusory" nature. It could be argued that the social

critique in Ondaatje's novel is negatively affected—or even completely undermined—by this challenge to allegedly "neutral" and objective approaches to reality. Paradoxically, however, and in a typically postmodern manner, what we learn is that it is precisely through art that we may come closer to a truthful retrieval of the past. "It is art," writes Hutcheon (1988: 99), "as this historiographic metafiction teaches, that can make order of 'the chaos and tumble of events'."

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Spaces of transnational power: Differences in the Otavalo Kichwa migration

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Introduction

The questions and reflections that I shall develop in the present article are located in the wider context of the research I am undertaking for my doctoral thesis. In this sense, in the following pages I will not so much try to offer definitive solutions or conclusions, as to raise a series of reflections and questions about the transnational migration of the Otavalo Kichwa[2] group. For several months I have been sharing times and spaces with the Otavalo Kichwa residents of Orduña, a small city in an enclave of the province of Bizkaia located within the province of Alava[3] (Basque Country, Spain), and in the city of Otavalo, located in the province of Imbabura, in the north of Ecuador. By means of interviews,

[1] The author is currently the beneficiary of a Research Training scholarship from the Basque Government.

[2] I use the nomenclature proposed by Alicia Torres (2004) which distinguishes the Otavalo Kichwa as the indigenous group within the Otavalans, inhabitants of the city of Otavalo, who are not necessarily indigenous.

[3] Orduña has a population of 4,090 inhabitants. As of 19 May 2006 the registered population of Ecuadorian origin is 127. But these data are partly distorted by the number of births among Otavalo Kichwa families, children who acquire Spanish nationality. It is estimated that between 20% and 30% of births are among these families.

informal chats and participant observation, both of daily life in both places and in their commercial itineraries, I have been approaching this community whose existence seems, a priori, to take place simultaneously in different spaces. Thus, ethnographic knowledge of the resident Otavalo Kichwa community in Orduña opens the possibility of investigating to what extent this group constitutes or forms part of a migratory process that can be considered through the theoretical framework of transnational studies. Thus, the general mission of my research is to analyse how this community develops and structures its social, political and cultural life simultaneously in more than one nation-state. In this perspective I would emphasize the fact that the different domains of the Otavalo Kichwa community (religious, political, economic, family, domestic, etc.) are *deterritorialised* and only become unified through a complex system of networks.[4]

The examination and analysis of the data collected so far, as well as the revision of the principal literature on the historical construction and contemporary structures of the *transnational* economic migration of this group (Caillavet 2000; Kyle 1998, 2000; Meisch 2002; Torres 2004), leave me to raise two main questions around which many others arise. The exposition of these two central points, which at the same time articulate a whole series of other questions, constitutes the main object of this article. Thus, in the first place I am going to present and develop a series of features that have characterized this migratory flow, and then go on to show the main changes that are taking place and which define two stages in the Otavalo Kichwa migration. The second question concerns the relation, during the first stage, between the development of transnational networks and the economic and political power maintained by an elite. Here there is an underlying theoretical question as regards the relation between transnationalism and power which, with time, may perhaps be considered through the ethnographic case of the Otavalo Kichwa communities that are now present in our country.

1. **The economy of identity: productive bases of its success**

Having decided to focus the research on this migratory flow, on undertaking a bibliographical review, the Otavalo Kichwa communities appear as one of the Latin American indigenous groups which have gained greatest success in their adventure as craft vendors and folk musicians;

[4] Here we take mainly the perspective developed by Glick Schiller *et al*. (1992, 1994) and Ludger Pries (1999).

they deserve the title of *"transnational entrepreneurs"*. The historical analysis of the development of a *diaspora of transnational commerce* by David Kyle (1998), shows above all an incredible flexibility and capacity for adaptation to the different epochs or periods: a characteristic that in the Otavalo Kichwa is associated with a strategy of capitalization on differences, so that their cultural identity is shown as the dominant aspect of their insertion into first a national and, subsequently, a transnational market. David Kyle analyses how throughout the 19th and 20th centuries the process of construction and reinvention of Otavalan identity maintained a direct relation with a process of social mobility and the constitution of a commercial elite that deliberately reinvests in that identity. In effect, as shown by Gina Maldonado (2004), long ago the Otavalans transformed a form of manual artisan production for local consumption into the mass production of crafts considered indigenous or exotic and demanded by the international market. We must emphasize that this *ethnic economy* presents a characteristic that articulates very effectively with the forms of late capitalism, since it implies placing in the economic domain other spheres of social life which in industrial capitalism belonged to leisure time. In effect, it seems clear that the added value of the merchandise commercialised by the Otavalo Kichwa is none other than their very image.

In this history of apparent success, one of the questions of greatest interest is about the social and reproductive that have sustained permitted and simultaneously east process. The work of Alicia Torres (2004) shows that these bases are constituted by kinship relations, both real and fictitious, with which a series of family networks are woven that extend beyond the space and time of the community of origin itself. And it is in this sense that we can speak of *transnational networks*. The importance of these networks in the dynamic structuring of the migratory process, linking the communities of origin and of destination, is commonplace in studies on migratory movements. A classic concept that has been reintroduced to take assess the effects of migratory networks has that of *social capital*, in the sense of considering that the network or sum of relations in the migratory process constitutes a form of capital. Massey and collaborators (1994, 1997, 1999) have most satisfactorily conceptualised migratory networks as a form of social capital and, subsequently, have developed a dynamic theory of the formation of social capital—the *cumulative theory of migration*—through the expansion of the migrant network. As opposed to a static analysis that considers that networks serve solely as conduits for information, the theory of social capital postulates that there exists a direct connection between networks and the costs and benefits of migration. Each migratory act, while minimising

the risks and costs of the process and facilitating access to employment in the place of arrival, itself creates social capital between the people linked (via kinship networks, friendships or common origin) to the migrant; thus increasing the probability of their respective migration.

Nevertheless, the idea that the accumulation of social resources promotes and generates a greater migratory movement has to be reviewed in the sense of verifying to what extent the potential migrants can benefit from such resources. In this context, Claudia Pedone points out the insufficiency of studies that "do not refer to the way these relations are verticalised and, according to each case, how this baggage of information and contacts becomes an economic asset in the hands of a few: those who have power within the networks" (Pedone, 2002: 226). The study of Alicia Torres (2004) aims to fill this gap, and show how certain situations of prestige and power, situations which are historical, extend beyond the communities of origin, and offer the Otavalo migrant a social structure while maintaining him or her in a relationship of dependency and subordination.

In effect, the development of the commercial migration of the Otavalo Kichwa is rooted in, or part of, pre-existing social structures, especially at the community level. The process of commercialisation of crafts has implied a process of differentiation in the extent to which the communities of origin have become specialized. Some traditional artisan-agricultural communities become exclusively artisan communities, while others are outside this process, dedicating themselves basically to agricultural activities. David Kyle (2000) shows this contrast when making a comparative analysis of two communities in the region: Peguche, a political, social and technological centre; and Guanansi, traditionally agricultural and with a more recent and smaller scale participation in migration. It is interesting to emphasize that in the analysis of the socioeconomic differences between these communities, Kyle emphasises the historical connections between some of them and external elites that benefit economically and ideologically from a socially divided region. In the case of the Peguche community we find an elite that has developed specific socio-cultural values, which are compatible with those of the national society and very different from those of communities like Guanansi, which are more agricultural and conservative.

The work of Gladis Villavicencio (1973) in the 1970s is of great interest since it shows the formation of a group or elite of weavers who, breaking the internal logic and operation of the communities[5], is accu-

[5] I refer to the mechanisms of reciprocity and interchange characteristic of these communities and which are present in each and every social act: baptisms, weddings, deaths, work on public projects, construction of houses, etc.

mulating wealth which at the same time permits a greater investment of capital and the use of new technologies. This preponderant group comprises a group of families from the communities of Peguche, Quinchuqui and Agato which already since the 1940s began a lengthy and successful process of entry into first a national, and then an international, market. Thus, Villavicencio (1973: 123) states: "The capital-owning class and the working class arise: the class of the owners of large textile workshops, which become small factories, and the class of small weavers (...) economic inequality has arisen and with it, social inequality." These are the pioneering groups which opened markets successively in Colombia, Peru, Venezuela, Panama and Mexico. Already by the '70s members of these families were travelling to the U.S.A. and Europe.

When analysing the productive base for the success of this elite within the communities, Alicia Torres (2004) distinguishes between the figure of the producer and the vendor. The producer, who sometimes coincides with the figure of the vendor, activates the family networks and uses their work to satisfy the demands of production. Although of communal origin at first, these networks can be extended to several neighbouring communities through real and fictitious kinship. Both producer and vendor will activate these networks with the aim of supplying production and acquiring merchandise. Thus, high yields are obtained based on the community as a basic social organization. However, this community extends and develops beyond its geographical and political limits and is, in this sense, a deterritorialised community. And this is the basis for the success of indigenous entrepreneurs who have, in the words of Alicia Torres (2004: 12), "been able to trade on ethnic identity, in order to obtain profits thanks to the recreation of one of their forms of social organization: the community. But this recreation of the community does not have territorial limits...".

The recreation of this community takes place time and time again when that indigenous elite or entrepreneur class goes to family networks, based on real or fictitious kinship, to contract manual labour which in the destination countries will work in their service in the sale of crafts or the making and sale of folk music. The entrepreneur usually pays for the journey and a certain amount for entry to the country, which the migrant will return with his or her labour. After that he or she will start to receive some wages. In time, this migrant may be able to break with the original network and become a vendor of labour, or can himself become a small entrepreneur who in turn recruits manual labour. Therefore, we are faced with a migratory process that incorporates and maintains the origin inequalities and which, nevertheless, is usually described as a successful case of incorporation into the global economy

by means of the commercialisation of ethnic products. The community extends beyond national limits as a constructed, deterritorialised space on the base of relations of consanguinity and ritual kinship which act like economic relations, class relations and, therefore, power relations.

2. **Progressive changes in the migratory model**

Nevertheless, it seems that little by little this migratory model or pattern is changing and acquiring differentiating characteristics. One of the key events in this change is the tremendous political and financial crisis that the country has undergone since the end of the 1990s. In broad strokes three factors can be indicated that lead to what Ramírez Gallegos and Ramírez (2005) call the "Ecuadorian migratory stampede": political instability, banking collapse and dollarisation of the economy. In fact, in the period from 1997 to 2000 five governments succeeded one another in power, among them an indigenous-military Junta and two presidents who were dismissed and fled the country amidst huge citizen mobilizations. This precarious political situation did not help an economic situation that deteriorated progressively under the impact of phenomena as diverse as the armed conflict with Peru in 1995, the increase of external debt, the El Niño climatic phenomenon in 1997 and 1998, and the reduction of capital flows together with the fall of the price of export products (petroleum), as a result of the international financial crisis (Ramírez Gallegos and Ramírez, 2005). The collapse of the banking system in March 1999 and the subsequent dollarisation of the economy in January 2000 are key factors that, following on from a pre-existing situation of poverty and exclusion, provoked mass emigration of Ecuadorians.

However, we must remember that this massive exodus of Ecuadorians towards Spain (especially Barcelona, Madrid and Murcia) was largely carried out by a racially mixed population that has little or no relation with the networks of Otavalo Kichwa migrants that arrived in Europe at the end of the '80s. Even so, the deep crisis of the Ecuadorian economy affected to the craft market and the trade of the Otavalo Kichwa. The sale of crafts abroad was no longer as profitable as it had been in the past, since the currency was no longer changed from euros (pesetas until 2002) to sucres. And in Otavalo and neighbouring communities, daily life increased in price on a par with the fall in sales and exports. The regular sending of remittances was also affected by this situation, and both their size and frequency diminished. "Dollarisation changed everything" is one of the most recurrent ideas on both sides of the ocean. To

this situation we must add the saturation of the market that has taken place in Europe and, to a great extent, in Otavalo and nearby textile communities. This fact provokes in Europe the substitution of artisan products made in Ecuador, with the sale of products that respond to local fashions of consumption. In the case of the Otavalo Kichwa group resident in Orduña, although a small part of the merchandise is from Ecuador[6], most are articles acquired in the Madrid district of Lavapiés from Chinese, Hindu and Moroccan wholesalers.

The substitution of the artisan merchandise from Otavalo for products mainly of Asian origin constitutes a very visible change. Nevertheless, from the beginning of the research and according to the stories of different informants, it seems that these changes are deeper and that they do not concern solely material questions. Already in the first interview that I carried out, with a man from Otavalo who was highly involved in the indigenous movement, my attention was drawn by the fact that when I mentioned my intention of researching the Otavalo Kichwa migrants in Orduña, he said: "But they are recent arrivals". The migratory history of this individual, who began in the '80s with the sale of crafts in Switzerland, Germany, Belgium and Holland, shows some of the changes that are taking place in the migration of these transnational traders. As of 1994 he decided to give up selling crafts because it stopped being profitable due to saturation of the market. Until that point the profits obtained by selling in Europe, during a period of two or three months, were very high. Thus, following sales in different fairs and festivals, a migratory cycle was created that implied neither a stable nor a permanent residence: "Before, we did not come to live here like that. Before we came for a few months and we went home. And it so happened that in February we were over there. There was more money and we revived traditions... like the carnivals", another informant recounts.

Nevertheless, the domestic groups that live in Orduña have been in this area for an average of three or four years[7]. Of course, this residence is compatible with continual trips to sell at fairs and festivals, mainly in Euskadi, Cantabria, Navarre, and Asturias; and with longed-for but

[6] Objects brought from Ecuador but not necessarily Ecuadorian. Many of them come from Peru and are bought from the Peruvian wholesalers who have settled in the city of Otavalo.

[7] The first arrival in Orduña was in 2000. In general, the families enter Spain via Madrid and Barcelona and pass through a whole series of places before arriving in Orduña (in this sense the Navarren town of Irurtzun is emphasised as a nucleus of origin). In the last two years direct arrivals to Orduña have taken place. In this sense, Orduña can be considered not so much as a destination, rather as a meeting place where many itineraries cross.

infrequent journeys to Ecuador. One of the questions raised in this new situation is to what extent this change in the migratory cycle may pointing to a re-territorialisation of the Otavalo Kichwa community. In this process it is necessary to consider that we are faced with very young domestic groups, with young children of school age, which limits their continuous movement[8]. In any case, far from representing a definitive phase, it may be a transitory stage within the transnational migratory cycle of this group.

In addition to the transformations in the migratory cycle, a change seems to be taking place in the migratory process and those networks woven on family relations that, following the work of Alicia Torres, we have described in previous paragraphs. On the one hand, the domestic groups living in Orduña seem to have become disconnected from these initial networks. They are domestic groups composed of a young couple, formed in Ecuador or during their time in Europe, and with small children in their charge. All of them are dedicated to the itinerant sale of objects, generally acquired in Madrid, but we also found cases of men who are working in the construction sector. The two activities are compatible, since most of the itinerant sales take place at the weekend. We will have to study the development of this tendency because, if it continues, we will be faced with an important and significant change in the migratory model, since we are passing from vendors of labour to members of their own ethnic group, to vendors of labour to entrepreneurs of the host society. In any case, according to the data collected so far, it does seem that we are faced with domestic groups who have either broken with the original networks of ethnic entrepreneurs, or who have arrived at Spain through family contacts. But in the latter case, as Alicia Torres indicates, the family network acts as a reference point and initial source of help.

In this sense, one of the informants points out the difference with her own migratory trajectory. This woman migrated to Holland during the 1980s and her experience corresponds to the first stage that we have indicated: "My brother had come to Holland the previous year. And he had a friend, a Dutch gentleman, who said more people should come. And since before they liked the music a great deal, my brother came to make music with my sister's husband and with cousins. And so I came. They brought me to sell the records/cds. And then to cook and clean. To do the housework. Because they were men. And my brother said to me:

[8] Most were born in the '70s and '80s. As for the children, there are approximately 40, of whom 24 have been born in Orduña since 2000. All of them are enrolled either in the public school, or in the religious school of Nuestra Señora De La Antigua.

"we go here, I will pay you so much". Her second trip to Europe, is at the end of the '90s, following her husband. She herself indicates how: "before, a lot of people came (…) but it was people who had money, that is, those who already had money, who came. The wholesalers, that is, the people who had money over there. But those who have emigrated in the 1990s, in 2000, 2001, have come to work for the wholesalers, they are the ones who have stayed, mostly. The wholesalers themselves are no longer here, they went home and already they have houses and cars… they made money (…) I realize this, because of the people who came to Spain before there's nobody left… they're almost all the ones who came to work for them (…) They came with a contract for two years. Then they stayed here. Those are the majority who are here".

And the situation of those who have stayed here, or who have migrated since the mid-'90s, already seems to be not so fortunate, as far as economic success goes. Added to the difficulties involved in an activity that is often illegal, is the intense competition between different domestic groups. Itinerant sales are regulated and can be carried out on certain occasions and in certain contexts. The rules vary from place to place, but generally they have to either buy their pitch, paying by the square metre, or else bid for it in a public auction. On other occasions, they take the risk and sell in the street, on sheets, escaping time and time again from the municipal police. In this case they risk fines and confiscation of their merchandise. If they pay the fine, they can get it back, but it is not generally worth it since the size of the fine exceeds the value of the merchandise. In extreme cases they may even be punished with an expulsion order. To this we must add the high competition, not only among them, but also with other migrants dedicated to itinerant sales. In fact, this is the main cause to which they attribute the bad state of business. Many of them say that their idea at first was to sell merchandise from Otavalo, but two facts stop them: on the one hand, the saturation of the market with products from there (especially textile); on the other, in order for the sale to be profitable, they have to bring a remarkable amount of material, which would require an organization and coordination among the domestic groups that, as regards sales, does not exist.

Finally, I want to note that over time, this new migratory model has begun to incorporate women, which raises a specific problematic. In this sense, David Kyle (2000) analyses how a pre-existing gender stratification has allowed the development of transnational social structures in which the man undertakes most of the "adventure". It is expected and required of the woman to keep house as the economic and cultural basis of the domestic group. Nevertheless, this situation has changed. The woman has become involved in the migratory process, and what was

formerly a male and individual migration is nowadays a migration of the domestic group which includes the couple and their offspring. It is true that, as in Otavalo, it is the women who continue to wear traditional clothing. This question unites both the expectation that it will be the woman who maintains and reproduces the group cultural identity, and the economic importance of a perceived cultural identity as exotic in the host society.

We have already mentioned the often precarious situation of these domestic groups. In the case of the woman the situation is worse still. In multiple conversations with these women, one of the recurrent subjects is their need to work. In this sense, it is interesting that they do not consider as work, itinerant sales and the multiple small activities that they carry out to maintain the domestic group. When they speak of work the mean wage-earning work, as performed by some of their male companions. When questioned about her work, one of these women replied: "the truth is that I do not dedicate myself to anything, because selling is not like having a fixed employment that we have got, it's in order not to starve to death, so I cannot say that itinerant sales is my work, because that work is… for some it's far better, but for me personally it is a very bad situation, so having a fixed job would be…". One of the greatest problems they face is legal, since most of them, if they are not in a wholly irregular situation, have only a residence permit. On the other hand, the labour market which they could join is very limited. When they finish raising their youngest children and the latter begin school, these women feel the need to find an activity that provides a second income to complement that of their partner, if any, or what they earn from itinerant sales. The consider it clear that at present the possibility of saving is conditioned by the fact of living with their partner and offspring in the host society. If they stayed, with their children, in their domestic group of origin, the chance for their partner to accumulate savings would be much greater. But this decision is not easy and involves diverse factors, among them, as one woman indicates, the fear of infidelity by their partner: "But I was afraid of my husband coming to Spain, because whenever a man leaves home... some men forget everything, and find another woman here and stay".

In effect, when analysing the role of women in transnational social structures, Kyle mentions how the expectation has been generated that the woman will accept her partner's or husband's adventures with *gringas* (white women) whether abroad or in Otavalo. Various authors have dealt with this subject, in which it is interesting to emphasize the following aspect: we are not dealing with simple sexual or romantic adventures, but an economic opportunity to the extent to which the "ad-

venture" can provide information, contacts and accommodation in the host society. However, at the moment what has drawn our attention in Orduña is the frequency of conflicts that arise within the Otavalo Kichwa community itself, due to acts of infidelity. We are not dealing with adventures of the husbands or partners with native women[9], but acts of infidelity that take place within the community and which in many cases imply the establishment of double families: one in the society of origin and another in the host society.

3. **Transnationalism and practices of power: towards a re-territorialization?**

So far, we have analyzed and described a series of changes that come to subscribe the differences that Kyle points out in his work on the communities of origin. The author distinguishes two different phases in the development of the transnational migration: a first stage which would be limited to an economic elite, the weavers and vendors of certain communities; and a second phase, that starts to include a community that do not comprise that elite. We are dealing with very young domestic groups, who in their place of origin experience very strong competitive pressures, which lead them to undertake the *transnational adventure*. In this sense, the words of Luis Eduardo Maldonado[10] (2003) indicate this change when he mentions that in recent years an adventurous and informal commerce has been generated within non-traditional sectors that in the long run means the decline of specialized commerce. The appearance of these new vendors has its origin in the economic development of Otavalo itself which, according to Maldonado, represents the change from a sustainable economy to an economy in crisis. This decline of the economy has been produced, mainly, by the conjunction of three factors: an ever-greater dependency on the external market; great demographic pressure and shortage of land; and a concentration of activities in artisan and commercial production.

Thus, a second great migratory wave is generated, composed of domestic groups that do not belong to the traditional communities of weavers and vendors. The success, mobility and ability to enter a global

[9] At the moment I have not heard of any cases. A civil marriage did take place in 2005 between a woman from Orduña and an Otavalan man.

[10] Luis Eduardo Maldonado is one of the main indigenous leaders in Ecuador. At the moment he is President of the Executive Council of the School of Government and Public Policy of Ecuador.

market of the first indigenous transnational entrepreneurs, over time are transformed into young families of inexpert retailers, who compete with each other to sell products of poor quality and low prices. The trips, now with the whole family, are longer and longer, thus facing processes of adaptation to strange socio-cultural and legal contexts. Simultaneously, the economic commitments to the place of origin are increased, such that maintaining a social position is done through migrating, owning a house and a car[11]. The pressures under which these domestic groups live are much greater than in the past and generate among them great uncertainty about the future.

Considering everything said and shown in the preceding pages, we can speak of Otavalo and surrounding communities as a region that has been readily incorporated into a transnational market dealing with crafts and folk music. But we have also seen how this success has been that of an elite that already possessed social capital that launched it on that transnational adventure and which, in its development, incorporated the pre-existing socio-economics inequalities in the place of origin. Nevertheless, as Alicia Torres points out, this minority success is obscured by the recreation of the idea of community, a community that is *deterritorialised*, as a symbolic element of reciprocity and solidarity. Therefore, the transnational structures of these communities are created and maintained based on an economic stratification, with a more cosmopolitan and globalised class opposed to a more impoverished and marginalized one. The second great migratory wave generated from the mid-90s did not consist of political and economic elites of the region. In this sense, we can speak of a migration that presents in its beginning and its development a strong *vertical polarization* with the creation of a transnational indigenous entrepreneur who prevails economically, politically and socially.

It is the examination of these differences in the Otavalo Kichwa migration which leads us to ask ourselves about the existing relations between transnationalism and power practices. A power that is not only economic but which is constructed on historical, political and gender relations. In this context, it is interesting to reconsider some of the proposals developed by Alejandro Portes (2005) from his comparative study of the transnational activities of Colombians, Dominicans and Salvadorans. Since it would be a matter for another paper, here we will not

[11] Many of the families in Orduña, have bought a car in their community of origin which they pay for on credit through relatives who live there. Nevertheless, I believe that both the acquisition of a car and the construction of a house in the place of origin have to do, not only with the desire for success, but also with the expression of the migrant's bond with his or her community.

go into the discussion and criticism that Portes raises at the beginning of the aforementioned article, in the sense of the exaggerated extent that this phenomenon has been given from anthropological studies. What we want to emphasize are some of the conclusions which he reaches and which, although in his case he is raising the heterogeneity of the transnational phenomenon among different groups of migrants, in the case of the Otavalo Kichwa migration, would allow us to speak of the heterogeneity of this particular migratory flow.

In order to show the heterogeneity acquired by the phenomenon of transnationalism, Alejandro Portes examines different variables such as the contexts of the societies of origin and destination. In principle, the origin in urban societies and with situations of violence, lead the migrant group to a break with its origin and a greater degree of integration in the destination society. On the other hand, in situations of calm and rural nuclei, the migrant groups tend to maintain bonds with their places of origin, developing transnational political and civic activities. From the perspective of the destination societies, the concentration of migrants of the same origin or ethnic group implies a greater degree of intensity of transnational activities. If we focus attention on the Otavalo Kichwa migration, the concentration of these groups is one of the features that characterize it. Not only a numerical concentration, as we found in the case of the small city of Orduña, but the capacity to organize themselves, to create networks, and to attain continuous mobility throughout Europe, at the same time as maintaining a strong cultural identity and an important unity. Alejandro Portes makes reference to the hostile environment of the host societies as the cause of the high levels of concentration of migrant groups. Nevertheless, in this case we can refer to an identity and practice that are configured by hegemonic categories like race and ethnicity: categories rooted in the process of construction of the Ecuadorian nation. As Glick Schiller *et al*. (1992, 1994) indicate, these conceptual categories are hegemonic constructions that form part of the historical exercise of state power and domination. Thus, certain communities become transnationalised and maintain unity, in spite of being located in different countries, specifically via the excluding—ethnifying—process of the construction of a nation state.

Next, and through the data collected by his empirical study, Portes comes to contradict a conventional assimilationist perspective that still continues to insist on the contingency of transnational activities and their association with the most recent and impoverished sectors of the migrant communities. On the contrary, he notes that the male migrants with greatest human and social capital, are those who become involved in and maintain transnational activities. Then, if for a

moment we return to the Otavalo Kichwa migration, we can see how these characteristics are associated with a first stage or phase in the migration of this group. The group described as transnational indigenous entrepreneurs would consist mainly of men who belong to a commercial and political elite in the communities of origin, and which has sufficient social capital to construct and maintain a transnational social space. It is in this sense that we raise as a hypothesis the existing and perhaps necessary relationship between transnationalism and power, in such a way that the transnational experience is the one of an elite that has been historically formed in the communities of origin and which incorporates into the migratory process the pre-existing inequalities (economic, political and gender), thus forming what we propose to call "transnational spaces of power".

The transnational commercial migration from Otavalo has generated the formation of transnational social structures interwoven by class, ethnicity and gender relations. We have tried to emphasize the main changes that are taking place in this migratory process. Thus, one of the key questions will be the incidence that such transformations have in the creation of new transnational social structures, which are no longer so fluid nor perhaps, as in the past, so closely linked to the economic and political processes of the place of origin. Without a doubt, the migratory dynamics of the Otavalo Kichwa group has generated a deterritorialised space. A space that does not show a clear correspondence between social relations, cultural practices and territory. This transnational space forms or produces networks and structures, norms and practices of power. If in future research allows us to confirm the present tendency towards re-territorialisation of these communities, perhaps new norms and practices of power may be formed in which those class and gender relations receive a new meaning.

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On the inclusion of the children of immigrants in European societies. The French riots of 2005

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Introduction

At the end of October, 2005, the international television networks and press began to emit copious images of burning vehicles, destruction of street furniture and violent demonstrations including police charges and arrests that took place night after night in Clichy-sous-Bois, a town east of Paris. Within days, the disturbances spread to other peripheral districts of Paris and even of other French cities. The social alarm grew, so that the phenomenon gained a very high profile and came to be seen as something more than mere manifestations of gratuitous violence.

What to begin with seemed like a public order disturbance led by marginal teenagers, over-excited and disobedient, was gradually shown to be a series of linked protests responding to a specific incident. Thus, we found out that the trigger for the violent protests was the death of two teenagers from the aforementioned town while they were running away from the police. As Octavi Martí reports in El País (2005: 2), this is how it all started:

> "A group of young Muslim men were playing a football match on the afternoon of Thursday, 27th October in Clichy-sous-Bois. When they were going home to break the Ramadan fast at sunset, some po-

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> licemen appeared and arrested six of them for unknown reasons. Two of them, Bouna Traoré (15 years old) and Zyed Benna (17), fled and were chased by the police. They met Muhittin Altun (17); the three ran for a quarry and into the metallic fence of an electrical power station. They jumped the fence and entered the power station. Bouna and Zyed died of electrocution while Muhittin was injured but survived. Muhittin stated to the police that they were fleeing to avoid detention by the police officers and for this reason they entered the power station despite the warning notices. They were there for an hour, and suddenly one of his companions touched something, he felt a blow and the noise the electrical current makes when it passes through resistance. That is how the spark flew which unleashed a tidal wave of arson and disturbances."

As result, within two weeks 6,600 cars and at least a hundred public buildings were burned while several stores were looted and likewise burned (Martí, 2005: 1). Meanwhile, the French Government decreed a state of emergency "thus restoring legislation of exceptional power conceived during the Algerian war of independence." In the end, the riots resulted in 10,000 cars burnt and 200 buildings damaged. (Prieto, 2005b: 16)

Besides the material destructions, a brutal gap was opened between the French political class—with the minister of the interior Nicolas Sarkozy as its chief representative, since he was in charge of managing the crisis—and the youths responsible for the arson and destruction. Among other delightful phrases, the French interior minister referred to these youths as *scum* and *rabble* and asserted that he was going to "clean the suburbs with fire hoses" (Martí, 2005: 1); something that, obviously, the youths to whom he was referring interpreted as a challenge which made Sarkozy and the security forces their personification of evil, their common enemy (Fernandez, 2005: 33).

This was not an isolated phenomenon; far from it, since during the first ten months of 2005, before the disturbances of the end of October, 30,000 vehicles were burned in the French suburbs (Martí, 2005: 1). Nor must we forget that this was not the first occasion on which a young inhabitant of a French peripheral town died at the hands of the police, with protests and violent demonstrations following the painful incident—those who remember the film *La Haine*[2] will know to what we

[2] The film La Haine (Mathieu Kassovitz, 1995), which translates into English as Hate, reports one day in the life of three young men—Saïd, of North African origin; Hubert, of sub-Saharan origin; and Vinz, of Jewish origin—in a peripheral town of Paris. The action takes place during the day after a night of demonstrations and violent protests, destruction and arson of cars and buildings—actions similar to the recent events—which happen

are referring. We presume that the problem goes far beyond the simple burning of vehicles by marginal youths as a response to the death of two comrades, with which it is easy to identify if one is a young inhabitant of some French peripheral town—in one of the peaceful daily demonstrations that followed the unfortunate incident, the young demonstrators wore T-shirts with the names of the two dead youths[3], showing a feeling of identification with Bouna Traoré and Zyed Benna, since presumably with the T-shirts these young people wanted to express that any of them could have been the ones who had died, something which, on the other hand, also shows a certain feeling of vulnerability, fragility in the face of death. In effect, we believe that we are dealing with a symptomatic social fact that reflects a real lack of social cohesion in European societies and among European citizens, which, in spite of the fact that it is related to the extensive topic of contemporary migrations, we do not believe that is related to immigrants to Europe, but the descendants of immigrants to Europe, which means populations that are already European. It is not a question of discussing, therefore, whether we should provide these populations with residence and work permits or begin processes of regularization, their possibility of gaining citizenship or similar questions; we believe, on the contrary, that this debate must focus on the responsibility that nation-states have toward their citizens. We seek, where we think necessary, to detach the problems that concern us from the traditional political discourse that is focused on immigration as a problem of integration of new arrivals, so as to redirect the debate towards a type of discourse that centres more on the problems of how to act in order to avoid social divisions according to origin which end up dismembering our societies.

This being the case, the need to study this social fact, through analysis of its social actors, causes and implications, also becomes an indispensable task, for other European societies which, at the moment, are viewing the phenomenon from across the border, since, despite this social fact being framed in the French context, it servers as an example for our own context. In the Spanish State, as well as the Basque Autonomous Community, the

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after the arrival in hospital of a young local man because of a brutal beating suffered in a police station. This is a story based on real facts, and we must point out that the film in question was made approximately ten years ago, which makes it easy to deduce that we are not dealing with a new social problem, but an illness that seems to be becoming chronic.

[3] In a photo published in the first page of the November issue of the magazine Etorkinen Ahotsa / Voices of the World, one can easily see how the first row of demonstrators are wearing T-shirts either with the names Traore and Benna, the surnames of the two dead youths, or the phrase "mort pour rien", that is to say, dead for nothing.

children of immigrants are gradually reaching adulthood, an age when they will have to compete with the rest of society for a decent position therein. We believe that the French case, to the extent that this is a country with a greater tradition of immigration, can serve as a negative example. That is to say, we want to identify the causes, both immediate and long-term, of the French disturbances of 2005, so that, once we have identified them, we can work, each from his or her own field and to the extent possible, so that the situation does not repeat itself in our own contexts.

We will start by dedicating a few pages to the task of getting to know, in the academic sense of the term, these young men. The bases of this knowledge will be principally anchored in their origin, their religion and their culture. We will proceed in the first instance to know where these young men come from, thus debunking a widespread belief about their origin on behalf of the general public, to wit: that they are not precisely immigrants, but descendants of immigrants and, therefore, are European citizens who possess, on the whole, the nationalities of the countries where they have either been born or grown up. In second place, we will investigate their religion and the possibility that Islam has influenced the configuration of the disturbances. Finally, we will verify how the culture of these youths is constructed and interpreted from without, through highly doubtful convergences between the religion which they supposedly practice and the culture that they have allegedly inherited from their forbears, in order to see how, in the end, this type of practice leads to nothing more than a deformation of the social actors and of the problem in question.

1. **The social actors**

One of the measures announced by Nicolas Sarkozy to try to stop the violence, was to order the deportation of those who were arrested and convicted of having taken part in the disturbances. Apparently, those who decided to announce and implement this measure forgot the crucial reality that is at the centre of this debate: we must not lose sight of the fact that the youths who took part in the disturbances were neither foreigners nor immigrants, but rather their children and grandchildren: what some insist on calling *second and third generation immigrants*[4].

[4] The validity of the term *second generation immigrants* has been widely questioned in the area of migratory studies and social sciences. The principal reason for rejecting this expression is that it is "equivalent to disconnecting the term "immigrant" from its active and objective root (physical emigration), to connect it surreptitiously with passive mem-

The social actors to whom we refer are social actors with French nationality, children and grandchildren of immigrants who came to France from her former colonies either in the post-war period, or in the 1960s and '70s.

Emigration from the former colonies to their respective ex-metropolises was, and in some cases still is, marked by the common denominator of the imperial networks and linguistic ties created in the age of colonisation (Lubeck, 2003: 115). After the Second World War, the possibilities that the former metropolises offered to some of the former colonial citizens made it more attractive to live there than in the former colonies—we refer particularly to the granting of nationality or residence by countries such as France and Great Britain. On the other hand, the displacements of the nineteen sixties and seventies were marked by a labour shortage in many Northern European countries, due principally to the high indices of economic development that the continent experienced after the two world wars (Lubeck, 2003: 115; Wieviorka, 2003: 177-178). This is how, with their labour, the workers of the former colonies contributed to the European economic boom at the start of the second half of the twentieth century.

What is true is that until approximately the 1980s there was a widespread belief, on behalf of both the governments of the respective host countries and the immigrants themselves, that the latter's residence in Europe would be temporary, given that it was provoked by a temporary need for labour, and that, when this need ended, the *guest workers* would leave Europe to return to their respective countries of origin (Tibi, 2003: 62). But practically all the European countries that have received migratory flows have followed a similar dynamic: first resorting to a great quantity of foreign workers as a temporary labour force, only to find themselves obliged to carry out family regrouping policies later on[5].

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bership of a supposed new social estate in the destination societies consisting of those who arrived once upon a time, destined to lasting forever and to reproduce itself in its decadence […] it is beginning to be accepted that the immigrant sector is seen as a stable and hereditary social subsector, different from and inferior to the natives" (Aparicio and Tornos, 2006: 21). Although we agree with this affirmation and therefore choose not to use the expression *second generation* in the present study, we think we should mention that besides the strictly biological sense, the aforementioned phrase can be interpreted also in a historical-political sense, that is to say, that in this case the term *second generation* would be justified when referring to the generational differences between parents and children in thinking, acting and coexisting with the rest of society (Aparicio and Tornos, 2006: 22).

[5] This fact might apply equally to countries with a long-standing tradition of incoming migratory flows—such as France, Germany, the United Kingdom and Holland—and to Mediterranean countries such as Spain, Italy and Portugal, which have gone from being countries of origin to destination countries for immigrants.

We have seen that with the passing of time, the workers who came to Europe in the nineteen sixties and seventies have stayed and established themselves in their respective host countries; and what is more relevant, that thanks to policies of family regrouping, the families—principally wives and children—of those *pioneers* have equally come to form part of the population of our societies, as well as enjoying nationality in the respective European nations-states in which their parents became established[6]. Thus, due to the process of family regrouping, immigration in Europe in general and in France especially has gone from a picture of hard-working masculine figures normally living alone in hotels or rented rooms and who, in spite of the fact that "they were socially integrated from the point of view of labour relations, in the political and cultural sphere they stayed on the margins" (Wieviorka, 2003: 178), to an image of whole families. Therefore, at this point it should be clear that the children and grandchildren of the immigrants who came to Europe, both in the post-war period and in the nineteen sixties and seventies, are not newcomers, but citizens born—or naturalized—on European soil.

Regarding their religion, and after a superficial reading of the social phenomenon, it could, on first sight, be said that these young men have a religious affinity with their parents and grandparents inasmuch as they could be pigeonholed in the group we could call *Muslims in Europe*. Beside running the risk of thus assuming a religious categorization that may be non-existent, we believe that it is erroneous to generalize about Muslims in general and Muslims in Europe in particular, since several aspects of this multifaceted reality would escape us, such as the fact that there does not exist a single version of Islam, due, among other factors, to the plurality of cultural contexts in which this religion has developed and continues to develop today. Nor can we ignore the fact that in Europe there is not a single *type of Muslim immigrant*, due, for example, to their diversity in ethno-national origin—Algerians and Moroccans in France; Turks and Kurds in Germany; and Pakistanis and Indians in the United Kingdom (Carbajosa, 2005: 3; Tibi, 2003: 58, 63).

But the differences between the Muslims who live in Europe are not only due to their origin, but as Lubeck (2003: 121) reminds us, "the differences are due to their ethno-national and linguistic origins, or to their religious beliefs, legal situation, social class and generation". Thus,

[6] In most cases they have dual nationality: in the country of origin of their ancestors and in the host country. We must not forget, however, the case of Germany, where the descendants of immigrants who are born on German soil and who want to acquire German nationality are first required to renounce their nationalities of origin (Velasco, 1997: 378, 2003: 129-130).

this author elaborates a typology of Muslims in Europe, classifying them according to their type of incorporation in European societies. In his typology, Lubeck places postcolonial immigrants and their children and grandchildren in the same group. Nevertheless, we presume that differences exist between these, not only regarding the way in which they have joined the European societies, but also their way of understanding and practicing Islam. The fundamental source of the differences in this field between the former and the latter would be the generational gap experienced, according to Wieviorka (2003: 179-180), especially in France where "Islam for the young is no longer what it was for their parents or for previous generations". This author identifies four versions of Islam in France that "are related more to certain problems of French society that to those of their societies of origin"[7].

In case of the disturbances of November, 2005, Martí (2005: 1) explains how the UOIF, the Union of Islamic Organizations of France, declared a fatwa against the protests and disturbances, recalling that "Allah does not like those who sow disorder," but that this did not stop the cars burning, and that therefore the role of *colonial policeman* that Nicolas "Sarkozy was trying to delegate onto the French Islamic organizations has not been assumed by the alleged believers". Finally the only people who managed to impose a bit of calm in Clichy-sous-Bois were not even the police, "overwhelmed by what was looking like a real urban war", not the UOIF, "but a group of youths from the mosque, known as *big brothers*" (Fernandez, 2005: 33). We should point out, nevertheless, that the police did not find indications of terrorist manipulations or of political extremists in the big wave of protests (Prieto, 2005a: 17). As Naïr (2005b: 17) states, "there is neither an organization, nor a religion, nor an ideology behind these cities in flames. There is only a spontaneous rage. There is only desperation turned into street violence". In this respect, we might conclude that for the young men of the French periphery who carried out the protests, religion is not a determinant despite the fact that it forms part of the panorama (Martí, 2005: 1). That is to say, we are not dealing with young people who act in the name of Islam or because of religious conflicts, in spite of the fact that Islamic organizations in their environment exist, but of young

[7] These four versions are, on the one hand, the traditional Islam of the elders, extremely ritualised, apolitical and sometimes mixed with magic; the institutionalised Islam of the Paris mosque, apolitical but republican in spirit; the Islam of the suburbs, a result of the scanty social integration of young men of immigrant origin, and, finally, the politicised version that argues for a socio-political conception of the religion based on anti-occidentalism.

people whose violent practices "have much more to do with their situation of socially underprivileged persons and their life in de-structured environments and in families that lack solid links with the community" (Wieviorka, 2003: 191).

In the field of cultural ascriptions there are some similarities to what is found in the area of religion: we observe a certain trend to consider these young people, as with their ancestors, as forming part of a supposed *Muslim* or even *African culture* inherited from their forbears and which would come to contradict the philosophical and political assumptions of Western enlightened thought that developed from nineteenth-century bourgeois revolutions and through the progress of human rights. We venture to affirm that this is a flawed and perverse vision due to the careless use made of both the term *culture* and the expression *Muslim culture*.

As the first step in revising this expression we will need to revise the concept of *culture*. For Wright (1998: 8-10), there are two meanings of culture, namely: *the old meaning of culture* and *the new meaning of culture*. For the defenders of the old idea of culture—which in spite of being old, still enjoys wide acceptance—a given culture extends via small-scale entities and with recognized and recognizable limits, with definite and invariable characteristics that lead one to think that it is an *authentic culture* which, in turn, produces and is produced by homogeneous individuals. The new idea of culture arises as a result of recent political and economic changes, of the end of European colonisation and the continuous expansion of the new forms of relationships of production and exchange, as well as the global communication networks that, in turn, have provoked movements on the international labour market from the southern to the northern hemisphere, and which have somehow placed the accent on the possibility that cultural identities are neither inherent, nor static, nor limited, but, on the contrary, are dynamic, fluid and constructed in particular situations, times and places.

Therefore, if we take the new meaning of culture to be valid—that is to say, the process theory of culture that, as Baumann (2001: 115) affirms, is much less popular than the essentialist theory, which would correspond to the old meaning of culture, "very popular among the mass media and most political rhetoric"—we would assume that the culture of these young people could not, in any case, correspond to a hypothetical inherited culture that had travelled in the form of a *sealed package* from the countries of origin of their parents and grandparents to be adopted later in the host countries just as it came, without experiencing changes or transformations of any type.

On the other hand, regarding the expression *Muslim culture*, we agree with Roy's (2003: 67) assertion that

> "every person of Muslim origin is supposed to takes part in the same Muslim culture, whatever their real culture of origin (Turkish, Arabic, Bosnian), that is to say, religion is seen as the essential component of the above mentioned cultures, a component that can be isolated and held up as a culture in and of itself […] this culture is attributed to the person, whatever his or her faith may be."

He adds besides the fact that "the definition of Islam as a culture in itself is only possible in situations of immigration and de-culturalisation", and that "what is perceived as a cultural feature is in fact a distinctive religious sign that can be personified in different cultures and does not define a culture in itself" (Roy, 2003: 67-68).

What we affirm in the last instance is that, if we combine the assumptions that culture is a social fact subject to constant change and that a Muslim culture as such does not exist, the analysis of the culture of the young descendants of postcolonial immigrants will have to be reviewed and detached from the parameters of the aforementioned affirmation, namely, that these youths take part in *Muslim culture*.

Roy (2003: 77-79) is one of the authors who undertakes the aforementioned unprejudiced review: In his analysis of Muslims who live in the West and more specifically of the young descendants of immigrants who live on the outskirts of French cities, he describes these as living within an *urban* and *western* subculture, and adds, also, that "they are nearer to their French native counterparts and to American blacks than to the small villages of origin of their parents". Martí (2005: 1) also coincides with this analysis when he affirms that "the *barbarian* youths of Imbert and Beyala are identical to those who infest the American slums, so much so that they call themselves *blacks*". In the same way, Beck (2005: 15) affirms that "it is not precisely a question of immigrants anchored in their cultures of origin, but of young people with a French passport, who speak French perfectly and who have passed through the French school system". We should add to this the fact that "the new generations express themselves better in the language of the host country, especially when that of their parents is not an official written language" (Roy, 2003: 65).

Definitively, we can conclude that we need an approach that is more appropriate and free from stereotypes and prejudices if we are to understand not only the social actors but also the social problems in question; for this it is necessary to take into account certain aspects that Beck (2005: 17) synthesizes in the following words:

> "We talk about immigrants, but we forget that they are French. We fix our attention on Islam, but forget that many of the arsonists don't give a fig for religion. We evoke the significance of their origins and refuse to admit that the flames arise from their having been born here, from their successful assimilation and precisely from the *Égalité* that they have internalised."

2. **The causes, short and long-term**

Gérard Larcher, minister of the French government, related the crisis of the periphery with polygamy, by hinting "that the ranks of the arsonists have been swollen by teenagers who don't have enough space in their crowded houses" (Prieto 2005b: 15). We believe that the real reasons that would explain the appearance of this crisis and of the situation of which it is a reflection, are not related to polygamy but different kinds of motives which we consider it appropriate to separate into long-term and short-term causes. The short-term causes are immediate factors such as unemployment, spatial segregation and the lack of material resources in general, whereas the long-term causes respond to deeper-rooted dynamics in our societies, which have to do, fundamentally, with the management of difference and pluralism which the French nation-state especially, and European nation-states in general, have carried out since their construction until the present day. We will start by addressing the nature of the short-term causes.

2.1. *The short-term causes*

When presenting the social facts, we have let it be seen that one of the daily difficulties that young people of the periphery in France have to confront, is the hostile and arbitrary practices of the public security forces against them. As well, unemployment, school failure, the lack of housing, segregated and degraded social spaces and the consequent frustration and lack of perspectives in general that form the type of contexts in which the children of immigration live, constitute, no doubt, another important source of daily obstacles.

The space reserved for these *new European citizens* is formed by the peripheral districts of large French cities, districts in which the level of unemployment and school failure greatly exceed the French average, as do the percentage of households that receive social assistance; districts where the number of house owners is substantially less than the French average while collective housing and apartments of 40 to 70 m²

are practically double the national average. This information applies to Seine-Saint-Denis, the department in which the disturbances began and where the towns and districts most affected by the revolts are located; this is the case of Clichy-sous-Bois, the town Bouna Traoré and Zyed Benna came from and where the protests began. This town is similar to others of the periphery of Paris and of other French cities: They are places normally located a few kilometres from the cities they have as a centre but where, on the other hand, they hardly ever go, since for these young people "it is as if the cosmopolitan metropolis was on another planet" (Prieto, 2005a: 18).

Clichy-sous-Bois, like other municipalities where most of the immigrant population and their descendants are concentrated, was created in the nineteen sixties, initially, to house to the French working class. Later, foreign workers and their families were moved to this type of districts until they were converted into what they are now: abandoned, segregated and degraded spaces, places that Beck (2005: 15), referring to their dispensability, calls *authentic superfluous ghettos*. To summarise:

> "In Clichy-sous-Bois there are no bars, cafés or restaurants, so the young people of the district spend their time in the parking lots and the lobbies of the so-called HLM, frightful and decaying social housing blocks […] Their leisure options go no further than the single McDonalds in this suburb, football, which they play amidst the traffic, and the rap that they listen to and improvise whenever they can." (Fernandez, 2005: 32)

The same is true of the whole department of Seine-Saint-Denis to which Clichy-sous-Bois belongs, where in 2004 there were 57 murders and 155 cases of kidnapping, where about 50% of the households do not reach the minimum income to pay taxes. In effect, "the country presided over by Jacques Chirac contains approximately 700 sensitive districts or suburbs afflicted by an unemployment that is twice or even three times the national average of 9.8%" (Prieto, 2005a: 17-18).

Numerous authors have placed on the table the problems of exclusion from the labour market for reasons of origin. For example, in 2000 in Holland, Paul Scheffer, one of the intellectual referents of social democracy, denounced the over-representation of the young descendants of immigrants in the unemployment and delinquency statistics—unemployment among young men of Turkish and Moroccan parents is 10%, that is, three times greater than the average—as well as the passivity of public power when faced with this phenomenon. Later, there have been several studies that corroborate this denunciation: in a doctoral

thesis defended in February 2005, the sociologist Frank van Tubergen showed that entrepreneurs preferred to hire *white and Christian personnel* (Cécilia, 2005: 24-25); likewise, the Sorbonne sociologist Jean-François Amadieu sent 250 curricula in response to different job adverts, changing only the name of the applicant - some had a French name and others an Arabic-sounding one, although in both cases the applicant was French-born; the result was those with French names were called five times more often than those of Arabic origin (Fernandez, 2005: 32). Therefore, it seems clear that the reason for these levels of unemployment must be sought in the discrimination according to origin by entrepreneurs when hiring employees, a fact that leads to a large number of unemployed young people who live at the margin of the economic and social activity of large cities.

A possible explanation for this phenomenon might be found in the conditions in which Islam began to appear in Europe in the nineteen eighties: As Wieviorka (2003: 181) explains, European societies in general, and French society especially, reacted with a certain fear and concern to the increase in population of immigrant and Muslim origin due, basically, to the fact that Islam was no longer represented in Europe principally by male workers more or less living on the margins of the majority society, but that following the processes of family regrouping, Islam was also seen in Europe through families living in extremely difficult situations on the periphery of large cities. While Islam became the second-largest religion in France, it was revealed as a source of deep concern for the French by being identified with the margins of the consumer-welfare society, namely with poverty and social abandonment.

Aside from their exclusion of the labour market, and as a result of it, the children of immigrants are equally excluded from, shall we say, almost the whole of French public life. As Prieto (2005a: 17) puts it, non-Gallic names can hardly be found in public institutions such as the French Parliament, on television or among the directors of large French companies "despite the fact that the parents or grandparents of 10% of the French population come from non-European territories"[8].

This being the case, the disturbances of late 2005 have been interpreted by not a few authors as a response to the invisibility to which

[8] This trend only changes if we look at the composition of the French football team, where we can talk about not only representation but over-representation of players of non-French origin. In this respect, during the 2006 World Cup in Germany, the sports commentators repeated again and again that the Algerian-origin player Zinedine Zidane constituted "the paradigm of racial integration in France", without once alluding to the fact that the aforementioned racial integration has not gone beyond the specified sport.

these young people of the periphery appear to be condemned, as desperate cries to exist, to form a part of a centre that excludes them (De Toro, 2005: 14; Ramoneda, 2005: 6). The legitimacy or the power to exclude, is given to the centre largely through possession of the national identity which it seems to have, and on occasions defends. A type of identity that is born and develops alongside the emergence of the respective nation-state.

2.2. *The causes in the long term*

The construction of the European nation-state is a historical process with light but also with dark points. Although the nation-state was born thanks to a new image of the relationship between rulers and ruled, an image that materialized partly after the declaration of formal equality between citizens, its attempts to homogenize the population found throughout its territory generated a certain hostility towards difference that is still in force today. As we will have occasion to verify later, the construction of the national identity by each nation-state in order to support its legal-political machinery, was fundamentally possible thanks to the homogenisation of the diverse groups of population of each nation-state and its complementary process, that is to say, the identification and description of whoever did not belong to the political community as foreign and different, as *the other,* who will end up being identified with the figures of the foreigner and the immigrant.

There is a fundamental, positive aspect to underline as regards what the creation of the European nation-states implied for the populations occupying their territories, which is that it was precisely from the ruled, and only from the ruled, now converted into citizens, that it was claimed[9] that power emanated to choose their leaders through the exercise of popular sovereignty and popular will, thus restoring the democratic prin-

[9] We say "it was claimed" because we agree with Sartori's (2003: 41) assertion that "the power of the people […] is only an elliptical expression. In these terms, the political procedure remains suspended in the midst of space: power is exercised on a target, government implies the existence of governed. Popular power *over whom*? The formula must be developed by extension in the following way: democracy is the power of the people over the people, government by the people of themselves. But in this case, the problem assumes a totally different representation: what counts in the end, more than the "going", is the "coming back" of power. If this trajectory is not monitored, if in the process of transmission of power the controlled escape from the power of the controllers, government *over* the people runs the risk of having no relationship with government *by* the people." But this is another story.

ciple of equality and participation[10]. We do not wish to ignore the validity of this social change, since, as Colom Gonzalez (2001: 12) affirms, "after all, the nation-state has provided the historical base on which the structural assumption of the constitutional state has been conjoined with the democratic imperative of civic participation." Nevertheless, we would like pause on a fundamental aspect for debate that concerns us, which is that at the same time that a formal equality was granted to part of the population, a mantle of forced homogenisation in the shape of national identity was spread over the same part, and it is true that the political-legal structure that was constructed in accordance with the desired new form of government, needed a body to support—or, rather, it needed a body to support *it*—a body that subsequently would become *people* and *nation*. Thus, as affirmed by Baumann (2001: 44), the term and concept of *nation-state* "combines the nation, a hopeful and warmly emotional concept, with the more distant and colder reality of the State".

A state can be defined as a form of centralized government that possesses or claims territorial sovereignty and that possesses or claims a monopoly of coercive force within this territory (Baumann, 2001: 44); we might add that the type of state that began to be sketched out in early modernity was in essence a democratic state that demanded that power be concentrated in the hands of the population occupying the territory of each state in question. Then, it was precisely the task of concentrating power in the population that made the theoreticians of the nation realise that it was necessary to generate a feeling of unity, of common property among their population so as to be able to delegate safely the individual political responsibility that any democracy demands, and since this unity was not created by nature it had to be constructed. This need to homogenise the population, as expressed by authors such as Bauman (2003: 20), Lanceros (2005: 79-106) and Appadurai (1990: 304), resides in the fact that the clash of wills between the different groups occupying the territory of the new states was by no means desired, but was rather perceived as a threat than as an opportunity. Thus, the utilization of such concepts as sovereign people or nation has turned out to be "a highly effective mechanism to eliminate dissent, to condemn, in the name of another invented transcendence, any form of productive and creative dissent." To produce

[10] We must not forget, nevertheless, that citizenship was not granted equally to all the population groups of each nation-state, but rather, through struggles prolonged through time, groups such as non-property-owners, women and persons of diverse ethnic origin have obtained the sought-for title of citizens.

people and nation meant appealing, in the first instance, to a common past, or what is the same thing, to a common origin projected in biology, race, faith, language, customs, traditions, culture, etc. (Lanceros, 2005: 105)—aspects that have finally been made concrete in what we know today as national identities.

The prior step required for any national identity to be constructed is *ethnic nationalism*, by means of which the properties of a nation are denatured, which instead of being conceived as an organisation formed around shared rights, is seen as the result of the convergence of such pre-political features as language, race, religion, customs and traditions, etc. (Colom Gonzalez, 2001: 24). Ethnic nationalism has to eliminate the ethnic differences existing between the populations of each nation-state, so that it must convert the nation into a *super-ethnicity* that is incarnated in the nationals of a given nation-state, namely: *Frenchman*, *Spaniard*, *Briton*, etc. (Baumann, 2001: 45-46). This being so, the logic of the *super-ethnicity* ends up being analogous to any ethnicity, which is conceived as an *us* in opposition to a *them*, as a feature generating sociocultural differences and a marker of cultural identity (Martínez Montoya, 2005: 279); that is to say, that to each *super-ethnicity* is given a specific and complete culture, which finally leads to the idea that the ultimate aim of a given ethnic identity is to become a nation that creates a State (Baumann, 2001: 73): no more nor less than the essential ideology of nationalism.

Special importance in all this process is given to the task of constructing historical memory, since as affirmed by Lanceros (2005: 90) the nation, which erupted into history with the determined will to conquer the future, found that to achieve this it was necessary to accumulate a past. Colom Gonzalez (2001: 27) explains how

> "By means of stories provided with a historical dimension and an ethical density, national identities contribute meaning to the past and are loaded with reasons for the present […] In all this process the role played by ethno-history is key, that is to say, by the story spun from the materials contributed by selective memory, myths of origin, rituals and other mnemonic devices."

Thus, as a result of this process, we find that the nation is no more than "one or several ethnic groups whose members believe, to a certain extent are induced to believe, that they possess a State, that is to say, that they bear a special responsibility for it " (Baumann, 2001: 44), all of which is "fruit of an authentic intellectual revolution: purging the *people* of their derogatory sense of *plebeians* so as to invest them with the idea of sovereignty and identify them with the nation raised to the supreme

rank of political loyalty" (Colom Gonzalez, 2001: 21-22); at the same time, the nation-state, unlike its imperial and dynastic predecessors, assumed the responsibility for producing and reproducing an approved culture" (Colom Gonzalez, 2001: 13). In sum, the idea of the nation then arose as "a solid community that advances progressively through history" (Anderson, 1983: 48).

Inevitably, and together with the acquisition of self-consciousness—intentionally for a few and involuntarily for the majority—the nation proceeds with the exercise of differentiating itself from other nations (Colom Gonzalez, 2001: 23), and the scheme that the nation applies to itself also works at the point of "comprehension of other peoples, defined as homogeneous, delimited cultures and of ethnic (pre-civic) character" (Martínez Montoya, 2005: 282). Besides an *officialisation* of cultural differences between nations, at the point of creation of the nation-states we are present at the legal incarnation of difference, insomuch as simultaneously with the birth of citizenship, its obverse is also created through the figure of the foreigner, namely: one who does not possess the nationality of a given nation-state and who therefore does not form part of its political body, who by being different, by being *the other*, suffers the consequences of inequality and exclusion.

Velasco (1997: 346) reminds us that, despite the fact that the figure of the foreigner has accompanied the human being since its origins, "the condition of foreigner, as defined in our modern societies, has its explanation in a historical process of the construction of nation-States". What is true is that, although the new image that arose following the nineteenth-century enlightened revolutions turned out to be egalitarian and universalistic, ethnocentrism was progressively imposed, thus reaffirming "the conceptual difference between individuals belonging and not belonging to the State" (Ruiz Vieytez, 2005: 111).

In this classic dichotomy in which the figure of the foreigner constitutes the obverse of the citizen, Bauman (1990: 143-150) includes the figure of the stranger, the immigrant, which we now bring into the equation: Bauman would say that the dichotomy friends/enemies—equivalent to the dichotomy citizens/foreigners—is one of many oppositions with which the human being tries to systematize and understand his or her environment. In the case of individuals or groups of individuals who form the political and cultural panorama of a given society, this is, precisely, the most notable opposition, since it separates the real from the false, the good from the bad, beauty from ugliness, the adequate from the inadequate, the correct from the incorrect, the proper from the improper, etc. Thus, as soon as this division has been constructed, it is easy to distinguish between a friend and an enemy, since friends and enemies

are in opposition to each other: the former are what the latter are not, and vice versa. This distinction, which we must not forget is made by the friends, that is to say, those who control the definitions on their own ground, means that the world becomes legible and therefore instructive. Thus, as soon as the roles are distributed, friends and enemies can relate to each other from their respective positions without mistakes, since as a friend or an enemy are the two ways in which the other can be recognized as a subject, admitted to the world of the life of the ego, and made relevant. On the other hand, when the stranger enters the scene he rocks the foundations of the friends/enemies dichotomy that we had constructed, since the stranger is unclassifiable insomuch as we cannot position him within the binomial that we had constructed to make sense of our world: We do not know who he is, do not know him because he neither a friend nor an enemy, but is among us. At the moment when the stranger enters the space of friends, on penetrating the dividing line that separates the territory of friends from that of enemies, he breaks the established order. Unlike enemies, who remain topographically far away and as a result, those with whom coexistence is not necessary, strangers occupy the space traditionally reserved for friends but without sharing certain characteristics—be they real or invented—with the latter; the strangers are physically close but spiritually distant; the stranger brings to the centre of the circle of proximity the type of difference and otherness that are anticipated and tolerated only at a distance. Thus Bauman affirms that nation-states have been fundamentally designed to deal with the problem of strangers, not with that of enemies.

We deduce, thus, that both at the time of the creation of the modern nation-states and at present, the socio-political actors who are part of the scene are friends, enemies and strangers, the real protagonists being the first and the last. We deduce also that even today—and maybe more than ever—nation-states fulfil one of the functions for which they were devised, namely: to deal with the problem of strangers; we say this because at present, and partly due to the radicalisation of immigration and its multiple manifestations, for example the existence of European citizens who are descendants of immigrants from the early- and mid-20th century, we have a type of stranger that we call *immigrant*. We can understand this affirmation if we observe that the figure of the stranger that Bauman presents and describes is halfway between the classic conceptions of foreigner and citizen: On the one hand the stranger, while still being a foreigner, does not behave as such, since he breaks certain of the rules attributed to foreigners, especially as regards physical distance; on the other hand the stranger, while maintaining physical proximity with the citizens of the nation-state in question, does not form part of the po-

litical body that is the nation, does not hold the nationality of the country in which he resides. Bauman unfolds the figure of the foreigner in the figure of the enemy, on the one hand, and that of the stranger, on the other, thus creating the trinomial friends/enemies/strangers, or, in other words, the trinomial citizen/foreigner/immigrant, with which he introduces and describes the figure of the immigrant in relative opposition to both the citizen or native and the foreigner. The immigrant, the stranger, thus appears as the foreigner who comes into contact with and occupies the space, physically but also symbolically, of the friends or natives of a given nation-state during a long period, and in most cases indefinitely.

Regarding the French case, despite the fact that the French nation was constituted as a political community open to everyone ready to assume the condition of French citizen and disposed also to agree with the republican ideal, without discrimination by origin or religion (Ridao, 2005: 24; Velasco, 1997: 351; 2003: 127), the reality has responded to another type of dynamics, in which a nation was constructed based on patriotism and national pride which would end up in a generalized rejection of everything non-French. As Velasco (1997: 352) indicates, the logic of citizenship is incompatible with the logic of universalism, since at the same time as the citizen is programmed to live in a closed universe of institutions, customs, uses and rites that he or she must practise and respect as his or her *civil religion*, he is likewise educated in "a certain contempt for everything that does not belong to the homeland, and especially for foreigners". Therefore, "the logic of patriotism, in spite of its apparent morality which justifies its condition of egalitarian internally, is non-egalitarian, to the point of being colonialist and slave-holding, with foreigners." Thus, an assimilationist France appears which seeks protection under the proclamation of the French nation not as an ethnocultural concept, but as a political community destined to preserve and extend the republican ideal. The losers, in general, will be those who, for one reason or another, do not fit in with this restricted vision—however open in its initial pretensions—of national belonging; especially, this burden of exclusion will fall on the immigrant, the subject on whom will come together "the worst effects of all the exclusive logics of our modern societies" (Velasco, 2003: 127).

During the decade of the seventies and eighties, immigration became a matter of importance for the French political agenda, giving rise to diverse discourses: Though the left wing denounced the situation of exclusion suffered by populations of immigrant origin in France, the right with issues their verdict following the guidelines of the most exclusive nationalism on the one hand, and of the most genuine cultural racism on the other one—also called the new racism, which affirms that

cultures must not be related, let alone mixed, since the differences between them are so great that coexistence would be practically impossible, and that it is "native that people prefer living among their own people and therefore it is natural that there should be discrimination against those who are not considered part of the community" (Malgesini and Giménez, 2000: 305-309)—, in opposition to the assimilationist republican experience traditionally implemented by the French left wing. Under the argument that the Muslim immigration implies a threat for "the necessary ethnic and cultural balance to guarantee social assimilation and cohesion", that is to say, to keep the national French identity as it had been constructed and known until then, the government imposed restrictive measures on the entry of new immigrants and on the naturalization of those already present. In the symbolic field, the guns are loaded against the religious tradition of North African colonial immigration: the favourite discourse of the French right affirms that the doctrine of Islam is opposed to the democratic values of the West in general and those of France especially, to wit: that "North African immigrants are different and, even, hostile to the culture and the French State" and therefore inassimilable. Together with this, the nationalists argue that the dual nationality of some North African immigrants only serves to devalue—desecrate—and instrumentalise French citizenship. (Velasco, 1997: 362-364). For Naïr (2005b: 17), this new way of reading migration begins to equate it with a social evil. This author denounces the problematics first constructed, and later promoted, concerning the identity of the French children of immigrants, since these are seen as a challenge for the French national identity.

As a consequence, neither North African immigrants nor their descendants can cease to be *the other* (Velasco, 1997: 363). The initial universalism seems to have been converted, over time and due to new circumstances, in a particularist model based on imperatives of belonging based on origin. For authors like Innerarity (2005: 17), Martí (2005: 2) and Naïr (2005b: 17), the French model of immigration management is an exhausted model that has failed in the task of including populations of immigrant origin on an equal basis; and this lack of social cohesion, we might add, has been made visible in the form of violent protests in the municipalities of the French periphery.

3. **Implications and outcomes of the problematics**

We know that, in the French context, the stage of the revolts of (November) 2005, the children of immigrants are condemned to segre-

gated and degraded spaces on the margins of large cities, while access to employment that allows them to break this dynamic is systematically denied to them. We also know that this type of exclusive practices end in a lamentable lack of representation and recognition that constitute the two sides of the same coin, namely: exclusion to the periphery and condemnation to invisibility. Together with this, there are other, more deeply rooted causes, centred on the self-image of the national identity of European nation-states, which encourage and legitimise exclusion not only of immigrants, but of everything that recalls this condition. Besides, in the case of North African and Muslim immigration, religious and cultural belonging is assumed and understood as an inherited stigma that disables, or impedes at best, the integration of the immigrant populations and their descendants in secular and republican French society.

3.1. *Implications*

Facing this panorama, we think it is important to point out the dangers hidden behind it, which we will do by attending to the two fundamental parameters that we believe are in play, namely: the identity of these young people and the image of European nation-states. On the one hand, we are interested in revealing the logic and direction that the construction of identity is taking in the case of these new European citizens, taking into accounts that, as Castells (1997a: 29) affirms, all identities are constructed in contexts marked by power relations where it is essential to understand how, for whom and to what end. On the other hand, we are also concerned about the possible consequences of the aforementioned failure to incorporate the children and grandchildren of immigrants as regards the image of democracy and human rights that European societies present to the rest of the world.

We have come to realise that the European governments and majority societies are turning their backs on social problems that have taken years to be formed; we are referring specifically to "the ethnification of social relations, the racism that dogs entire generations, the exclusion that reinforces hatred, the social marginalisation that prepares the ground for the battles of tomorrow" (Naïr, 2005b: 17). In the *banlieux*, the *omnipotent* and *omnipresent* French State seems to have restricted its functions to mere economic compensation—through the provision of social assistance and of minimal incomes for rehabilitation—or, at worst, to repressive force. We believe, then, that the image of the European nation-states is in play principally for two motives: because the nation-state has proved itself impotent in certain areas of its territory, and because its seems not to be providing certain sectors of its population with the rights

that are *sine qua non* in every democratic society. If, as Zapata-Barrero (2005: 29) affirms, the protests of the periphery have made it apparent that origin and birth are "a factor of poverty, in our western societies in the midst of the 21st century", we should think seriously about the quality of our democracies and societies, which do not precisely offer the image of fighting to eradicate inequalities in general and specifically inequalities derived from origin, but seem to enjoy perpetuating them. In the end, "the way we respond to the migratory phenomenon is, today, undoubtedly, one of the most important tests to evaluate the democratic and pluralist claims of our society" (Velasco, 2003: 126).

On the other hand, we believe firmly that in case of our social actors we are faced with a situation of risk, since these young men condemned to the margins, to invisibility and humiliation, are very probably developing a strong feeling of rejection towards the societies that exclude them, a situation that can lead them to construct of a type of identity of refuge or resistance. The concept of an identity of resistance was developed by Castells (1997a: 29-32) and described as a type of identity:

> "Generated by those actors who think in positions/conditions devaluated or stigmatised by the logic of domination, so that they construct trenches of resistance and survival, based on principles different or opposed to those that impregnate the institutions of society."

Insomuch as for Castells "every type of process of construction of identity leads to a different result in the constitution of society", the *resistance identity* would lead to the formation of *communes* or *communities* "attending to identities that, apparently, were well defined by history, geography or biology"; this is what Castells identifies as the exclusion of the excluders by the excluded. In this case, religious belonging might work as a generator of an identity of resistance for young descendants of Muslim immigration in Europe. Wieviorka (2003: 182-186) indicates that due to the fact that "the construction of personality by the route of the classic mechanisms of socialization and individualization is very difficult for young people" who are descendents of Muslim immigrants, they might embark on a search for a new sense of belonging and subjectivity that they would finally find in religion, in this case Islam.

Though we have indicated, and maintain, that religion did not play an important role in the disturbances of November, 2005, as well as that "French Islam is formed of individuals who on the whole only desire integration" (Wieviorka, 2003: 191), we do not seek to minimize the importance of the implicit risk that the youths of the periphery may choose religion as a safety valve and as a pretext to release their ire against European societies. It would not be a isolated fact if the young children

of immigrants of Muslim origin were to act against the European host society in question. Naïr (2005a: 13) reminds us how, unlike the 2004 Madrid attacks where the murderers were "specialists taught in training camps and local accomplices not integrated into Spanish society", those responsible for the 2005 London attacks turned out to be "children of the country, born in the country, educated in the country, natives of the country", and that therefore "terrorism is no longer foreign", but "it is now fed by the interior frustrations of each society". This author highlights the fact that "the humiliations suffered and the hardness of the slowly matured hatreds" on the part of the children and grandchildren of immigrants who are systematically excluded from European societies "it is something that the terrorist chiefs know" and which has made it possible for "Al Qaeda's spirit to take root in the soil of the western democracies, because it is a fertile field". In the same way, Kepel (2004: 22) asserts that:

> "This arena of misery is a favourite ground for the Islamist movement, which seeks to convert the discouragement into a rejection of the "impious" European society and a defensive reification at the level of identity that is projected on an *Umma*—a Messianic community of believers'."

3.2. *Possible outcomes*

When we think about how to deal with the questions that are in play at present, that is to say, the image of the European nation-state and identity and the place that the young descendants of immigrants occupy in current European societies, as well as the degree of social cohesion of the same societies, we should take into account a fundamental value that the new context gives us, namely: the flexibilisation not only of borders but of concepts and thought. As Rodrigo Alsina (1999: 13-14) expresses it, western hegemonic thought has traditionally conceptualised "reality based on exclusive dichotomies: culture/nature, civilisation/barbarism, body/soul, sacred/profane, objectivity/subjectivity, emotion/reason, abstract/concrete, etc."; nevertheless, this type of thought does not seem to fit accurately with the current context, so that maybe we should think about approaching it by means of a type of thought that he calls *interpretive adaptability*, a tool that consists "of rethinking, to redefining and redimensioning many social realities that were thought unquestionable", an exercise that we can carry out here and now with concepts like citizenship and identity, vital notions for the topic that concerns us.

3.2.1. Rethinking citizenship

Interpreting Soysal's words (1994: 137ff), we are faced with a reconfiguration of citizenship, given the change experienced by the relationship between individuals, nation-states and the new world order: in the classic model of nation-state the relation between the individual and the State revolves on territoriality, and only those individuals who have the nationality of the state in question enjoy identical rights and duties in the same; on the other hand, in the post-national model the borders of belonging are fluid. Migrant populations are a good example of the latter type of model of national belonging, in that they retain citizenship of their country of origin while living and working in the second country; Thus, these populations violate the conceived congruity between affiliation and territoriality by means of the process by which they weave links and networks, both symbolic and material, that join them with their places of origin, places that are geographically distant with regard to their places of destination or residence.

For Soysal, the changes that have given rise to the current political and economic context, the transformations in the organization of the international system of states and the emergency of international political structures, would only partly explain the reconfiguration of citizenship and national affiliation, since the emergence of a universal ethics formed by notions and declarations on the rights of individuals which *oblige* nation-states not to discriminate for reasons of nationality—among others—in safeguarding civil, social, political and also collective or cultural rights, has gained ascendance in this area. This new conception of human rights that transcend borders, influences immigrant communities and their descendants insomuch as it offers a legal and especially symbolic framework that goes beyond nation-states in claiming rights. Soysal uses as examples the cases of Austria and Stuttgart: in the first case, in 1990, the motto of the campaign in favour of the right to vote for immigrants was *Voting Rights Are Human Rights*, whereas in Stuttgart the Initiative of Turkish Parents and Teachers publicised their campaign with the slogan *Mother Tongue is a Human Right*.

Maybe, to rethink citizenship today, we have to combine the rights of the citizen with the rights of man, that is to say, the rights that nation-states grant to their nationals (Velasco, 2002: 21), with human rights to which every human being is subject without distinction of nationality, ethnicity, gender, etc. This is a type of "multidimensional or multilevel citizenship that allows one to be, simultaneously, a national, regional and global citizen" (Velasco, 2002: 37).

3.2.2 Rethinking identity: the example of *EUROISLAM*

Maybe the challenge for the construction of identity in this context of rupture, of liquidation, of loss of traditions, of delegitimisation of modern institutions, of globalisation, of planetarisation and of interconnection of remote places, is found in the ability to combine the two forces that push subjects to construct identities: the communitarian trend and the trend of miscegenation[11] must not be mutually exclusive, but rather individuals and communities should be simultaneously from a specific place and of that other specific place that is the whole. For this we must rethink the way in which the global and the local are related. In one of his texts on multi-local ethnography, Marcus (2001: 113) pleads for a type of ethnography that does not contemplate local reality in contrast with the global, since "any ethnography of a cultural formation in the world system is also an ethnography of the system". What in last instance we, like Marcus, wish to emphasize, is that neither the global dimension nor the local exists as a contrast with the other. As an

[11] We believe that at present the construction of identity responds to two opposing trends, namely, rupture on the one hand and mixing on the other. We refer specifically to communitarianism—a phenomenon that we believe can imply a risk for the cohesion and safety of European nation-states as and when it responds to a logic of frustration and anger generated as a result of socio-economic exclusion, a centripetal force that looks inward, towards locality, and to miscegenation, a centrifugal force that looks outwards, towards globality. Identity today, therefore, plays two different games. The appearance of exclusive identities that look inward is a social fact whose existence enjoys a certain consensus among contemporary social scientists: For Bauman (2003: 57), individuals and groups face a world in which instability and change seem to have established themselves, thus denuding "identities hungry for community and thirsty for home"; the community is thus converted into the paradise lost to which it is urgent to return, to offset to the dehumanising logic of modernity; for Martínez Montoya (2005: 279) and Castells (1997b: 386, 392), the threat of being defined by a force considered as exterior, provokes an instinctive defensive and protective response to this intruding other, an enemy to whom is ascribed the intention of denying one's own identity, meaning and feelings, so that political reorganization becomes a necessary task for the defence of the right to self-definition. Nevertheless, when approaching the phenomenon of miscegenation, some caution is necessary: While it is true that essentialism as regards culture and identity seem to be beginning to be questioned also in social imagery thanks partly to the symbolic and material conditions generated by the current context, we consider it excessive to affirm that as a consequence of the crisis of classic identities, we find ourselves present at "the celebration of difference and mixing" (Martínez Montoya, 2005: 283); let us not forget that in this new historical moment for the construction of citizenship and identity, our modern heritage has prime importance; any who doubt this should ask those who have committed the sin of not belonging to our nations "from the beginning" (Bauman, 1990: 149), being aware of the limits presented by both miscegenation and pluralism, together with "human beings' difficulty in putting into practice the figure of recognition" (Velasco, 2004: 6).

example of this, we will later show the case of *EuroIslam* as an example of the accomplishment of this type of identity that mixes several places, and of flexible thinking, which should not seek to restrict concepts and options but to expand them.

Insomuch as Islamic reality is, like Western reality, broad, complex and polymorphic, we cannot frame either the children of Muslim immigrants, or their parents, within a conservative, invariable scene in which there is no possibility of dialogue or interchange. We must think about these new European citizens as living in what AlSayyad (2003: 53) thinks of as a *frontier zone*. This expression does not indicate an exact topographic concept between two others that are equally clear—that is, a border—but rather designates a type of post-modern identity, belonging to these globalised times, which is composed of displacement and deterritorialisation, thus giving rise to hybrid identities and subjects, which, far from being relegated to peripheral spaces, are already part of the centre, of the nucleus. The frontier zone, born as a result of the intersection of European societies and their new Muslim citizens, would acquire the name of *Euroislam*. Tibi (2003: 63-72) begins from the basic premise of accepting a new form of Islam applicable to those Muslims who live in today's Europe, and asks rhetorically:

> "If one can speak about an *afroIslam* for African Muslims or an *indoIslam* for Indian Muslims, why not talk about a *euroIslam* in the context of the Muslims who have emigrated to western Europe?" (p. 64)

The idea of *euroIslam* tries to offer a variety of Islam acceptable both for European Muslims and for European majority societies, since this new way of understanding Islam would be in agreement with basic premises of western democracies such as secularism, individual citizenship and human rights, at the same time as making possible for European Muslims to maintain their own identity without having to be assimilated or ghettoised by majority society, since as AlSayyad (2003: 29-30) affirms, today, when they have to define their position—and also their identity—in European societies, the Muslims who live in Europe are faced with two antagonistic paths: assimilation or exclusion, but neither of these two positions would be correct nor ideal, since "Muslims of Europe refuse to be treated as intruders, but many also refuse—and place all kinds of impediments in the way—to be assimilated as traditional civil Europeans". In effect, the fundamental question is how to avoid these two trends: assimilation on the one hand and segregation on the other one. The answer to this quandary would be found, therefore, in the possibility of incorporation of Muslim populations into the political and

social body of European societies based on double symbolic recognition, whether cultural or religious, that is to say, a recognition that emanates both from the European majority society towards the populations of Muslim origin, and by the latter towards western democratic values. The proposal of *euroIslam* does not seem at all crazy if, with authors like Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton (1992: 1-2, 11) and Vertovec (1999: 450), we realise that identity of the immigrants is a type of multiple identity, due to the fact that they are simultaneously connected with more than one society. The nucleus of Tibi's proposal is that the Muslims who live in Europe should adopt a multiple identity composed of a series of representations that give rise to neither contradictions nor conflicts; we refer specifically to the fact of being a Muslim, on the one hand, and a European, on the other one, since, as John Kelsay affirms, it is already not completely accurate to speak *about Islam and about Europe*, but if we want to accurately depict present-day reality, we must think in terms of *Islam in Europe*.

But it is not only a question of integrating both identities; the task of these new European citizens should be imagined in terms of inter-group mediators, given their condition of hybrid subjects and their positioning in a frontier zone. This would be, no doubt, a desirable situation, for whose implementation and success it would be necessary to work hard, to unite wills and to invest resources and time, always under a fair approach to the subjects that form a part of the process. We believe that European nation-states should support the diffusion of this possibility of so-called euroIslam identity, with the final aim of symbolically including the children of Muslim immigration, which were once *the others,* in the European political, social and cultural body.

4. **Conclusions: the importance of real recognition**

We realise that, besides a recognition of identities, that is, a type of symbolic recognition, there is another dimension no less important regarding the egalitarian incorporation of these populations, which is material or economic recognition; from the union of these two types of recognition would emerge what I consider appropriate to call real recognition.

Though we must work to construct a type of thought that makes possible the accomplishment of an imagery that thinks about citizenship and identity in a way more in accordance with a humanity that reveals itself as plural, polymorphic and at times ambiguous, we cannot ignore the reality that is imposed, namely: that the borders of affiliation may,

at present, be fluid does not mean that the borders of the nation-states are likewise; similarly, it does not imply that the nation-state is less predominant than in the previous national model, since in both models this form of government has the responsibility for guaranteeing the rights of individuals, whether these are citizens of the aforementioned nation-state or not. Therefore, the nation-state remains the main framework that regulates access to rights and duties, in spite of the fact that their legitimacy is more and more determined by a transnational order on a global level (Baumann, 2001: 20; Soysal 1994: 141, 143, 144). In other words, the fundamental changes experienced worldwide in recent decades, undoubtedly, have had important consequences for the economic and political capacities of the nation-states, but they do not imply the dissolution of this form of social organization (Van der Veer, 2001: 3). Lanceros (2005: 80) expresses it like this:

> "Be they real or fictitious, invented or constructed, primordial or original, nations form a part of our objective political present. And they form a part of our cultural and social subjectivity […] It may be that this mere indicative present holds the seeds of a future [...] without nations: a future faithful to other impostures, selling other idols. The globalisation of communications, the creation of *trans-national* corporations—cultural, economic—the urgency to define current conflicts in terms of "clash of civilizations" or of "cultures", probably make one think about a displacement (or overcoming) of the national principle. In the same direction are pointing processes of integration, like that of the European Union, or dynamics like that of increasing migratory flows [...] But [...] our present remains national."

Despite the fact that the transnational practices of immigration and its protagonists defy all the assumptions of national borders and the classic model of the nation-state, *their* reality, like *the* reality, continues to develop, principally within parameters that extent to the limits of a given nation-state. Though it is true that transnational migrants exist, they interact, and what is more important, construct their identities within national structures that monopolize power and foment ideologies of identity (Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton, 1992: 15); we should then think about the possibility of a more inclusive reality for the immigrants and their descendants who live in our countries, in our cities and in our neighbourhoods. The daily difficulties faced by the young people of the periphery urgently need immediate answers from the elites of the European nation-states. It is vital that the nation-states offer real recognition to the young descendants of immigrants.

By *real recognition* we refer to a type of recognition that neglects neither material nor symbolic aspects in the process of an egalitarian

incorporation, a definitive normalization of these populations of the periphery, which is only possible in a framework of equality of opportunities. We speak about the right to total incorporation of the youth of the periphery in European societies. The work of the political elites of European nation-states must centre on offering a worthy position to the descendants of immigration within European societies, both regarding the socio-economic sphere and the sphere of symbolism or identity.

Material recognition is through three processes: employment, housing and education, three of the most important vectors of socio-economic incorporation, if not the three most important. Equality of opportunities must urgently spread to the area of access to employment: as is well known, the value of employment does not reside only in the salary received, but in the social position and the perception of the self, self-esteem, which the subjects develop as a result of having a certain position in the production and consumption of goods and services of a given society. This possibility of self-realisation is systematically denied to the young descendants of Muslim immigrants; discrimination in this field has been demonstrated by various sociologists whose research has made it clear that a name of non-French origin in France today constitutes an obstacle when competing with names that do not transmit non-French origins. One of the proposals made to eliminate this problem has been that of the hidden curriculum, a curriculum in which the name of the candidate would be omitted. On the other hand, we can see how the problem of housing is found, besides the difficulties in obtaining it—a problem that might well be extended to many other European young people—in spatial segregation and ghettoization. Fonseca and Malheiros (2005: 19) assert that the spatial expressions of integration and exclusion are made manifest through three basic indicators: the distribution of ethnic minorities and populations of immigrant origin in urban space, the degree of mobility of individuals belonging to different groups, and the degree of access to urban resources. These three dimensions are mutually related, while access to resources depends on residential location and on facilities for mobility, especially, regarding access to transport. In the case of the young people of the periphery this segregation is brutal and evident; it is a case of the most classic distinction between the centre and the periphery, where the periphery views the centre as it was a separate universe to which it is very difficult to gain access, while the centre views the periphery, when it views it at all, with fear and indifference. It is necessary to put an end to this type of segregation, a spatial symbol of social exclusion, to the ghettoes and to the contrast between the centre and the periphery, thus taking one more step in the normalization of the existence of French children and grandchildren of immigrants. Education is one of the most powerful tools

for social integration and cohesion. Although future social fractures will arise as a result of inequality of opportunities linked to unequal processes of education (Fonseca and Malheiros, 2005: 65), we must pay special attention to this dimension of recognition that is education, as we must review segregation in school as well as school failure and the reasons for it among the children who are descendants of immigrants.

For its part, the symbolic dimension of recognition is extremely vital. If the messages that the majority society sends to these young people are irremediably tainted with slogans like "you are different" or "admire our tolerance!" (Naïr, 2005a: 13), we do no more than to stress this—imaginary—dividing line between them and us, a further obstacle for the full integration of these young people in European societies. These messages find legitimisation in the misuse of concepts such as culture, ethnicity or religion, with religion being the tool that is used with greatest assiduity. In effect, we believe that the problem of religion has great importance in the debate on the children and grandchildren of Muslim immigration: though we have underlined that religion does not constitute a value—at least not an important value—in the life of these young people, since it does not form a part of the list of motives that led them to carry out violent acts of protest, we believe that the visioning and definition of these groups as forming part of supposedly closed Muslim communities, is a practice that generates prejudices not only for the young men of the periphery but for many other Muslims who want to live their religion in a more individualistic and less public form. For this reason, we believe that we must contemplate the option of euroIslam as an example under which it would be possible to overcome this instrumentalisation of the Islamic religion.

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Transnational motherhood in the Brazilian community in South-eastern Massachusetts

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Introduction

In the context of unprecedented major world displacements of people and particularly in the context of gender-driven migration, new and complex arrangements of motherhood are in the process of construction. "Mothering at a distance" or "transnational motherhood" is an arrangement of motherhood that has evolved in direct response to a situation where a large number of immigrant mothers find themselves geographically separated from their children over long periods of time. This situation has come about as a result of changing labour demands, restrictive immigration policies and cultural transformations that have encouraged the emergence of new transnational family forms of which transnational motherhood is one example. In the past, labour demands were primarily aimed at male workers. Now, women have become incorporated into the infrastructure of work patterns that require an increased number of workers prepared to take up low-wage industrial and service sector jobs in domestic work, child care, and care for the aged in convalescent homes. However, recruitment of these women into such jobs may require them to undergo long-term separation from their children and the rest of their families. Women have to bear this separation from their children not entirely through choice, for their choices are often limited by economic and

family restraints imposed upon them and the consequences of their migration may mean that they spend many years living and working in one nation state whilst supporting their children in the country they have left behind. Many women set out on their migratory journey believing that the separation from their children is temporary, but, as this paper demonstrates, changing circumstances prolong this temporary separation and these women may undergo extremely long periods of time without seeing their children or the rest of their family.

Transnational motherhood, by necessity, brings with it the pain of separation, alternative child-rearing arrangements, and difficulties in family reunification, involving great emotional cost for mother and child. The long-term repercussions of transnational motherhood are still relatively unknown. Many receiving countries are only just beginning to come to terms with the fact that separation of mothers from children, and the lack of family unity, not only has a serious impact on the mental and physical health of women migrants themselves but it also has wider repercussions on the way families function, on the children themselves, and on the way these families eventually become integrated into a receiving society. In addition to these serious repercussions, there are other problems to be considered. The uncertain and onerous burden of trying to maintain children at a distance may affect the way these women contribute to the labour market. Their precarious mental and physical well-being often has to be dealt with by already-overloaded health services. Lastly, there is the danger that these women may be perceived as liabilities rather than assets in the receiving community. In some receiving countries it is becoming necessary to promote the public perception of the economic contribution and viability of these women, to reassure the public that the relationship between the local community and the new incoming work force is, in fact, symbiotic. These wider repercussions are major preoccupations which are beginning to be addressed in research in Migration Studies.

This article examines the way in which Brazilian women living and working in Cape Cod, Massachusetts, are having to find alternative child-rearing arrangements as a result of separation from their children. They constitute part of an ever-increasing number of working "transnational mothers" to be found in migrant populations in the U.S. and other countries today. This particular article begins by looking briefly at the growth of the Brazilian population in Massachusetts as a whole. Then, it focuses on two major issues connected with transnational motherhood as it is found in the Brazilian community in South-eastern Massachusetts. First, it examines the way Brazilian women migrants are transforming the meaning of motherhood to accommodate geographical separation from

their children over long periods of time, using examples from interviews with a small group of Brazilian women living in the Falmouth area, Cape Cod. Secondly, the paper examines the effect of transnational motherhood on the health of these women, and the paper attempts to forge an important link with research currently being carried out by SAPPIR on the Chronic and Multiple Stress Syndrome in Migrants, now termed "The Ulysses Syndrome"[1]. The last part of the paper partially reviews the nature of the social infrastructures available to these women, and explores the kind of support these women are being given by the health and social services and other organizations in the local community.

It must be emphasized that the findings described in this article are from on-going research. This research also forms part of a wider longitudinal study on transnational motherhood that is currently in progress[2]. This paper uses information gleaned from a first and second set of interviews with transnational mothers in the Brazilian community in Cape Cod carried out in November and December, 2005, in combination with information from other research projects currently connected with Brazilian immigrants in Massachusetts. A second set of interviews with the same participants will be carried out in November and December 2006, and a third set of interviews have been set up for August 2007. It is possible that some of the claims made in this paper, especially those connected with population data, will be subject to modification. Only a brief reference is made to the work habits of these migrant women and to the problems in education arising with children who have suffered long term separation from their mothers. These are two major issues that cannot be dealt with in the short space of this particular paper. However, it is hoped that this study will highlight the needs of these women and bring some of their difficulties into recognition.

1. **Brazilian Immigration to Massachusetts from the 1980´s to the present**

Before 1980, only relatively small numbers of Brazilians lived and worked in the United States. At that time, little was known about this

[1] Psycho-pathological and Psycho-social Assistance Service for Immigrants and Refugees (SAPPIR) in the Sant Pere Claver Hospital in Barcelona. The director of SAPPIR is Joseba Achotegiu

[2] This wider study on Transnational Motherhood is currently being carried out in the Basque Country, Spain by Claire. H Firth (University of Deusto, Spain) and Jane E. Lavery (University of Southampton, U.K.) as part of a wider Migration Studies research group (IMISCOE) in Deusto University.

new incoming population and it was not expected that the numbers would increase significantly, since the Brazilian economy was undergoing exceptional growth at that time[3]. However, the Brazilian economy began a downward trend in the 1980´s and the period, which came to be known as the "lost decade", underwent a period of low economic growth. Sales refers to the last three years of the 1980´s in Brazil as the "triennium of disillusion"[4], a period of time when Brazilians began to feel that their social, economic and political expectations had not been fulfilled despite the fact that the new constitution of 1988 had attempted to build a democratic future for the country. It was at this time that many Brazilians decided to emigrate in significant numbers not only to the U.S. but to other countries such as Japan and Europe.

But, it is not possible to attribute the massive exodus of Brazilians from their home country solely to economic and political factors. Intricate international social networks have also played an important part in stimulating the circular flow of migration, and have certainly been crucial to the way Brazilian settlement has taken place in the U.S. These international social networks are commonly found in many migrant populations and, as Portes suggests, they provide "an increasingly dense web of contacts between places of origin and destination"[5]. Portes also suggests that the formation of these international national networks permits a migration flow that sustains itself, and is one that is less subject to short-term fluctuations, and finally that it is continuous. These networks also help to make the flow of people more circular in as much as migrant populations are able to return home more easily. This factor in itself creates a greater sense of security for a migrant population in flux.

One example of this kind of network is to be seen in the way an increasingly dense web of contacts has been created between Valadares in Brazil and Massachusetts in the United States. There have been some very interesting ethnographic studies carried out in Framingham, Massachusetts, and Governador Valadares, state of Minas Gerais in Brazil,

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[3] According to the US Census in 1980, only slightly more than 50,000 Brazilian-born individuals were then present in the United States (Goza and Simonik, 1992).These numbers were derived from the 5% sample of the 1989 U.S. Census of Population, representing but 0.3% of all foreign-born individuals in the country (Portes and Rumbaut, 1990: 228-229).

[4] Teresa Sales, *Brazilians Away from Home,* New York: Center for Migration Studies, 2003.

[5] Alejandro Portes, ed., The Economic Sociology of Immigration: Essays on Networks, Ethnicity, and Entrepreneurship, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1995.

demonstrating the intricate connection between these two areas[6]. International social networks built between Valadares and Massachusetts have facilitated emigration of Brazilians to Massachusetts[7]. Valadares was the state in Brazil from which most Brazilians emigrated after the mid 1980´s. Two participants for this study originally came from the Valadares area, and explained that they have family and friends with connections there too.

The case of Valadares is, in fact, a good example of the way these social networks have been created between the Brazilian communities in Massachusetts and the areas that they have come from in Brazil. Typically, in the past, immigrants from Valadares to Massachusetts were young (20-29 years old), and they had a higher level of education than the average Brazilian. But, their level of English was low and this often meant that they had to take on more menial jobs with lower pay. The majority of young people who left Valadares in the 1980´s were male, and many of them returned home after a short time. The profile of migrants is different now. The majority who have migrated more recently are female, and they have tended to stay for longer periods of time mostly because the job market, especially in domestic work, has been open to them. More recently, a good number of families have also come from Valadares. With the increased numbers of young people regularly moving between Valadares and Massachusetts the networks of family, friends, and personal and business contacts are becoming increasingly more complex. This means that when Brazilians from Valadares first arrive in Massachusetts they find it easy to find somewhere to live, somewhere to work, schools for their children, a friendly church, a language they are familiar with, and above all a circle of Brazilian friends and a supporting scaffolding of social and health services. The communities of Brazilians are close-knit and vibrant. Two of the women participating in this study who both came from Valadares in 1999 were keen to point out that they had many good friends around them that they could count on for help. They also suggested that they considered themselves fortunate in being able to move into areas originally settled by Portuguese immigrants.

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[6] Wilson Fusco, *Redes Sociais de Migração Internacional: O Caso de Governador Valadares*. Textos NEPO 40, Núcleos de Estudos de População. Universidade Estadual de Campinos. Março de 2002.

Valéria Cristina Scudeler, Imigrantes Valadarenses no Mercado de Trabalho dos EUA, in Rossana Reis and Teresa Sales (org), *Cenas do Brasil Migrante*., São Paulo: Boitempo Editorial, 1999.

[7] Valadares has large deposits of mica (necessary for the production of radios) which was exported to the USA. Thus, important social and cultural connections were established with the U.S. during the Second World War.

There has been a tradition of Portuguese-speaking immigrants working and living in Rhode Island, and in centres such as Boston, New Bedford, Fall River and Cape Cod in Massachusetts. New England was an especially important area for Portuguese settlement even as far back as the 1960s. Although few migrants actually come from Portugal nowadays, the socio-economic infrastructures built by, and for, the Portuguese community in the 1970s and 1980s are now serving the more recent inflow of Brazilians. Brazilian newcomers have been able to establish themselves and mix in with Portuguese families and are able, therefore, to take advantage of institutions, agencies and contacts that have been established by Portuguese immigrants for over a quarter of a century. A rich network of cultural and economic institutions is already in place. Brazilian Immigrants can easily move in and find work and accommodation, and more importantly can move into an established community where Portuguese is spoken.

However, after the 1980s, Portuguese immigration fell considerably due to the improvement in economic and political conditions in Portugal and immigration has now practically stopped. By 1990 there was some apprehension over the future of programmes, especially language programmes, that had grown up to fulfil the requirements of the Portuguese immigrants. The numbers of Portuguese students had dropped and it was difficult to maintain all the teachers that had served on these programmes. The longer the Portuguese immigrants stayed in the US, the greater their economic status became. They made concerted efforts to learn the language, improved their incomes, moved into better jobs, and moved into the more fashionable suburbs. This meant that plenty of tenement housing was vacated in the old ethnic neighborhoods. Simultaneously, the shops and other services and institutions that had depended on Portuguese speakers for their survival went into decline. Whilst the numbers of Portuguese actually immigrating into the U.S. fell off in this period, the numbers of Brazilians increased, and many Brazilians moved into areas that had formerly been Portuguese.

One of the more troubling aspects in connection with this research has been to correctly measure the size of the Brazilian population in Massachusetts. Unofficial estimates of the population numbers simply do not tally with official data. Data from the former U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service indicate that Brazil contributed to 6% of new legal arrivals to New England since 1990, totalling 5,069. About 20% of these legal immigrants work in professional jobs, while over 50% work in service sector jobs[8]. Media reports in Brazil and estimates by

[8] Enrico Marcelli, *Legal Immigration to New England During the 1990s.* The Maurice Gastón Institute Report, University of Massachusetts Boston, 2002.

community organizations, the Brazilian Consulate, and the Archdiocese of Boston indicate that there are around 150,000-200,000 Brazilians in Massachusetts[9]. The *O Jornal,* a Fall River-based Portuguese weekly newspaper, has quoted estimates by the Brazilian Consulate in Boston that suggest the number of Brazilians living and working in the Bay State at 180,000-200,000. Another estimate based on monthly Current Population Surveys (CPS) suggests there were about 18,000 Brazilian immigrants in the state by 1996-97. According to the same source Brazilians became the second largest country of origin of new immigrants in Massachusetts in 1990s[10]. The disparity between the "official" numbers and the "unofficial" numbers is disturbing, ranging from 36,000 by the 2000 year Census to an unofficial estimate of 200,000. Qualitative evidence compiled by Brazilian researchers in Massachusetts suggest that a good many Brazilians are undocumented and came into the U.S within the last ten to fifteen years. Quantitative formal and informal sources of data also suggest that the upper estimate is probably closer to the actual size of the population[11].

Margolis describes various reasons for the undercounting of the true size of the Brazilian population in the 1990 Census[12]. It is thought that this discrepancy in the figures is principally due to the following factors. First, a large number of Brazilians are undocumented and therefore slip outside the official data. Many of them are afraid that they might be deported if the U.S. government is given information from the Census forms. Secondly, the inaccuracy of numbers may be due to the lack of a category specifically for Brazilians in the short forms of the U.S. Census. Unless they understand and accept the official Census classification definitions for race and ethnicity they may find it difficult to identify themselves as Latino or Hispanic. Thirdly, in Massachusetts there are state occupancy laws that stipulate a maximum number of people allowed in a housing unit. Brazilians frequently live in overcrowded conditions, and

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[9] Ana Cristina Braga Martes cites the estimate of the Archdiocese in *Brasileiros nos Estados Unidos: Um Estudio sobre Imigrantes em Massachusetts* (Brazilians in the United States: A Study of Immigrants in Massachusetts),Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Paz e Terra, 1999.

[10] Sum et al,1999.

[11] The Brazilian Consulate issued over 12,000 passports to Brazilians in 2003. The majority were issued to Massachusetts residents. Other sources of data concerning the numbers of Brazilians in Massachusetts are the healthcare facilities. There are also over 500 Brazilian-owned businesses scattered throughout Massachusetts. These factors indicate that unofficial estimates are closer to the actual size of the Brazilian community.

[12] Maxine Margolis, Brazilians and the 1990 U.S. Census : immigrants, ethnicity, and the undercount, *Human Organization* 54: 52-59, 1995.

may be unwilling to reveal this factor. However, despite the imprecision of these statistics, it is very clear that there has been an unprecedented growth in the Brazilian immigrant population especially in the last decade.

It is estimated that in Massachusetts in 1996-97, approximately one in four children under 18 was immigrant or child of immigrant father or mother. The largest numbers of these children were from China, India, Russia, El Salvador, Puerto Rico and Brazil. One indicator of the particularly rapid growth of the Brazilian population is illustrated by the fact that Portuguese is now the second most common language, after Spanish, spoken by foreign students. This immigrant component is essential to the economic well-being of a state like Massachusetts, for without it the state would shrink in demographic terms. Like other areas in the rest of the U.S., birth rates in Massachusetts have been dropping, and the population is aging. The so-called baby-boomer generation are retiring and this phenomenon will slow down the growth of the labour force. Immigrant flows into the state are important, therefore, for the maintenance of economic growth rates and immigration will provide an alternative labour force.

Most of the Brazilian population are to be found in Framingham, Cambridge, Somerville, Everett, Marlborough, and the Boston neighbourhoods of Allston/Brighton and East Boston. Hyannis, Lowell, Peabody, Martha´s Vineyard and cities in the North Shore are some of the newest hubs of the Brazilian community.

In Cape Cod, the area where this particular research has been focussed, the face of the work force has changed considerably. Immigrant workers have made a particular impact on the Mid- and Upper Cape, moving to Barnstable, Falmouth, Yarmouth and Dennis at an annual growth rate exceeding 30% since 1990. These figures have been released by the Massachusetts Institute for a New Commonwealth (MassINC). An enormous number of new immigrants have entered the workforce since 1990 in the Cape Cod area, but, unless they speak English, they are only able to earn about a third as much as their fluent counterparts ($14,221 versus $38,526). As it has been pointed out above, were it not for the immigrants, the labour force would be shrinking. It is clear that immigrants are fundamental to the commonwealth´s future and that English language skills are a major dividing line in their opportunity to pursue the American Dream. In 1980, 2/3 of the immigrants were from Europe and Canada. In contrast, 47% of all immigrants who have arrived between 2000 and 2004 were from Latin America and the Caribbean. Today Brazil is the leading country of origin accounting for 19% of new Massachusetts immigrants, and Brazilians form an even

greater component of Cape Cod´s new workforce[13]. A good many of these workers are to be found in domestic labour, care for the aged, and in fast food establishments.

But the weight importance of immigration cannot only be measured in economic terms. The social and political impacts of immigration also have to be taken into consideration. As American citizens tend to migrate from metropolitan to suburban areas, immigrants replace them, maintaining jobs and businesses that would otherwise disappear. When Brazilian migrants first arrived in the United States they tended to stay for a short period of time in order to make enough money to return to Brazil and build a better life for themselves in their home country. This situation appears to be changing. The interviews carried out with Brazilian women in the Cape Cod area indicated that this certainly was not the case for them. They definitely wanted to stay, to obtain green cards, to buy their own houses, with the long-term project of bringing their families over from Brazil to stay. There are plenty of indicators that the Brazilian immigrant population has changed from a transitory one to a more permanent one. For example, there are several grassroots organisations run by and for the Portuguese-speaking communities in Massachusetts such as the Brazilian Immigrant Center (BIC) and the Brazilian Women´s Group (Grupo Mulher Brasileira) and the Massachusetts Alliance of Portuguese Speakers (MAPS). These organisations embrace immigrants from Cape Verde, Portugal and Brazil and other Portuguese-speaking communities. They help to increase access and remove barriers to health, education and social services through direct services, advocacy, leadership and community. Fausto da Rocha, a community leader from Massachusetts, points to the large increase in the number of Brazilian home-ownerships as well as business-ownerships in the past four years as a sign that Brazilians are no longer returning to Brazil. Brazilian media is also blooming in the United States. In the metropolitan Boston area, for example, there are fourteen newspapers, two monthly magazines, and two websites entirely locally produced and circulated. All of these indicate a fast-growing and vibrant community.

Through the interviews with our Brazilian participants in Falmouth, Cape Cod, it has become apparent that the local churches, in particular, have been enormously supportive to these immigrant women. The churches have provided information regarding work and accommodation. They have provided food, clothing and psychological support for the newly arrived. Above all they have provided a warm and car-

[13] These figures have been quoted in Inside Cape Business, http://www.capebusiness.net/article/52.31

ing support system, so that many of these young mothers have had friends to turn to whilst they have been separated from their families. The churches have provided invaluable information and support for this study. Most of the religious leaders have a much clearer idea than the local authorities, for example, of how many Brazilians are living locally. This is because even when many of these immigrants are illegal (undocumented), they nevertheless have contact with the priest or pastor in the local church, and they regularly attend church. The Protestant Churches play a particularly important role in the Brazilian community. Initially the Portuguese communities, and the Brazilian communities, were almost entirely Roman Catholic, but this is certainly not the case now. There have been many campaigns conducted by primarily Portuguese Protestant churches, especially in the New Bedford and Fall River areas. These Protestant churches have Brazilian ministers or ministers of Portuguese origin trained in Brazil, and they play a major part in helping Brazilians to integrate into the Portuguese communities. These ministers, according to the Portuguese weekly newspaper *O Jornal,* have also helped migrants to find housing and jobs, to enroll children in school, and to access other services and information. Another important source of information regarding the numbers of Brazilians in the Falmouth area have been shopkeepers of Portuguese and Brazilian origin. They appear to have a more comprehensive idea of the true numbers of migrants, including undocumented Brazilians, living in the local area. Their shops, like the "locutorios" (call centres) in Spain, are centres that not only sell a rich variety of Brazilian food, videos, books and magazines, and sweets but also help immigrants with other services such as the exchange of money, the search for employment and housing. Another important source of information for incoming Brazilians is the Portuguese weekly paper *O Jornal*. This paper provides information for Brazilians concerning accommodation and jobs, in addition to providing news updates of interest for the Brazilian Community.

Several of the Brazilian women interviewed for this study had visited the Falmouth Service Center on Gifford Street in Falmouth and had found this centre to be of invaluable support. This Service Center is one of the many Food Pantries on Cape Cod, Massachusetts, that provide food, clothes and household goods for families who are undergoing financial hardship. This means that families in need can go once every three weeks to choose enough food for the family to live on for 3 to 4 days. These food pantries also provide referral and resource information about social, health, educational, and employment services. They also help with fuel costs and other utilities. The Young Children First! Lending Library provides parents with an opportunity to borrow books and materials to help

develop as parents. Monthly workshops are offered on budget management, dealing with loss, nutrition and other topics. Financial assistance is often given after clients participate in the budget management workshop if their needs relate to housing and utilities can be eased with Falmouth Service Centre support. There are several Thrift shops such as the Emerald House Thrift Shop in Falmouth to which people donate clothes. The proceeds from this thrift shop is used to finance the Falmouth Service Centre and the Falmouth Free Clinic. The mission of these Food Pantries is to ease stress, reduce hunger, and improve the quality of life for families undergoing financial hardship. They provide support and guidance for people in difficulty and they never turn people away. The Service Centre in Falmouth is a non-profit agency that has been working for over two decades. The community are fully supportive of the Service Center. The director of the Service Centre suggested that individuals, schools, organizations and the faith community give about $200,000 in financial aid and $80.000 worth of food annually. There are over 165 volunteers working at the Falmouth Service Centre. It is very clear that the residents in Falmouth give generously of their free time to help in the running of centres such as these. The atmosphere in the Service Centre, like that of the ESL classes in St Patrick´s Catholic Church in Falmouth, is warm and caring. This factor has been enormously important in the eyes of many women interviewed for this study. They have appreciated the help they have been given with language, food etc provided in these Centres, but the human warmth and sense of community have been important factors in pulling many of these women out of depression. Clearly, a Service Centre such as that on Gifford Street in Falmouth is there to provide help to any families that are in distress, whether immigrant or not. The important role of these centres is to provide a substitute social scaffolding to a community in which this scaffolding has begun to collapse. Given the overwhelming challenges connected with such a massive influx of new communities, it is probable that service centers such as these, the churches and other private institutions will have to play an even stronger part in helping Brazilians integrate into the local communities. The Brazilian community in Southeastern Massachusetts and Rhode Island, like that of the Ecuadorian population in the Basque Country, is becoming more visible day by day, and is expected to increase. Simply driving through a small town like Falmouth, in Cape Cod, it is possible to pick out newly established Brazilian shops and Brazilian restaurants are packed on Saturday nights. It is common to hear Portuguese intermingled with Brazilian expressions spoken in the shops and in the street. Brazilian music and soap operas are readily available on television and radio. More and more colleges and universities are offering Portuguese Studies programs and there are increasing numbers of Brazilian

professors lecturing in U.S. universities. The ESL classes are packed with students, not only determined to master the English language but determined to use the language as a means to access better jobs and to help them integrate into the American way of life. These are all indicators that the Brazilian community is becoming more visible and more active. It also suggests that the process of integration for these Brazilian immigrants is well underway, and is being welcomed by the local community. Whilst speaking to a variety of people in the Falmouth community our impression was that these immigrants were not particularly seen to be making heavy demands on public assets. Their contribution appears to be appreciated, and is not seen to be incurring liabilities.

Nevertheless, despite all these indicators that the Brazilian community in Massachusetts appears to be thriving, there are large numbers of women who have been caught up in the migratory process and who have, in a sense, "lost" their children in that process. Little attention has been paid so far to the pain of separation, alternative child-rearing arrangements, and difficulties in reunification, that are involving great emotional cost for both mothers and children. The interviews that have been carried out for this study have given us direct personal experiences of what it has meant to leave behind loved ones, to live through the trauma of separation. We have also noticed that the situation of the interview itself provided a springboard from which some of these women could debate the worth of their actions, and find a means to justify what they have done. It is hoped that the interviews can contribute in a minor way to filling the gaps in our understanding of a major historical event that appears to be taking place right in front of our eyes.

2. **Research methodology**

This article has grown out of a wider qualitative study currently being carried out on transnational motherhood[14]. The information used for

[14] Current research on "The effects of Transnational Motherhood on the Health of Women Migrants from Ecuador in the Basque Country" is being carried by Claire H. Firth (University of Deusto) and Jane E. Lavery (University of Southampton). It is a longitudinal study that focuses principally on the situation of Ecuadorian women migrants in the Basque Country. It was hoped that the situation of transnational motherhood present in the Brazilian community in South-eastern Massachusetts might provide an interesting contrast with that of the Ecuadorian community in the Basque Country. Some very interesting similarities have been found, but there have also been some striking differences particularly in the attitudes of the mothers themselves towards separation from children, and also in the way the two receiving communities are dealing with the situation.

this article has been based on evidence gleaned so far from individual stories and personal experiences connected with transnational motherhood told by a small group of Brazilian women living in Cape Cod who are, or have been, separated from their children for a considerable length of time. It must be emphasized once again that the study of their situation as transnational mothers is a longitudinal one, and that many of the women interviewed so far will be interviewed again in November and December, 2006, and once again in August, 2007. This means that information given by them in the first interviews may be subject to modification. The lives of many of these women are in flux, and information given by them in the first interviews concerning reunification with their children, obtaining green cards, work patterns, and other issues may have been modified over the last few months.

This qualitative research is a feminist narrative interpretative study, designed to call to attention to some of the problems of a relatively invisible group of women. In many ways it has been a joint-undertaking between immigrant women and researchers, the voices of interviewees and interviewers intermingle and participate in the processes of listening and telling of narrative histories. The stories told by these women about their experiences as transnational mothers are individual stories. The diversity of their experiences, the multiplicity of their lives, however, add other alternative perspectives to the transnational lives of women, perspectives that are often overlooked in migration studies literature. It would seem a matter of some urgency to try and capture the contemporary female migrant experience by recording stories told by these women before they are lost, especially since the majority of migrant women today no longer write many letters, journals or diaries. It is true they call home by phone, or use email or the chat. But these latter forms of communication are unfortunately transitory, deeply personal and very intimate, and therefore are difficult, though not impossible, to access for research purposes. We even wondered how far this kind of testimony can be used as reliable source material. It is often only by speaking to or interviewing these women, and recording what they say, that it is possible to capture the authentic female migrant experience as it is undergone today. This study has demonstrated that by interviewing these women in a close one-to-one situation, in which mutual rapport and trust were part of the situation, it has been possible to bring to the surface their narratives of disillusionment, the accounts of negative changes or the effects of transnationalism on them as individuals and their families, the experiences that they are living through at this very moment. This article attempts to demonstrate that qualitative research of this kind can make a valid contribution to work being carried out in migration studies today.

The main limitations of this study include its relatively limited sample size. But, despite the small and heterogeneous sample, certain trends and common characteristics emerged from the participants' accounts of their migratory journey and the impact the separation from their children has had on their lives. The 17 women participants in this study were originally contacted through the Cape Cod ESL Program, a program that is designed to help the immigrant community improve their standard of English. The head of the ESL program at St Patrick's Catholic Church in Falmouth kindly allowed us to participate in some of the classes run at the church on Wednesday and Thursday evenings. Through her help, and through the help of two other teachers, it was possible to set up interviews with women immigrants from Brazil who were actually separated from their children, or who had been separated previously from their children but were now united with their children, or who were in the process of reunification. Other participants were contacted in the Falmouth area through informal networking and snowball referrals. In-depth one-to-one interviews were carried out with these Brazilian women over November and December of 2005. A second set of interviews were held with 6 of these women in August 2006. A third set of interviews will be carried out with the same participants who have recently been reunited with their children over the last few months. A final set of interviews are planned for August 2007. The first interviews were expected to last approximately two hours, but frequently lasted three hours and sometimes more. The interviews were conducted in English[15]. In some cases another Portuguese speaker, usually a friend of the participant´s, was present. Some of the interviews were held either after classes at St Patrick's Catholic Church in Falmouth or in other locations chosen by participants including their workplaces, homes or even in fast-food places such as Friendly's or Mcdonald's.

We have been enormously aware of the ethical implications of interviewing and reporting. It was necessary to transmit to our participants that a high degree of privacy would be ensured, especially as some of the women we interviewed were either "undocumented" or in the process of having their legal situation put in order. In order to protect our participants, we had to make sure the information that was collected would not go beyond this study. We indicated to our participants that our purpose was not to pry into their private lives. We explained that the aim of this study was to push forward our subjective

[15] The interviewers do not speak Portuguese. However, they do speak Spanish, and are familiar with Spanish and Latin American cultures. The occasional prompt in Spanish was used if there were difficulties in communication.

and objective understanding of the socio-cultural aspects of their lives, and to give their private stories some meaning within the greater context of transnational migration. It was important for them to know that whatever information they gave in the interviews was confidential and that their full names would not be used in order to ensure confidentiality. Pseudonyms have therefore been used in place of the participants' real names, and the tape-recordings and transcripts of the interviews have not been allowed to be used outside this study. Previous to the interviews, the participants were briefed on the purpose of the interview, and were informed about the kinds of issues that would be raised and they were asked to give verbal consent before the interviews took place. No direct or indirect questions were asked in the interviews concerning immigrant status, although occasionally the participants proffered this information voluntarily. First names and telephone numbers were taken for contact reasons but kept apart from the interview data. The interviews were transcribed, and the main issues were identified, and the English was corrected for the purposes of this paper. No coding was used for these interviews

The background for the 17 Brazilian women interviewed was varied, as indeed were their migration experiences. The ages of the women ranged between 22 and 39. The average length of time these women had been resident in Massachusetts ranged between one year and nine years. Unlike the Ecuadorian women interviewed in the Basque Country, most of the Brazilian women interviewed for this study were either married or living with partners. Two were separated. Two were unmarried. The women came from a wide range of social backgrounds but the majority of them had completed a high-school education and all of the participants had been employed in a wide range of occupations before migration (domestic work, student, teaching, hairdressing, clerical work, beautician, care for the aged). At the time of the interviews all of the participants were currently employed, the majority of them as domestic workers, nannies, housecleaners, or caring for the elderly. One woman was working as a hairdresser, doing the same work as she had done in Brazil. Others were employed in restaurants and fast-food establishments, serving and dishwashing. One was employed in a car-wash service.

The general feeling amongst these women was that their potential in the labour market might be put to better use but the lack of English definitely held them back. Some of them had come originally as labour migrants, intending to work for a limited period of time, to save money and then to return to Brazil. Others came to visit their families in the U.S. then found they were able to find work and stay. In every case, the

intention of these women had been to return to Brazil after some time, but this intention had modified with time. The interviews did not bring up the question of immigrant status, but some of the participants volunteered information that they had been undocumented in the past.

The first interviews carried out in November and December, 2006, explored the motives for migration, family structure, marital status, position in the labour market, living-conditions, and connections with organisations in the local area such as churches. The interviews also opened up more difficult issues regarding separation from children, health and well-being, affiliation with health services, attitudes towards health services and other social services. Some of the information towards these issues was captured through closed questions. But, participants were also given the opportunity to speak about their experiences in an open-ended manner with the occasional prompt or interjection from the interviewer. The participants appeared to be more comfortable about answering questions when they felt supported by their ESL teachers and the Church, and of course by their friends. The participants were also given a written questionnaire that broached the same questions. It was important and interesting to compare what they said in the interviews with what they wrote about concerning the same issues, since occasionally the information did not tally.

When planning the interviews the importance of background research concerning the socio-economic and political background to Brazil was critical. It was also important to have up-to-date information concerning the current situation in both Brazil and the United States concerning immigration policy, health services etc. It was also particularly useful to take maps and photographs of Brazil to the interviews because the participants were able to point to where they had lived as children, and where their families currently lived. These maps were also very useful for prompting conversations about the geography and climate of Brazil, comparing Brazil with the Massachusetts, looking at transport systems, city centres, etc.

The experiences and relationships of the women interviewed in this study have been largely determined by their position within the multiple structures of power such as gender, race, class and nation. At the same time, our interviewees clearly attempted to fight or resist these factors of power by demonstrating an individual sense of tenacity and the ability to imagine possible other worlds. By using the method of oral history for this study, it has been possible to enter into the individual world of each of our interviewees. Each personal narrative gave us greater insight into, and understanding of, the migration process and the place transnational motherhood has within this process.

3. **Transforming the meaning of motherhood**

Clearly the U.S. has a long history as a receiving country for many different groups of immigrants who have followed labour demands, and there have always been transnational, transgenerational families that have been separated for long periods of time throughout the history of migration. It cannot really be suggested, therefore, that "transnational motherhood" is an entirely recent phenomenon, since the United States in particular, has 'a long legacy of Caribbean women and African American women from the south, leaving their children "back home" to seek work in the north.'[16] This process has become increasingly common since the 1980s.

What is definitely a more prominent feature in recent migration patterns is that the number of women who are separated from their children has dramatically increased. The number of working women in the Brazilian population in the U.S., for example, has suddenly become far more "visible" particularly in certain areas such as Rhode Island and Massachusetts where they have become established and have found work within the old Portuguese-speaking areas. They have become incorporated into the infrastructure of work patterns that require an increased number of workers prepared to take up low-wage industrial and service sector jobs mostly in domestic work, child care, and care for the aged in convalescent homes. The recruitment of these women into such jobs may require them to undergo long-term separation from their children and the rest of their families. Women have to bear this separation from their children not entirely through choice, for their choices are often limited by economic and family restraints imposed upon them.

From the traditional point of view this arrangement of "mothering at a distance" might therefore appear to challenge the generally accepted notion that the role of a mother should be to strive towards the preservation, nurturance and training of a child for adult life. To many people, the concept of transnational motherhood may appear to be unnatural, and even unacceptable. However, from a transnational perspective, this way of "doing" motherhood is no longer seen to be anomalous but has become representative of an ever-increasingly large proportion of immigrant women. In Massachusetts, much of the female population has migrated alone and send back money to their families. It is difficult to give an exact figure for the numbers of women who now

[16] Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette and Ernestine Avila.1997. "I'm Here, but I'm There": The Meanings of Latina Transnational Motherhood. Gender and Society, Vol.11, No.5 (Oct.,1997), 548-571.

care for their families at a distance. The numbers shift and change daily and there are too many undocumented women who slip outside the official data. However, as the interviews for this study have revealed, the realisation that there are enormous numbers of these women who have left their children behind in the home country is sobering.

The immediate consequences of this "long distance mothering" are to be seen in fundamental changes in family structures. Certain conventional categories of the notion of family and particularly of motherhood are in the process of being re-evaluated and questioned. It might be argued that transnationalism has given us a new insight into the meaning of motherhood. It could also be argued theoretically that certain transformational and liberating qualities accrue from the situation of being a transnational mother and that these advantages should be celebrated as indicators of a particular kind of new-found freedom for women. Looking at the situation from the outside, this may appear to be the case. These new arrangements of mothering frequently allow women to break away from tightly-controlled patriarchal systems, unhappy marriages or even abusive relationships that they have left behind in their home countries. The new arrangements may also allow women to have more control over financial decisions, and to have more choice both socially and in terms of work, and to shape their own lives to some extent. Indeed, the way in which many transnational mothers and their families are "blazing new terrain, spanning national borders, and improvising strategies for mothering" (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila: 549) is to be greatly admired. There are probably very few women who would be prepared to undergo the risks and emotional strain required in the circumstances of contemporary migration. It is indeed, as Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila suggest, "a brave odyssey" (549).

The interviews carried out with our participants were designed to bring out responses to the following questions. In what ways were these Brazilian women coping with transnational motherhood? What strategies, for example, were they using to maintain emotional bonds with their children? What kind of impacts were being made on the physical and emotional well-being of these women before and after migration, and after re-unification with their children took place? What pressures and changes were they subject to in their roles as mothers? What kinds of changes in parental authority and control had taken place? How did the mother feel about being displaced by other members of her family in terms of her motherly role? In what way did these women feel they were supported adequately by the health and social services?

The interviews certainly suggested some patterns that were common to most of our participants in terms of the reasons for undertaking

the migratory journey. Many of them mentioned that they had left Brazil because of limited economic opportunities in their home towns. Some indicated that they were escaping from an unhappy relationship either with their spouse, or from tensions with their parents, or parents-in-law. Only one participant referred to a situation of domestic violence. In all cases, the decision to migrate had been taken in consultation with the extended family, but the extent to which pressure had been put on these women to migrate without their children varied considerably. The majority of participants had left their children with their own parents, though in five of the cases, children had been left with the father and the father´s parents. Three of the women had left their children with relatives. There were no cases of children being left with other caregivers. The typical length of separation between mother and child was between six months and seven years.

Three issues emerged that were of great interest to this study. First, two of our participants had children that had been born in the United States, and who therefore had all the rights connected with American Citizenship. But, the mothers had voluntarily decided to send these children back to Brazil to be cared for by their grandparents because they believed it to be a safer place to bring up children. The U.S. is perceived by some of them to be a risky place to raise a family. Several women mentioned factors they found disturbing such as violence, exposure to drugs, an inferior educational system, excessive consumerism and undesirable social norms. We were interested in finding out whether this post-migratory relinquishing of the child had the same impact on the well-being of the mother as separation before the migratory journey. The second issue that emerged was the overwhelming concern our participants had about the increasing power that the grandparents appeared to acquire in terms of making decisions over education and healthcare. The shifting of the balance of power in the families clearly troubled the women we interviewed. They felt they had been forced to relinquish a number of their functions as mothers. They could not discipline their children at a distance, and the grandparents frequently did not provide situations of guidance and discipline necessary for the upbringing of the children. In one case, the grandmother refused to permit the child to join his mother in the United States, and this had caused severe tensions between the daughter and mother. The last issue was connected with the sense of guilt and self-blame felt by these women. Some of them actually saw themselves as "bad mothers" and viewed their separation from the children in terms of abandonment. They felt they had deprived their children of having a mother and that this could never be replaced. They were infinitely distressed by the anger their children felt towards

them, and hurt by the fact that their children did not seem to want to speak to them on the phone. There were four cases of mothers whose adolescent children actually did not want to come and join their mothers. They had already formed their own social circles and networks of support back in Brazil. What seemed to hurt the mothers most was that these children no longer discussed their lives with their mothers, and did not even seem to care.

The following extracts are from an interview with Maria S.(Case study 4). The extracts have been chosen because the pattern of Maria's migratory journey, and her way of dealing with separation from her children, echoes many of the other stories told by the women participants in our study. She tells us about her reasons for setting out on the migratory journey, the abysmal family situation, overcrowded living conditions, tensions and problems of co-habitation with her parents-in-law, arguments with her spouse, lack of private space, pressure from family to leave prior to migration, her sense of dismay at leaving her tiny son. It is, for the most part, a narrative of disillusionment, and brings to the surface the negative changes or the effects that transnationalism has had on her as an individual and on her family, and the experiences that they are living through at this very moment. But, it is also a narrative that includes some measure of success and achievement. She speaks of her success in material terms, her proficiency in English, her celebration of her newly-found status as a grandmother, her excitement about the fact that her application for a green card has been successful, and above all her anticipation of the imminent arrival of her son in Massachusetts.

> I lived in Belo Horizonte with my two children, and my husband José, his brother, Manuel, and my husband´s parents in a tiny flat.The flat belonged to his parents. I was only 16 when I had my first child, Ana, so my husband's parents told us to live with them until we could find a flat of our own… Now Ana is seventeen and she had a baby of her own last year so I am already a grandmother but I haven't been able to see the baby! My son, little José, is nine now. He was only two when I left him but he is coming to join me once my green card comes through… My husband and I did not have our own room in the flat. We slept on the sofa, and little José slept on a mattress next to us. Ana had a very small bedroom, and we kept all our things in her cupboard. It was a mess, and we couldn't find anything! We all gave money towards food, and we all had dinner together in the evenings. My husband's mother cooked, but I helped her clean the house and do the washing. My daughter went to school, and José's mother looked after my son whilst I worked as a hairdresser with a cousin of mine, and José worked in a garage. It was terrible with so many people living in such a small flat. We had a lot of arguments, especially with

Manuel. My husband and I were arguing all the time. We could never be alone. We wanted to find a place of our own, but we could never save enough money.

My sister, Lucinda, had already come to the United States so she told me to come and join her because there was plenty of work for women. So, I left my two children with my husband and I came by myself. At first I thought I would just come for a few months, and then I would go back. I thought I would be able to earn much more money and send it back to pay for Ana and little José. I actually think everybody wanted me to go. In fact, they said it was my responsibility to go and earn some money since it was easier for me to get work. But, little José. I can remember the day I left and I had to tell him that I was going shopping and would be back soon. I remember crying all the time.

At the beginning it was hard and I had to work with fast food in McDonalds. I hated it, and the hours were very long. I also worked as a baby-sitter in the evenings with a family in Falmouth. I cried all the time. I got very thin, and I couldn't sleep either. I just kept thinking about my kids. I felt so sad I didn't even want to go out with my friends. Then, a friend of mine found me this job in the hairdresser's in Falmouth. The pay with the tips was much better, and I liked the owner. A lot of the men who came in to have their hair cut were regulars, and they were kind and left some good tips. I started to save some. The owner of the hairdressers told me that he knew of a job in a garage that my husband could have. I decided to tell my husband to come over and join me two years ago, but my son and daughter had to stay behind with his parents. I wanted to bring my son, but I didn't have enough money to pay for day-care for him. Day-care would have cost $45 dollars a day, so it would have taken all my wages. I could have brought my daughter but she didn't want to come because she already had her friends at home. She seemed angry with me and said I had left her, so why was I trying to get her to go to a new place where she didn't have any friends. She even seemed to hate me. I thought why am I doing this. I come away to get more money to help her and all the others, and she doesn't even care about me.

Now I am making much more money, and my husband and I are getting on much better. I have learnt to speak English quite well, and I like meeting all my friends in the English classes at the church. We have a nice group of people in the class, and we even have birthday parties with the teacher. She is really nice, and brings stuff like cakes and soda for the parties. I even drive a second-hand car that I bought last year. Things are much better here. We have rented an old Cape house which we share with another Brazilian couple. I have been getting a bed-room ready for little José. I have bought some Spiderman curtains and a Spiderman quilt because that is what he loves at the moment. He is going to come as soon as my green-card comes through. But, I

> am very frightened he will not know me. I phone him every week, and sent him presents but sometimes he won't even speak to me on the phone. I am frightened that he doesn't want to be with me and that he loves his grandmother more than me. My daughter, Ana, doesn't want to come and see me either. She has her husband and her baby. They are sharing a flat with some friends.

4. **The effect of transnational motherhood on the health of migrant women**

Unfortunately, however, this new female-driven migration pattern seems to be one that brings with it deep emotional costs. The voices of these women interviewed for this study testify to those deep emotional costs both to themselves and to their families. Many of them spend not just months but sometimes years separated from their children, and in some cases the situation of separation is not close to being resolved. Their pain and suffering are factors that provide sufficient evidence to contest the celebratory nature of transnationalism. Transnationalism does not always bring with it socio-cultural innovations that necessarily liberate and transform the lives of the people concerned. The overall experience of migration is not always emancipatory for migrant women. In fact, for the majority of an extremely heterogeneous female migrant population, in which the subject positions of women are widely varied, the migratory process has brought with it more losses than gains, as our study demonstrates. It is time to deconstruct some of these myths and to focus on the serious ramifications that transnational motherhood has not only on the physical and psychological health of the women themselves, but on their children, on the people they leave behind in the home country, and on the communities that host them.

Over the last few years, far more research on transnational, multi-local families is being done. Research by scholars such as Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila specifically addresses the issue of immigrant women and domestic work in the United States and transnational motherhood is discussed within the larger context of labour and transnational migration. But, little is known about the effects, especially the long-term effects, of migration and transnational motherhood on the health of women migrants. Most of the data available comes from anecdotal reports or small studies.

That migrants sicken in the process of uprooting is not a new suggestion. In fact, it is a well-known phenomena and research in this area of migrant studies has been carried out for more than two decades. There

is important clinical work currently being done by SAPPIR in Barcelona on the Chronic and Multiple Stress Syndrome in Migrants (also commonly referred to now as the 'Ulysses Syndrome') and this testifies to the fact that the health services are beginning to become alerted to, and actively concerned with, this issue. The director of SAPPIR, Joseba Achotegui, argues that although the process of migration has always been difficult, the migratory process in recent years imposes much greater demands on migrants than before. Migrants are being subjected to multiple levels of stress that far exceed the capacity for stress most individuals have to deal with. However, although doctors and psychiatrists are beginning to attribute certain symptoms of physical and psychological sickness to the stressful process of migration, the specific issue of the lack of well-being and depression felt by transnational mothers as a consequence of separation from their children is only just beginning to be perceived as a major factor. Certainly, adequate research has not been carried out in this area.

It is clear that many of these immigrant women set out from their home country in good health believing that their migratory journey will lead to a more prosperous situation for the whole family. They persuade themselves, or are subject to persuasion from their families, that separation from their children is only a temporary measure. It would seem that the degeneration in their state of health would appear to begin with the initial separation from their children which is often a traumatic experience for many of them. But, the grief undergone as a result of loss and separation is sometimes temporarily eclipsed by the search for adequate work and a place to live, and the general difficulties of adjusting to the new way of life in the host country. It is often several weeks, even months, before there is a sudden realization that this separation is not just temporary but may be prolonged. It is at this point that many women begin to feel anxiety and begin to sink into despair and depression which, coupled with acute stress undergone by the difficult conditions of work and extreme loneliness, makes these women particularly vulnerable to suffering from ill-health.

All of the participants for this study spoke to us about overwhelming feelings of sadness and depression, and they seemed prone to anxiety and eating disorders. All of them mentioned that they cried constantly, that they had great difficulties in sleeping, and that they felt too low to make an effort to go out in the evenings or weekends. Three participants complained of extreme weight loss. Ten participants complained of gaining enormous amounts of weight, a factor they attributed either to the poor quality of the food in the U.S. or that they ate a lot of junk food as a way to comfort themselves when they were feeling low. Cer-

tainly all of the participants appeared to show signs of stress. Their desire to make as much money as possible in order to rectify the situation of family disunity, meant that they were taking on very long working hours and they seemed to be tired and run down. They complained of catching frequent colds and headaches, of having mouth sores, and of having flu-like muscular pains. They tended to resort to self-medication, and only when this failed would they seek medical help. Some of our participants said they preferred not to go to a medical center because they felt that U.S clinicians did not show much personal warmth, or continuity of care.

However, the ESL classes which many of them attended provided them with an alternative to a visit to the health center. The classes also gave them a reason for going out and meeting other people. Even though many of them were working long hours, and were exhausted by 6.00 p.m., they made an effort to dress up, and meet their friends in the classes. They found that other people, not only women but men too, had been separated from their children for long periods of time. The atmosphere in the ESL classes in St Patrick´s Catholic Church in Falmouth, is warm and caring. This factor has been enormously important in the eyes of many women interviewed for this study. They have appreciated the help they have been given with language provided in these classes, but the human warmth and sense of community have been important factors in pulling many of these women out of depression. The grief they feel for the loss of their children is in no sense diminished, but being able to discuss this with other people in the same position has, at least, made it a shared grief. It also means that these women have sought less medical help than is expected as a result. Most of the participants in our study have peers and/or family members in the United States to which they can turn in moments of difficulty. They are also given a great amount of support from the churches and other social organisms. Social support mechanisms of this kind are extremely important because they act as potential buffers between the stressful experience of separation undergone by these women and the decline in physical health leading to greater dependence on the health systems.

On speaking to several doctors in connection with this study it would seem that depression and stress are considered to be epidemic among Brazilians living in Massachusetts. Yet, they also seemed surprised that very few Brazilians sought attention in the health centers, particularly in the 1990s, despite the obvious increase in the Brazilian community. One such situation was seen in the East Boston Neighborhood Health Center where, despite the fact that Brazilians had formed a thriving community in East Boston, there was a conspicuous absence of the Brazilians in their

waiting rooms. However, during the summer of 1994, Michele Heisler, a student from Harvard Medical School, conducted individual interviews with Brazilian residents in East Boston[17]. She found that cultural barriers, and particularly language barriers, were prompting them to go as far as Cambridge to satisfy their primary health care needs. Based on her findings, the East Boston Neighborhood Health Center hired health care providers who speak Portuguese and understand the various Portuguese cultures, and the centre is developing Portuguese translations of its health care literature. Now, Brazilian immigrants populate the centres' waiting rooms. Because Heisler had lived and worked in Brazil and was fluent in Portuguese, she had the skills to survey the Brazilian immigrant population. She developed a questionnaire that addressed why and when the Brazilian immigrants came to Boston, their health care needs, where they were going to meet those needs, any barriers that prevented them from receiving service, and their expectations for service. To find subjects, she attended Brazilian masses at local churches, visited Brazilian beauty salons, and frequented local restaurants. She conducted 100 interviews in all. Surprisingly, Heisler found that most of the Brazilian immigrants were generally familiar with the health care services provided at the East Boston Neighborhood Health Center, but they did not understand that it offered multiple health care services, not just emergency care. No single absolute barrier prevented them from receiving the centre's services, but communication barriers and cultural misunderstandings were causing them to look elsewhere for health care. Through her important work, the health centres in Massachusetts as a whole have gained a greater understanding of the needs of the Brazilian community. The health centres are beginning to offer comprehensive linguistically and culturally appropriate treatment, take a gender specific approach and have responded to the reality of immigrant lives, based on a family centred model.

One of the biggest problems for the immigrant community in the U.S. is the problem of the cost of health care. Our study looked at the provision of health care in the Cape Cod region. To be given good medical treatment it is usually necessary to pay for it. One participant told us

[17] Michele Heisler came to the East Boston Neighbourhood Health Center through the Kass Fellowship, which sponsors one Harvard Medical School student each summer to conduct a community-based epidemiological study in East Boston. The Kass Fellowship was created in the memory of Edward Kass, a former HMS faculty member. He was an advocate of community-based research and introduced door-to-door surveys that reached every member of the East Boston community. As a result, the East Boston Neighbourhood Health Center has served as a model for how to provide community-based primary care.

about a friend working as a hairdresser who has been diagnosed with the early stages of breast cancer. This person is nervous of presenting herself at a surgery because she is undocumented, and is worried about not being understood. She is also worried that she cannot pay for visits to the doctor and medication. Fortunately, the Cape Cod Free Clinic in downtown Falmouth and the Community Health Centre are now enabling people such as this woman to receive treatment free or at a low cost.

The Cape Cod Free Clinic was founded seven years ago to serve the uninsured. The clinic was originally staffed by volunteer doctors and nurses who donated time and expertise for free originally. Now it has expanded to include a small paid staff whose salaries come from donations and grants. But 125 of the 200 staff are still volunteers. We asked our participants specifically if they had used this clinic, and surprisingly, most of them had not done so. This was not because they were unaware of the services available to them. In the Health supplement to the *Cape Codder, the Register and Penny Saver To Your Good Health***,** the back two pages are in Portuguese entitled *A Sua Saúde: Um Jornal Independente Sobre Os Cuidados da Saúde.* In the copy Fall 2005 pp.11-12, the Cape Cod Free Clinic and Community Health Centre, for treatment of depression were advertised. But, in addition to issues connected with health were advertisements for bilingual housing agencies, and agencies for interpreting. Courses for medical interpreters were also advertised. Cape Cod has become alerted to the need to find bilingual outreach workers. These workers can help to connect the uninsured and non-English speaking residents to services and to public insurance programs if they are eligible.

5. **Discussion**

This article has only broached some of the effects that transnational motherhood has on the well-being of Brazilian women living in Cape Cod. It has not considered major issues such as the effect of transnational motherhood on the work habits of this group of women, and neither has it addressed the important issues of the effects on the children of these women. The repercussions from this situation are very serious indeed.

First, the health of a mother affects the health of the whole family whether the family is together or not. If the mother "sickens" physically and mentally she is unable to hold the family together and to fulfill their expectations of her role as a mother. Her physical and mental state may

have an effect on her marriage, on her relationships with her parents and siblings, and even more important, may have devastating effects on her children even when they are geographically separated from her. It is even possible that the repercussions from separation, and the stress this entails for the mother, may continue even after family re-unification has taken place. Prolonged separation from children often means that the bonding between mothers and children is irrevocably broken, a fact that may give rise to unknown repercussions in the future. The stability of the family structures to which these migrants belong is threatened and family breakdown is common. It might be thought that once family re-unification takes place the problems are going to be solved. In fact, this does not appear to be the case. Often the problems are just beginning. The mother finds that she has lost parental authority and the means to discipline her child. The child sometimes blames the mother for having been "abandoned", and often resents being taken away from the care-givers that have become substitute parents in the home country. The mother is accused of being a "bad mother" and blames herself for the situation. Many of these women are unprepared for the anger that is unleashed upon them particularly from their own families and find it difficult to reconcile themselves to the fact that, despite the hard work and sacrifice they feel they have made, the migratory project appears to have failed.

Secondly, the population of women immigrants in Massachusetts is rapidly increasing. Their participation in, and contribution to, certain sectors of the labour market is crucial. In the near future, a large percentage of the working population of Massachusetts will be made up of immigrants, and a large number of these will be women. If these women are suffering from general ill-health, whether physical or psychological, more time will be taken off work and increasing demands will be made on the health services which are already trying to deal with the impact of a rapidly increasing migrant population.

Thirdly, the lack of well-being in these women may lead to difficulties in the way they are able to integrate into the American way of life. Many of these women explain their ill health and general lack of well-being in terms of the dilemma of being 'neither in the United States nor in Brazil'. This is not the kind of romanticized rootlessness that is often celebrated by transnationalism as being liberating and transformative. These women talk of overwhelming solitude, of not belonging, of feeling worthless, and of lacking viability. They even complain of feeling inert, unable to find enough energy to establish a real home and roots in the United States because much of their perception of home is still rooted in Brazil with their children and families. Their inability to truly

identify with their new environment has much to do with the sense of loss and grief they feel for the separation from their children. They do not identify themselves with the large population of Latin American women here in Massachusetts, yet their attitudes towards love, marriage and children are not dissimilar. These are still the dominating standards by which the self-worth of these women can be valued. Fulfilment and happiness for them can only be found through being a wife and above all, a mother. Lacking these roles leads, in some cases, to a 'lack of self-world synthesis', an irreparable division of self and world that occurs when contact with the surrounding world and loved ones is severed or cannot be formed. The sense of inertia this state brings about almost certainly impedes integration into the host country.

Integration requires a proactive move on the part of any immigrant community, particularly on the part of women. They are primarily responsible for establishing a home and for making contacts with the host community around them. The fact that integration is being impeded by poor health or poor initiative has serious implications not only for the women themselves but for the host community as well. Rather than being seen as contributors to life in Massachusetts, there is a danger that these women will be perceived as making heavy demands on public resources. The decision by many of these immigrants not to return to their home countries has put Massachusetts under great pressure to find measures to deal with rapid demographic change. Policy-makers, particularly those concerned with decisions concerning the health services and education, are going to have to search for ways to provide adequate infrastructures to cope with problems arising from this sudden influx of immigrants. Since the women are key figures in the establishment of stable family units in the migration process, it is in the long-term interest of the host society to make family reunification a top priority issue in immigration policy, and to work towards improving the physical and psychological well-being of these women in order to make them viable and appreciated members of society.

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Immigrant population in Basque educational centres: Evaluation of the teaching staff

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Introduction

The challenge of creating of an intercultural society raises the need to plan and design new ways of social integration in general and specifically in the school. Probably there are different ways to initiate this reflection and this process, but knowing the reality of our educational centres and the opinions and evaluations of the members of this school community seem to us with a good starting point for reflection on the creation of intercultural spaces, so necessary in our societies, though still so scarce. It serves then as a stimulus to rethink our actions in intercultural terms.

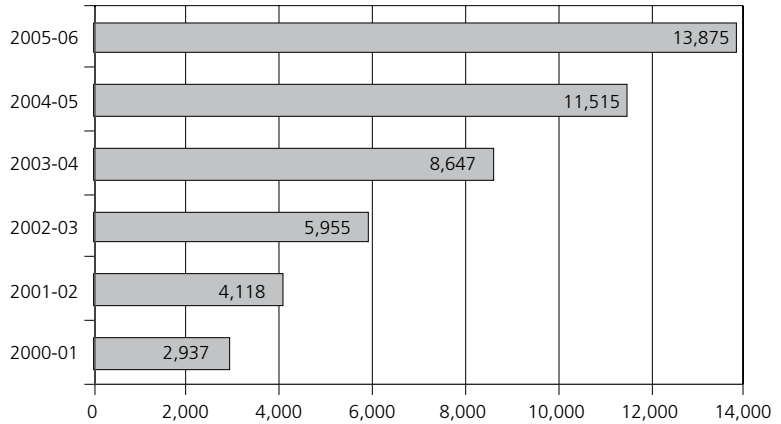
Starting from the selection of a representative sample of educational centres in the Basque Country, this article contains the vision expressed by both their management and teaching staff about how the school-age immigrant population is being incorporated into the educational system of this Autonomous Community. Thereby we try to offer a point of departure for a serene and positive reflection about managing social, linguistic and cultural diversity in the school context, as well as its socio-educational consequences.

1. **Immigrant pupils in Basque educational centres**

The presence of foreign pupils in Basque educational centres has experienced outstanding growth during recent academic years, following the same trend as the arrival and settlment of the foreign population in our Autonomous Community. According to information provided by the Department of Education, Universities and Research of the Basque Government, this group of pupils was already composed in the academic year 2005/06 of 13,875 persons in the classes of the general non-university regime (Figure 1). They represent approximately 4.27% of the pupils registered in the Basque Country.

Figure 1

Development of the school registration of immigrant pupils in the Basque Country. Years 2000-2006 (Absolute values)



Source: Department of Education, Universities and Research.

Bizkaia is the province that receives more than half of these foreign pupils registered in our non-university school centres (55.5% to be precise). Another quarter of this group is enrolled in Gipuzkoa (24.5%), whereas the remaining fifth is located in Alava (20%). It is the latter province, nevertheless, that has the highest percentage of immigrant pupils compared to the whole (6%, compared to 4.5% of Bizkaia or 3% in Gipuzkoa).

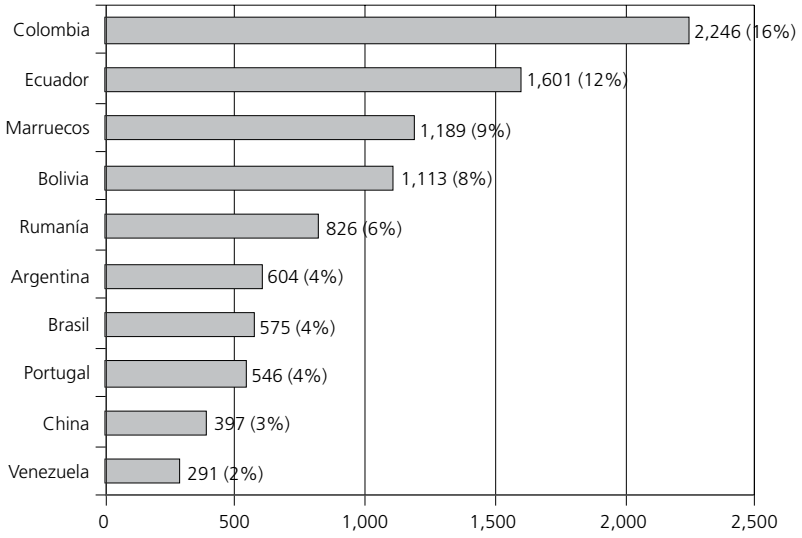
The majority of these pupils from outside the borders of the Spanish State are of Latin-American origin (approximately 64%). Another 15%

come from the African continent; 10% from Europe outside the EU; another 7% from another country of the European Union and 4% from the Asian continent.

Among the principal nationalities of immigrant pupils registered in the Basque Country are Colombians, Ecuadorians, Moroccans, Bolivians and Romanians (Figure 2). The most common countries of origin among foreign pupils in Alava are: Colombia, Morocco, Ecuador, Portugal, Brazil and Romania. In Bizkaia, this ranking is headed by pupils from Colombia, followed by Bolivia, Ecuador, Romania, Morocco and Brazil. Finally, in the case of Gipuzkoa, the most numerous group of foreign pupils is from Ecuador, followed by Morocco, Colombia, Argentina, Portugal and Romania.

Figure 2

Principal countries of origin of foreign pupils in the Basque Country. Academic year 2005/06 (Absolute values and percentages)



Source: Department of Education, Universities and Research.

If nationality of origin is important, there are other variables linked to it, such as language, of special relevance when dealing with education. Thus it is notable that approximately six out of ten foreign pupils knows at least one of the two languages officially recognized in the Basque Country and used in the Basque educational system, namely

Spanish[1]; whereas the other 40% have to learn both official languages in our Autonomous Community —Basque and Spanish. The latter group represents a great variety of mother languages, among them Arabic, Portuguese, Romanian, Chinese, etc.

With this starting situation, the majority of immigrant pupils (specifically 49.4%) is registered in model A (which has Spanish as the language of instruction and Basque only as a subject). Slightly more than another quarter (27.6%) is registered in model B (which has Spanish and Basque equally as languages of instruction); the group registered in model D being slightly smaller (23%) (with Basque as the language of instruction). This choice of educational model for the foreign pupils differs widely from that of all the pupils in this Autonomous Community, who clearly opt for model D (51%), compared to model A (25%) or B (23%). During last four years, nevertheless, the percentage of foreign pupils registered in model A has descended by 8 percentage points, while the presence of these pupils in model D has increased by almost 6 percentage points.

Three quarters of the educational centres of the Basque Country already have immigrant pupils registered. Of them, 64% are public while 36% are private centres with government subsidies. In other words: 80% of the public centres have foreign pupils registed, as do 68% of private centres.

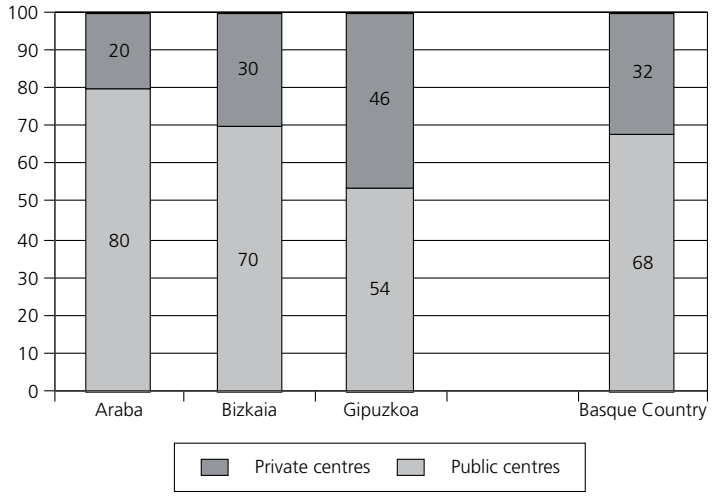
But more important than knowing the number of educational centres with presence of immigrant pupils is to emphasize the concentration of these pupils in their classrooms, so lets us contrast them with the number of native pupils in each: In the academic year 2005/06, the public education centres received 68% of the foreign pupils taking studies of general non-university regime in the Basque Country, whereas the private centres registered only 32% of all foreign pupils[2]. This distribution had already been shown in previous years, without being modified despite the important growth of this group of pupils in absolute terms. If we consider the three provinces separately, on this point it is well-known that, in relative terms, foreign pupils are predominantly found in the public centres in Alava (80%, compared to 20% in private centres) and in Bizkaia (70% in public compared to 30% in private centres). The province of Gipuzkoa exhibits, on the contrary, a more balanced trend, since 54%

[1] This seems to be indicated by their Latin-American origin, which does not mean that may not be differences in its use that should be taken into account.

[2] The public centres, on the other hand, receive 49% of the total of the student body of the Basque Autonomous Community, compared with 51% in private centres with governmet y subsidies.

Figure 3

Distribution of immigrant pupils, by province and ownership of the educational centre. Academic year 2005/06. (Percentages)



Source: Department of Education, Universities and Research.

of immigrant pupils in this Territory are registered in public educational centres, whereas the remaining 46% are located in private centres wih government subsidies (Figure 3).

Foreign pupils represent 4.27% of all pupils in the Basque Autonomous Community, this percentage being exceeded by very few educational centres: concretly seven out of ten centres have a concentration of immigrant pupils under 5% (Figure 4). On the other hand, in one-fifth of Basque educational centres the percentage of foreign pupils during the academic year 2005/06 was between 5 and 15%; while, undoubtedly more important still in its implications for the achievement of educational ends, another tenth (11%) of centres has a concentration of immigrant pupils greater than 15% of the total number of pupils (64 public and 18 private centres).

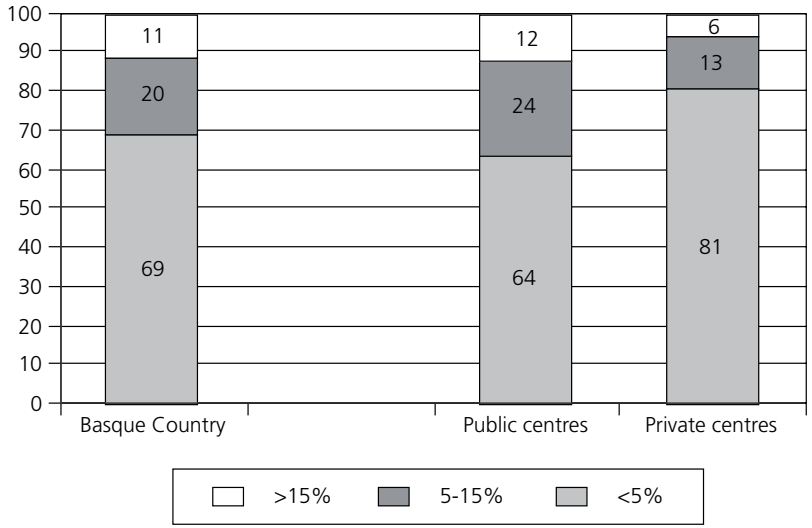
2. **Educational policy and immigration in the Basque Country**

2.1. *The Law of the Basque Public School*

The continual and ever greater incidence of immigrant pupils in our educational centres is raising the need to define educational policy to be

Figure 4

Concentration of immigrant pupils with respect to the total number of pupils in educational centres of the Basque Country, by ownership. Academic year 2005/06 (Percentages)



Source: Department of Education, Universities and Research.

able to respond appropriately to this new situation. This is a need that affects all educational centres.

At present, the Spanish State reserves educational competences related to the approval of the basic laws of general arrangement of the educational system, fixing their fundamental features, such as the minimal curricula, the general programming of education, as well as the regulation of conditions that guarantee equality in education. This basic state legislation is made specific, nevertheless, at the autonomous community level, so that every Autonomous Community can develop, within this general framework, their own educational policy, also in accordance with the particular characteristics and conditions of their territory; also taking charge of managing the educational system.

In the Basque Autonomous Community, the Law 1/1993, of February 19th, of the Basque Public School (LEPV) defines the Basque public school, and each of its centres, as "plural, bilingual, democratic, at the service of Basque society, deeply rooted social and culturally in its en-

vironment, participative, compensating for inequality and integrating diversity "(art. 3.1.). This law, which seeks "to guarantee the effective exercise of the constitutionally recognized right to education, eliminating the obstacles, whether economic, social or of any other nature, that prevent it" (art. 3.2.a), does not make express reference to immigrant pupils[3] who can be in a situation of social disadvantage. Now, we can understand that it accomodates educational intervention to eliminate the conditions that impede their schooling or educational success; an intervention that will appear, as in the LOGSE (Law on General Structure of the Educational System), from a comprehensive model. Article 10.6 of the LEPV reflects it thus: "The centres of the Basque Public School, in the use of their autonomy and in their case with the assistance of external support systems, will be able to apply measures of reinforcement and flexibility in the organization of class groups, curricular adjustment and organisation of educational resources, making possible a quality school, which is comprehensive in the obligatory period, which aspires to assume diversity in an integrative and individualized way, and in which every pupil manages to reach his or her educational aims".

Following Jaussi and Rubio, I review, below, the main principles related to the presence of different cultures in school and in society, contained in both the LOGSE and the LEPV and in their subsequent developments:

- —The right of all pupils to a quality education.
- —Education in democratic and intercultural values for all the pupils: critical capacity and attitude, equality, justice, participation, respect to pluralism and freedom of conscience, solidarity, social concern, tolerance and mutual respect, as well as the defense of human rights and the respect for all cultures.
- —The rejection of discrimination and inequality.
- —Access to a comprehensive and integrating education in the obligatory period, which permits all pupils to reach their aims" (Jaussi and Rubio, 1998: 11).

2.2. *The Basque Plan of Immigration*

In the political-normative framework of the Basque Autonomous Community, in relation with the right to education of foreign pupils,

[3] This is not surprising if we take into account the still limited presence of foreign population in this Autonomous Community at the time of its debate and approval.

is also the First Basque Plan of Immigration[4], passed with the aim of integrating a global institutional policy on this matter that allows the full integration of foreign immigrants in Basque society. This Plan understands that the public sector has to assume the basic responsibility in the process of integration, which is conceived as a bidirectional, multilateral and dynamical process of reciprocal adjustment between the immigrant population and the native population, and that must be assumed with social responsibility.

There are four directives that this Plan proposes in the area of education, understood as lines of reference and orientations for the specification of more operative measures in each of them:

- —To develop pertinent measures in the area of the educational system to adjust it to an intercultural reality.
- —To support the linguistic integration of young foreigners, with particular attention to learning the Basque language.
- —To promote the participation of the parents, teachers and social environments of the foreign pupils in the school representative bodies and in the dynamics of the educational centres.
- —To promote the teaching of the Basque and Spanish languages for foreign persons via the educational centres.

There are already numerous measures and actions that have been developed during the period of validity of this Basque Plan of Immigration. Among them, the development of a Program for attention to immigrant pupils, whose principal features are considered below.

2.3. *Program for Attention to Immigrant Pupils*

This Program fixes its general aim on the attainment of "school integration of all immigrant pupils, facilitating their social and cultural integration, indepent of their language, culture, social condition and origin" (Departamento de Educación, 2004a: 10). The aforementioned general aim has three specific goals: the oral and written mastery of the official languages of the Basque Country, access to the same curriculum as the rest of the pupils, and the attainment of progressive personal autonomy within the school and social area. For this, five main measures are indicated:

[4] The First Basque Plan of Immigration was approved for the period 2003-2005, the Second Basque Plan of Immigration now being in a phase of production and approval (2006-2009).

—Carrying out a diagnosis of the educational and linguistic needs of the pupils.
—The facilitation of a rapid and suitable education of immigrant pupils on the same terms as the native one.
—Attention to personal educational and linguistic needs by means of individual and/or collective reinforcements or curricular adjustment.
—Inducing the members of the native group to accept the immigrant pupils as equals.
—And, finally, facilitating the integration of different cultures by promoting mutual respect and knowledge.

It is understood that the objectives proposed will have been achieved when this pupils have sufficient knowledge of both official languages to follow the curriculum, are capable of doing so with the rest of the pupils and take part in all the activities of the educational community just like the rest of their peers (Departamento de Educación, 2004a: 10).

On the other hand, in the same document, the Department of Education, Universities and Research recognizes that many immigrant pupils, when they enter a school centre, present specific educational needs, which do not necessarily lead to their cataloguing as special needs. And, in this line, it classifies the educational needs of immigrant pupils under three fields:

—Linguistic needs (derived from ignorance of one or both official languages of the Basque Country, with consequences both for interpersonal and social relations and for learning);
—Curricular needs (resulting from the difference between the culture of the immigrant pupil and the majority culture of the new environment, as well as the deficiencies, especially in instrumental knowledge, present in some cases as a result of the previous non-existent or insufficient schooling), and
—Tutorial needs (resulting from the difficulty of the process of integration in the school and social area and from the differences between the family norms and customs and those proposed in the centre or the environment, apart from the problems that some pupils find due to their disadvantaged socio-family conditions).

Equally, the importance of training the teaching staff to face this situation is emphasized (which contemplates providing training in sensitization to intercultural education for the teaching staff in general and in the educational intervention and linguistic learning for teaching staff involved directly with immigrant pupils), as well as the production of

plans of reception in the centres (in order to organize the educational interventions that the centre proposes to achieve the full integration of immigrant pupils).

Besides these, many others documents exist that refer to the recent and increasing incorporation of foreign pupils in our schools, which try to specify actions to continue achieving the aims proposed by these legislative documents and texts that we have just emphasized (for example in the area of mediation, teaching languages of origin, etc.). We do not seek to detail all of them here, but it does seem opportune to emphasize their need, importance and contribution to improving the necessary work when faced with this dynamic and changeable reality.

3. **Towards a diverse and intercultural school**

Integration is presented as a complex and confused concept, which includes different meanings, though it always seems to be accompanied by a certain positive connotation, a broad degree of desirability. In this respect, the First Basque Plan of Immigration supports an intercultural society; an approach that, therefore, the educational institution must adopt, besides being considered as the fundamental space in the process of integration of the immigrant population, especially of the youngest persons.

In the same line, the Program for Attention to Immigrant Pupils, developed by the Department of Education, Universities and Research of the Basque Government, indicates that "the presence of immigrant pupils means a double challenge for the Basque educational system and in consequence for the schools: to adapt education to a multicultural context and to attend to certain specific educational needs of these pupils." The same Program continues by indicating expressly that the basic principles of the Basque Public School, a school "compensating for inequalities and integrating diversity," have to be, among others: the principle of integration, the principle of equality, the *principle of interculturality* and the principle of quality. This document emphasizes that "interculturality goes beyond the multicultural perspective because, as well as the recognition and adaptation of the different cultures, it proposes dialogue among them, in conditions of equality and reciprocity, which allows coexistence." And it goes on to indicate that "within the intercultural approach we have to take into consideration two aspects that do not always go together: cultural difference and inequality" (Departamento de Educación, Universidades e Investigación, 2004a).

Intercultural education proposes integration in the classrooms of cultural diversity and of the groups that represent it, respecting their singu-

larity, so that the majority group (with its own cultural identity) and other minority groups (whose own identities are also recognized), can coexist without limits other that those established by certain rules of democratic coexistence, based on respect for human dignity. It is a question of constructing a democratic educational system, in which interchange among the persons takes place from equal to equal, promoting dignity and solidarity.

Thus, intercultural education proposes to end stereotypes and prejudices that the native population tends to show and use towards the immigrant population, so as to deny this sector of society part of its rights. In the same direction, Vila (2003) emphasizes that intercultural education is one of the principal instruments which this society possesses in the struggle against racism and xenophobia, recognising that integration is a task that all the persons who compose society have to tackle —not only the population of foreign origin— with a respectful and tolerant attitude being necessary to allow us to reform our attitudes and behaviors which till now we have taken for granted, and which do not have to continue unchanged for the mere fact that they have been and are shared by the majority.

On the other hand, this educational model is also going to take into account the sociocultural inequalities or disadvantages presented by the pupils incorporated into classrooms (for example, ignorance of the language of instruction in the case of the recent immigrant population, or other special educational needs that can be present and even shared with some of the native pupils, stemming from disadvantaged social situations, etc.), with the aim of training and assuring competent persons who are able to live together from their difference.

But, aside from the democratic motivation ethics of respect for cultural differences, following Jaussi and Rubio we can emphasize that the intercultural approach in school responds to a need from the pedagogic point of view: "Only if the culture of origin is taken into account, rather than attempts being made to eliminate it, so that rejection or fear of assimilation and losing their cultural identity does not take place on the part of the minorities, will an authentic equality of opportunities be achieved" (Jaussi and Rubio, 1998: 25).

The fact is that in order to produce significant learning, it is fundamental that it makes sense for the person, so that it is very important to attribute meaning and value to what is important for each pupil. Thus, immigrant pupils will hardly be able to find meaning in a school that only accepts the cultural assumptions of the majority group, rejecting everything that does not form part of them (Vila, 2003). Thus, the valuing of different origins and of the different contributions of linguistic and cul-

tural minorities, will not only favor their promotion and self-esteem, as well as their integration in society, but will also make the acquisition of the relevant learning possible at every educational stage. In this context, Jordan refers to the pedagogy of recognition, understanding that the school must integrate the pupils in the majority culture and must teach it to them, but without forgetting that their own culture must not be annulled, since, when a person senses rejection towards the self, it is hardly possible to integrate the other. The pedagogy of recognition needs a new view of every pupil, who will be evaluated not from their difficulties, but from their potentials and needs in order to allow the maximum development of their possibilities and their personal, economic and social capacities.

Definitively, following Jaussi and Rubio (1998: 25), the intercultural education approach implies "a global approach whose purpose is double: to promote the existing interchange so that it provides cultural enrichment through dialogue among different cultures (…) and to promote equality of opportunities, giving the different (majority and minority) cultural groups the necessary resources to be competent and to become inserted in a complex and diverse society". To attain this, the Program for the Attention of Immigrant Pupils indicates a series of aspects to take into account:

—The incorporation in the curriculum of contents relevant to other cultures, emphasizing what unites us, not what separates us.
—The utilization of different cultural elements in didactic activities or their realisation in culturally heterogeneous groups.
—The impact on the life of the centre of the presence of different cultures and languages.
—The facilitation of access to minority cultures for everyone.
—The establishment of a critical dialogue among all cultures.
—Promotion of educational success for the pupils, eliminating barriers that impede it.
—The implication of significant persons from different cultures in the organs of participation of the centre or out-of-school activities.
—Promotion of dialogue with families from minority cultures.
—Attention to discriminatory attitudes, working to modify them.
—Resolution of conflicts derived from cultural diversity, by means of dialogue.
—The achievement of a quality education, in which every pupil can develop autonomously all their personal, social, ethical and intellectual capacities, facilitating diverse educational options without

> separating the pupils into exclusive groups and teaching, simultaneously, to coexist and cooperate on the basis of certain shared democratic values, which support social cohesion (Departamento de Educación, Universidades e Investigación, 2004a: 6-7).

Intercultural education will have to spread to all educational centres, since it is necessary to break with the ethnocentric approach, to be able to locate ourselves and interrelate in complex and diverse contexts, such as those that comprise our current societies.

Before concluding this section, and even after emphasizing the clear commitment to an intercultural education, it is necessary to highlight that a clear theoretical confusion still persists in this area and, simultaneously, there is a great distance between this oft-defended theoretical model for the treatment of diversity, and the practical orientations to implement it. For this reason we want to find out how the schooling of immigrant pupils in the educational centres of the Basque Country is taking place, obtaining the opinions of both management and teaching staff.

4. **Evaluation of the presence of immigrant population in the school centres**

In order to find out the opinion of the teaching staff about how the incorporation of immigrant pupils in the Basque educational system is taking place, a quantitative methodology has been designed, based on the survey method. This survey has been applied to a representative sample of the management of Basque school centres, as well as the teaching staff. This sample has been chosen at random after determining the number of centres proportionally to each province; fixing, also, for each of them the sample size corresponding to each educational network, school level and linguistic model. In all the opinions of 152 directors of educational centres of Primary Education and Obligatory Secondary Education have been obtained, as well as 300 teachers in the same centres.

The majority opinion among the management of Basque educational centres (77%) is that the presence of immigrant pupils brings important advantages for the centre, meaning, especially, their contribution of cultural wealth, of stimulus to reflection in class about values such as solidarity, tolerance, equality or justice, etc. Another 21% of the directors surveyed, nevertheless, does not have a clear opinion in this respect, generally because they do not yet have a significant presence of immigrants in their classrooms; whereas only in 2% of cases does the director

state openly that the presence of immigrant pupils in the school does not present any advantage.

On the other hand, one third of the directors shares the opinion that the arrival of immigrant pupils has also contributed to the fact that they keep some classrooms open which with only the native pupils could not have been maintained. Contrasting with this group, another 44% of the directors surveyed maintains, on the other hand, that the incorporation of new pupils from outside the Spanish State has not had this effect, while 23% remaining uncertain about this topic.

Asking the teaching staff to evaluate the presence of the immigrant pupils in their classrooms, one in five teachers says they feel contented with it because it means a good experience in the learning process; however, the attitude that defends their presence by alluding to their right to education is much more widely held (78.5%). Finally, the clear rejection of immigrant pupils in classrooms is expressed of by a very small minority of teaching staff (1.3%).

When the teaching staff is asked, on the other hand, about the pupils' attitude with respect to their peers, 74% believes that their pupils do not show differences of treatment according to the place of origin of their peers, while almost a quarter of the teaching staff (24%) perceives, on the contrary, a clear preference of their pupils for their native peers in class, while only 2% believes that their pupils value their immigrant peers more.

5. **Considerations on the cultural values of the immigrant population**

The idea that integration does not have to mean assimilation, that is, a unilateral process in which the immigrant population loses their language and culture of origin to adopt only that of the host society, seems, at least to theoretical level, to have penetrated deeply into the educational community. Thus the almost unanimous opinion among the teaching staff (98%) favours learning of our languages and culture by the immigrant pupils, while preserving theirs.

In the Basque educational centres there have been no problems worth mentioning with the cultural and religious clothing or symbols of immigrant pupils. So the management puts it, indicating that in barely 5% of cases (in seven centres, to be precise) some conflict of this type has appeared, centred on the school dining room (due to the rejection of some food present on the menu) or in the physical education class (faced with the obligation of using a certain type of clothes and having

a shower in the school afterwards). To speak about the immigrant population and garments typical of their culture or religion is, undoubtedly, to speak about the veil; although we have often gathered other types of commentaries in the aforementioned educational centres, for example, about the use of tight clothes with a plunging neckline or caps by some pupils of Latin-American origin. Due to all this, we have considered it opportune to ask the teaching staff their opinion on this topic. When asked this question: "what do you think of immigrant pupils wearing garments typical of their culture / religion to school?", the teaching staff proves to be clearly divided: 45% says they do not have a clear opinion, compared with 36% who says that it is all right for their pupils to wear garments typical of their culture and/or religion to school, or 19% who is against it.

On the other hand, we have asked about the activities carried out in the centres in order to bring the languages and cultures of the immigrant pupils into the centre. Approximately seven out of ten schools carried out some action with this end, according to the directors. These actions are very varied, emphasizing as most frequent the activities carried out in the area of the class (in 40% of the centres), other cultural actions carried out in the centre (18%), or celebrations (8%). According to the directors of the centres who participated in this study, 44% of them have presence, either part-time or ful-time, of teachers of support for attention to immigrant pupils. Much less frequent, on the other hand, is the presence of adult immigrants or cultural mediators in the centre (a mere 11 of the 152 centres considered have them). Only a third of the directors affirm that they maintain relations with institutions related to immigration, whether they are public (such as the Direction of Immigration of the Basque Government, the Department of Education or one of its organs such as the Berritzegune, etc.) or with NGOs or associations of immigrants or of support to immigrants (such as Cáritas, Red Cross, Azraf, CEAR, SOS Racism, etc.).

On the other hand, as for the teaching staff, almost half of the teachers participating in this study (49%) claim to have some knowledge of the societies and cultures of origin of their immigrant pupils. Another 29% claims to know this reality quite well, whereas 18%, on the other hand, says they have little knowledge in this respect. A small minority of teachers claims not to have any idea of the realities of origin of their foreign pupils (2%), while a similar group assesses their knowledge as being very extensive. Also, aside from the opinion shown in the previous question, three quarters of the teaching staff consider better comprehension of the cultures of the immigrant pupils necessary to facilitate their school integration. Opposed to this large group, a mere 7% believes that it is not necessary to extend their knowledge about this

reality, while another 18% does not think that this is a relevant factor to promote this integration. We also asked the teaching staff whether they carried out actions in the classroom aimed at promoting knowledge of the customs and cultural uses of the various immigrant pupils. In this case a little more than half the teaching staff (52%) state that, in fact, they do undertake these actions with their pupils.

6. **Difficulties in integration of immigrant pupils**

Though the abundance of immigrant pupils implies a positive contribution to the schools in the opinion of the majority of directors and teaching staff, it is also an idea broadly shared by these two groups that this abundance, at the same time, brings additional difficulties for the centre. This attitude is defended by 62% of directors in the centres of the sample, compared with the mere 13% that thinks, on the other hand, that it does not imply any disadvantage. One in every four directors consulted does not yet have a clear opinion on the matter, due principally to the limited or even nonexistent presence of immigrants in their schools.

When citing spontaneously the disadvantages that accompany the entry of immigrant pupils in the centre, 28% of the directors surveyed indicates that immigration impedes teaching work in general terms. More specifically, 23% underlines that the presence of foreign pupils presents disadvantages linked to the problems generated by their ignorance of the language of instruction; 22% thinks that their education requires resources which on many occasions are not available; 8% maintains that their presence implies a reduction of the academic level; 7% emphasizes problems related with the excessive concentration in some educational centres, 5% with their late entry to school and their continuous arrival throughout the year; while less common, but still present, are opinions linking the incorporation of the immigrant population with loss of prestige of the centre (3%) and even with the emergence of racist attitudes (1%)[5].

If we consider the opinions of the teaching staff in relation to the education of immigrant pupils and the consequences for carrying out their teaching work, again we notice that the most notable disadvantages are related to the greater difficulty that their presence implies for

[5] Note that these percentages do not necessarily have to add up to 100, since this was phrased as an open question, to which each director surveyed could have given one or several answers.

the performance of their teaching work (emphasized clearly by 77% of teachers); work that does not seem to be accompanied, at least not in the same measure, by an increase in the resources with which to confront it successfully. Thus, when the teaching staff is asked about the effect that the arrival and incorporation of the immigrant pupils has on different areas of work in the classroom, the least notable are those that have to do with group relations or with the climate in the classroom; while the organization of the group, the contents of the classroom and the teaching material are emphasized as more important.

Besides, only 28% of teaching staff openly affirms that they feel prepared to attend to the educational needs of immigrant pupils, compared to 26% that feels indifferent or 46% that clearly affirms that they do not feel qualified for this. The percentage of persons with sufficient training and preparation to integrate foreign pupils in class is diminished even further —to a mere 15%— when the Basque teaching staff is asked to assess not their own preparation for their teaching work, but that of their peers. On the contrary, six out of ten teachers (61%) think that the aforementioned training and preparation is insufficient, whereas the remaining 25% adopts an intermediate attitude. The opinion that the teaching staff of the centre do not have the sufficient training to work with immigrant pupils also is shared by slightly more that two thirds of the directors (68%), who also have indicated some general subjects on which training would be opportune. Among them they would highlight, in order, the management of interculturality, the way of approaching the adjustment of materials or the resolution of conflicts.

The teaching staff is also critical with the educational policy taken by the Administration in this area. The fact is that only 6% of the teaching staff is satisfied with the resources that the schools have to integrate immigrant pupils in the Basque educational system, whereas 73% maintains exactly the opposite position. In the same line, a mere 9% of the teaching staff says that the help they receive from the Administration for the education of immigrant pupils is sufficient, compared with 68% who thinks the opposite and 23% who adopts an intermediate attitude. At least one out of five teachers claim to feel overwhelmed in confronting this aim, due to having insufficient means and training to face the integration of foreign minors. Even so, less of the half of the teaching staff considered (46%) is opposed to the education policy for foreign pupils carried out by the Basque Administration.

More than two thirds of directors of the centres studied (67%) and of the teaching staff (68%) reject the idea that the incorporation of immigrant pupils is resulting in a decrease of the level of knowledge of the pupils of the centre. Rather, they think that the presence of an

increasingly diverse type of pupils impedes and complicates their own teaching work, so that, as we have just indicated, they request greater support from the Administration in this respect. In the same line, there is a wide consensus among both the directors and teaching staff in favour of avoiding the concentration of foreign pupils in certain centres, favoring their distribution at least among all schools that receive subsidies from the Administration, that is, among the public and private schools.

In opinion of the directors of the centres, the principal problems of integration of immigrant pupils are linked to linguistic difficulties (40%), or to certain cultural (25%) or socioeconomic (19%) aspects. Conflicts of coexistence or the insufficiency or inadequacy of grants, on the other hand, are not considered very important by the majority of directors. The teaching staff, for their part, agrees with the directors in stating that mastery of the language of instruction is the principal determining factor for the integration of immigrant pupils in the classrooms. For the majority of the teaching staff there are two other variables that fundamentally determine the better or worse integration of this group of pupils, and which are intimately related: their age and the length of time they have been in our educational system. On the other hand, the educational level with which they arrive, their previous education or the country of origin of these pupils seem to be less important.

The teaching staff, besides, refers to other factors that, linked to the family context, can also help to facilitate or, as it may be, to impede the integration of the immigrant pupils. In this area, the aspect most valued by the teaching staff is the participation of the families in the education of the children, indicated by 79% of the teaching staff. Secondly, they value the mastery of the language of the centre in the family environment (61%), the educational level of the father and/or of the mother (56%) and, more distantly, the economic situation of the family (29%), the country of origin of the parents or their legal situation (21% in both cases).

7. **Measures adopted and resources necessary for the integration of immigrant pupils in the centre / classroom**

According to the directors, 87% of the educational centres has implemented some measures to promote the integration of foreign pupils. Among the measures promoted, the one mentioned most frequently are, in order: a program of linguistic reinforcement (75%), support in the classroom, programs of support and a plan of reception (71.5%),

initial evaluations (64%), activities to promote interculturality (37%), changes in the schedules of the teaching staff (30.5%), modification of the criteria of grouping of the pupils (22.5%), changes or redistribution of spaces (14%), changes in the system of assignment of teaching staff (10%) and changes in the layout of the centre (7%).

The teaching staff, on their part, has also indicated the main actions carried out in the classroom in order to favor the integration in the class of the immigrant pupils. In this context, the most important thing is the adjustment of the content and materials (indicated by 65% of the educational personnel considered), followed by adjustment of the activities at the level of knowledge (60%) and, more distantly, the designation of a peer tutor (22%), the provisioning of knowledge of other cultures (20%) or curricular adjustments (13%).

In the opinion of the directors of the centres surveyed, the most important resource to favor the integration of the immigrant pupils is, nevertheless, an increase in the teaching staff. The following measures defended by the directors as more valuable with the aim of integrating the foreign pupils are located in the framework of didactic materials: specifically, in second place, the need for didactic materials to adapt the curriculum of immigrant pupils to the ordinary work in the classroom, and in third place, materials adapted to the educational reinforcement of the immigrant pupils. Following this, the directors place training courses or orientation material aimed at teaching staff, with resources targeted at directors of centres, that is, training courses or orientation materials aimed at managerial teams, in last place.

Likewise, we asked the opinion of the teaching staff about the principal changes that have to take place in our school centres to favor the process of education of immigrant pupils. For the teaching staff the principal change requested is again hiring more supporting teaching staff with specific training to attend to these pupils; followed, in order of importance, by two other measures: assistance to develop curricular adjustments in order for immigrant pupils to follow the classroom programs, and training of the teaching staff. Considerably less important, in the opinion of the teaching staff, are other proposed changes such as the presence of professionals specialized in orientation and social work, the creation of specific classes for the immigrant pupils and for those who have more learning problems, and more coordination with the families.

Faced with this reality, the school directors of the Basque Autonomous Community demand an improvement in the measures of the Department of Education, Universities and Research, since, although slightly more than one in four directors of centres (27%) thinks that the support received from the aforementioned Department, and specifically

from the Program of Linguistic Reinforcement, is positive, a higher percentage (36%) assesses it as insufficient, while slightly more than four out of ten centres (43%) claim not to receive any support, in spite of the fact that the majority of them have some —although in most cases probably not very many— foreign pupils.

On the other hand, and although the number of teaching staff who claims to be satisfied with the different measures considered to attend to the immigrant school population is always higher than the number who say they are unsatisfied, they do not show the same degree of approval towards all these provisions. Thus, the measure that receives the greatest praise is the assignment of supporting teaching staff; secondly the program of linguistic reinforcement, followed by a decrease in the number of pupils per group, then by adapted didactic material and, finally, supporting out-of-school activities.

Definitively, the majority of the actions implemented and requested to improve the incorporation of immigrant pupils in the classrooms of the Basque schools have to do with the elimination of all the barriers that prevent them from following the learning process together with the rest of the pupils. Even so, we must not forget that an intercultural school also has to facilitate the integration of different cultures, promoting respect and mutual knowledge and dialogue among them in conditions of equality and reciprocity that allow democratic coexistence.

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Part II

Responses from the mirror. Keys to social intervention

New challenges for the Social Services working with immigrants in The Basque Autonomous Community

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Introduction

Migration, as we know it today, is a recent phenomenon that has developed rapidly and to which it has not been possible for society and the public administrations to respond in a prompt and appropriate way. Basque society has confronted situations of immigration and emigration in the past, but the current one contains elements that undoubtedly generate new opportunities and challenges not hitherto raised, but which it will be necessary to confront within the framework of a social State of law that promotes the standards of the welfare state[1]. Migration today contributes new cultural, linguistic and religious elements that demand a rapid capacity for reception and integration but in an effective and efficient way. Only a good response on the part of the host community can extract the whole wealth that this diversity provides, minimizing the conflicts and social fragmentation that a welfare state must not permit.

[1] A Welfare state is considered to be a State that assures health, housing, education and pensions to its citizens. It seems important to point out that the host society is characterized by considering all of its citizens to deserve the same rights in order to achieve certain levels of welfare and to this end, the State establishes the corrective mechanisms to improve life conditions that may be harmful or negative.

The social services of the Basque public administration offer at present an important range of responses, direct or indirect, to the different needs and demands that are established by society and, in the majority of the cases, are used as the last safety net of social protection of the native population. But phenomena such as the increase in the immigrant population, which in many cases are served by social services as a basic instrument of insertion and integration on their arrival (Moreno, 2000), provoke a need for re-adaptation and rethinking about the efficiency of the services offered as well as the capacity by the Public Administration to identify and evaluate these new needs in order to guarantee social protection and facilitate the processes of integration of these persons in the host society.

This article tries to give a vision of the current situation of the social services of the Basque Autonomous Community (henceforth BAC), the legal framework that regulates the relation between the social services as a administrative entity and immigrant persons as potential users of the aforementioned services, rights and benefits, beside observing the type of responses and specific resources that are provided from the Basque public administration, in order to contribute elements for a reflection on the adequacy of the programs and services that cover these new needs that are emerging. To this end, the article is articulated on three axes: The policies for social integration of the immigrant collective in the BAC, the structure of the social services of the public administration and the social resources aimed at covering the specific needs of immigrants, to conclude with the new challenges which the social services and social action professionals must confront in this new configuration of society.

1. **The Public System of Social Services in The Basque Country**

The public system of social services can be defined as the set of services and benefits that, together with other elements of Social Welfare, have as their aim the promotion and full development of all people and groups within society, to obtain greater social welfare and quality of life, in an environment of coexistence, as well as preventing and eliminating the causes that lead to social exclusion and marginalisation, all through the structures and public services of the of the State, the Autonomous Communities and the Municipal Corporations[2]. Articles 14.2 and 14.3 of the Law of Immigration establish the right of resident foreigners to the basic and general social services and benefits under the same condi-

[2] Ministry of Work and Social Affairs.

tions as Spanish natives, and the right of foreigners (regardless of their administrative situation) to basic social services and benefits.

The fundamental *aims* of the social services are:

—Full and free development of the rights of individuals and groups, guaranteeing their equality in society.
—Guarantee of the coverage of social needs, adapting them, where appropriate, to the processes of change of social reality.
—Prevention of the circumstances that lead to marginalisation, as well as promoting the full incorporation of individuals and groups into community life.

The social services include, on the one hand, the services of attention to persons with specific needs due to being in a situation, or at risk, of social exclusion, in order to improve their quality of life and the welfare of disadvantaged groups and persons; and on the other hand, to provide or eliminate the different manifestations of poverty and social exclusion. They are developed through two levels of intervention: basic, primary or community social services, aimed at the whole population with needs, and the specialized or secondary social services, aimed at specific groups with specific problems.

The primary level is executed by means of an agreement of economic and technical cooperation between the Autonomous Communities and the local administrations, in order to guarantee minimum basic services in all municipalities, through the Compound Plan of Basic Benefits of social services in the Municipal Corporations.

The Basic Social Services are characterized by being the first access to the System or network of social services, which constitutes the first point of contact for individuals, families and communities within the System[3]. These are polyvalent services in which programs and services are offered to the population in general, and can satisfy needs and problems of a very diverse nature. These are not limited to a particular sector, but offered to the whole community. On the other hand they are in continuous coordination with the specialized social services and the different services and institutions of the locality, stimulating community life and different programs for social and community participation.

The functions of the Base Social Service are as follows:

—Orientation and information to all citizens about their rights.
—Problematic information of the community: planning.

[3] Law 5/1996 of October 18: Social services of the BAC.

—Facilitating permanency and autonomy in the habitual environment of coexistence.
—Promoting the social incorporation of persons, families and groups in situations of risk of marginalisation.
—Promoting the Social Participation of the community, stimulating associations, voluntary work and solidarity.
—Technical and economic collaboration with non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

To carry out their aims, the base Social Services centres undertake four programs[4]:

—Information, Orientation and Valuation
—Home Assistance
—Housing (Family) and Coexistence.
—Social prevention and insertion / Social promotion and cooperation - Voluntary work.

These programs, in turn, respond to the following social needs:

—The need for access to social resources to anticipate inequalities, facilitating equality of opportunities to all citizens in the use of the resources that society offers
—The need for living together, housing and quality of life in the personal environment: in the development of the right to personal autonomy in the framework of coexistence that the persons freely decide
—The need for social integration to overcome social exclusion, making it possible to create personal and social conditions for the participation of all citizens in social life, on the basis of the development of a harmonious social and economic policy.
—The need for social solidarity: promoting social responsibility as an instrument for overcoming social and institutional discrimination.

The secondary or specialized level is based on the autonomous legislation of social services and are programs aimed at specific groups that present problems, risks or special needs, such as infancy, youth, family, old age; disability, women in situations of risk or exclusion, immigrants and situations of social emergency in general. The principles that inspire the action of the social services, whether base or specialized, accord-

[4] Units of Social Work: 1988 Plan coordinated for the development of Basic presentations of social services in the Local Corporations with a territorial area more limited(small) and near to the citizens and gate-way to the Public system of social services

ing to the current regulation, are public responsibility, solidarity and participation in civil society, the prevention, planning and evaluation of results, equality and universality, globality and integration, decentralization, and coordination of management, all with the aim of developing a social policy that helps to overcome the conditions that give rise to poverty and social inequality, and to develop greater levels of social welfare.

We observe, then, that the whole of the legislative body affirms the right to attendance by the basic social services and their resources for all foreigners regardless of their administrative situation. Now here we must make a series of considerations on the matter. In first place, this generic right of access is coloured by the demand for diverse administrative documentation. Though after the latest modifications of the Regulation of Population[5], any foreigner is allowed to register with relative ease, this requirement continues to impede the attention to itinerant undocumented persons, those who move geographically in search of employment and who end up receiving administrative treatment as transients. In second place, we must indicate that although the right to access is realised through different legislations, the degree of partiality and discretion in the application of the right is enormous[6]. This subjectivity is due to the lack of normativity of the steps in social services, dependence on the management of different agents, principally town halls, and the difficulty in defining *need* as a criterion of access, especially in an area of scanty resources. Thus we see the need to specifically adapt the current legislative framework of social services to the phenomenon of immigration. This framework is open to attention, not by virtue of clear normative action, but by its current generic form. Thus it seems necessary to specify, to visualize the group of immigrant persons in the diverse legal measures that are considered, in order to give greater legal security in access and administrative action.

The social services as a system, besides, have an important complement in the private area, although we do not refer to these in this article. At present there are entities, whether in the business sector or non-profit, the latter also called *Third Sector*, which play an important role in the

[5] Royal Decree 2612/1996, of December 20, by which is modified the regulation of population and territorial demarcation of the local authorities, approved by Royal Decree 1690/1986, of July 11 (BOE 16-01-1997).

[6] The social services are traditionally criticized for their high degree of subjectivity and for being subject to great discretion. This traditional situation, more than improving with time, has been extended to numerous spaces of action, even in purely administrative instances or steps.

area of social services and specifically working with immigrant. Thus, the conceptual delimiting of social services extends from the merely public to the private, since these are present at both levels of their performance, the general and the specialized.

2. **Policies for the Social Integration of Immigrants in The Basque Autonomous Community (Bac)**

International migratory flows have had, since their beginnings, legal obstacles for the entry of foreigners to a host country. Every country, especially if it has received large numbers of immigrants, possesses an immigration policy that regulates, restricts, selects and controls foreign migrants: establishing quotas by means of a control of flows, requiring conditions for acceptance, granting limited work permits, offering temporary contracts by means of international agreements, etc. These restrictive measures to foreign immigration are based in two fundamental elements (Blanco, 1995): economic elements, orientated to preserve the welfare and quality of life of the citizens, as well as cultural elements, for the protection of the national culture and the identity of the host community.

The first regulation relating to immigration, Organic Law 7/1985, did not contemplate the possibility that immigrants could be the holders of any social rights, a possibility that was timidly included in the current Organic Law 4/2000, of January 11, on the rights and freedoms of foreigners in Spain and their social integration, which contains the principal regulation of immigration. This has been reformed on three occasions, through the Organic Laws 8/2000, of December 22, 11/2003 of September 29, and 14/2003, of November 20, which have modified the text of some of its articles. This Organic Law regulates the rights and freedoms of foreign citizens, including the right to family reunification and legal guarantees; requirements for entry to and exit from Spanish territory; permits for tourism, temporary residence, permanent residence; work permits and the annual quota of foreign workers; infractions regarding immigration and their sanctioning regime, among other matters.

In agreement with article 149.1.2ª of the Spanish Constitution, the State has exclusive competence on matters of "nationality, immigration, emigration, foreigners and right to asylum". The policies of integration, which are sectorial policies as regards employment, education, housing, health, social matters, etc., will be a competence of the Autonomous Communities, through the Bylaws of Autonomy and the transfers of competence carried out.

Thus, the legal framework provided by the state, community and international regulations has to be completed with the regulations contained in the Autonomous Law and with the autonomous legislation approved in the development of the aforementioned legal procedure. These follow from the particular relevance for policies of integration, since they emphasize the fact that numerous Autonomous Communities have approved interdepartmental plans of immigration and integration, their administrative structure includes managerial centres with powers in this matter and have created specific autonomous participative organs, such the diverse autonomous forums for immigration existing.

The Law 7/1985, of April 2, which regulates the Bases of the Local Regime, establishes in its article 25.1 that "the Municipality, for the management of its interests and in the area of its competences, can promote all kinds of activities and provide whatever public services help to satisfy the needs and aspirations of the local community". Besides, articles 25 and 28 develop the competences of the local authorities, among them that of rendering social services, social promotion and rehabilitation (art. 25.2k and 26.1c). Therefore, and despite the fact that immigration is an exclusive competence of the State, the local administration has full competence for the design and development of specific programs for the immigrants of the municipality.

The Law of Immigration and its regulations contemplate various processes of entry for immigrant workers, which are: quota, general regime and seasonal workers. The majority of immigrants enter as tourists and remain in the country in an irregular situation, so the legal situation of the immigrant is determined by obtaining a work contract. This situation considerably restricts legal rights in the host society. Set against the right of persons to emigrate and change residence, as contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is the right of countries to maintain their "quality of life", "cultural identity" and "welfare in general". Considering this legislative situation, many immigrants remain in a situation of vulnerability and precariousness, to a great extent derived from difficulty of access to the labour market, family establishment, lack of social participation, lack of social contacts that contribute affective stability and feelings of belonging, etc. This fragile situation will worsen when the immigrants are in a position of illegality.

The Basque public administration guarantees equality of opportunities to all citizens, from the beginning of normalization, in access and rendering of services, taking into account that one must not differentiate between persons: "foreigners, whatever their administrative situation, have the right to the basic social services and benefits". According to the current version of the L.O. 4/2000, as we have commented previ-

ously, foreigners in an irregular administrative situation have the right to urgent health assistance (Art.12), free legal aid and an interpreter (Art. 20), obligatory education (Art. 9) and to basic social services and benefits (Art. 14). In principle, immigrants will have the right to attention and information in the centres of social services, but only those persons who have established the legal requirements will be able to access the basic social benefits like any registered citizen.

In the year 2001, with the new configuration of the Basque Government after the autonomous elections, there began what is called the Basque immigration policy. Hereby the United Left (*Izquierda Unida*) party assumed control of the Department of Housing and Social Affairs, within which was created the organisation that would take charge of the matter: the Directorate of Immigration (Decree 40/2002 of February 12).

The first act of this Directorate of Immigration was the design of a Plan of assistance to programs and activities related to immigration. This will take shape by means of the Decree 155/2002 of June 25, by which are regulated "assistance for the accomplishment of activities in the area of immigration". The foundations that will guide the actions of the Directorate of Immigration, were established in this decree fixing the general aims and principles for public intervention in the area. It also defines the programmes of subsidies and assistance that will be created, together with an approach to the tools that will be designed to support both public and private initiatives in favour of the integration of immigrants. Thus arose the first Basque Plan of Immigration, 2003-2005 (the second plan is in draft). The model that the Basque Public Administration follows, as regards the form of intervention when dealing with ethnic and cultural diversity, is that of interculturalism. This term means starting from a paradigm that promotes the utilization of diversity to establish a permanent dialogue with other cultures so that, respecting differences, a just and satisfactory coexistence among all is constructed; in the words of Rodrigo Alsina (1999): "Interculturality describes a relationship between cultures. Though, in fact, speaking about an intercultural relationship is a redundancy, probably necessary, because interculturality implies, by definition, interaction." In fact, within the areas defined in the Plan, there is one specific to interculturality, in which are defined the directives and measures to follow. "Integration is a bi-directional concept, which implies a dynamical process of reciprocal adaptation between the immigrant population and the native population…" *Interculturality is necessary for integration*. Integration, from a cultural or political point of view, is *neither equivalent* necessarily to the *confluence of identities nor far less to the assimilation of other cultures by the host society*. An

advanced concept of integration will imply, then, the possibility of free development of diverse identities on a basis of equality, as well as a process of interaction and interrelationship between them.

From the Directorate of Immigration of the Basque Government all municipalities are urged, although not forced, to create a network of reception for immigrants, through the base social services of the town halls, since these play a crucial role in the reception of immigrant persons both in the arrival to the host population as well as in the process of integration into society. By this it is understood as important to promote a municipally-based public network of reception of immigrants in fulfilment of the non-binding proposal of the Basque Parliament dated March 27, 2002 by which the Basque Parliament urges the Basque Government, in collaboration with the Public Administrations involved, to establish a support programme for immigrants, with the aim of offering these citizens, services embodied in the general network of social services of the local authorities. Besides, among the measures stimulated by the Directorate of Immigration of the Basque Government is Decree 155/2002[7], a regulator of assistance from the Department of Housing and Social Affairs for the accomplishment of activities in the area of immigration. One of the lines to continue in the cultural integration of immigrant persons is that of maintaining their culture of origin and to create positive attitudes in Basque society towards cultural diversity, considering as positive this diversity of cultures increasingly present in our society.

To implement this strategy, the Basque government grants a series of aid to local authorities to support the creation of this network of immigrant reception. In the second Decree 200/2002[8] relating to the Forum for the Integration and Social Participation of immigrant persons, direct reference is made to the host society and its duty to intervene in the topic. Likewise, it supports the undertaking of a diagnostic study on the immigrant situation in the Municipality and a Local Plan of Immigration that contemplates the measures and actions that the Municipality will carry out in coordination with the Permanent Observatory of Immigration and the Basque Plan of Immigration.

Also in the municipal area there are already a dozen town halls that have been provided with economic funding, by the Basque Government, to carry out diagnostic studies of immigration in their municipalities and

[7] Decree 155/2002 of June 25, regulating aid for the accomplishment of activities in the area of immigration.

[8] Decree 200/2003 of September 2, 2003, of aid to Local authorities for the consolidation of the municipally-based network of immigrant reception.

to hire technical immigration personnel who manage the matter. The town halls of those municipalities where there is a considerable percentage of immigrants have had to develop their own plan. By historical territories, these are the municipalities with a municipal reception plan:

—Araba: Vitoria–Gasteiz Town Hall.
—Bizkaia: Bilbao Town Hall; Mungialde Consortium of Social Services; Ermua Town Hall; Union of Municipalities of Lea Artibai; Union of Social Services of Busturialdea; Baracaldo Town Hall; Getxo Town Hall.
—Gipuzkoa: Donostia Town Hall; Pasaia Town Hall; Irun Town Hall; Eibar Town Hall.

From all these local plans of immigration one obtains the idea of integration under the prism of interculturality, with emphasis on the great many things that there are in common between the native population and the immigrants, as well as the equality of treatment and opportunities and respect for difference, mutual knowledge, learning between cultures, cooperation; definitively, what is understood as the beginning of positive interaction.

3. **Social Resources directed to the specific needs of Immigrants in The Basque Country**

Observing the aims that the social services pursue, it does not seem justified to establish a direct link between immigration and social exclusion, although as Solanes and Cardona (2005) emphasize, there is a special link between local administration and immigration, given that the local area is the immediate scope in which rights are guaranteed and services are provided. The immigrant him/herself is not an excluded person, though it is true that the social and economic vulnerability that they can have on arrival, puts them at risk of exclusion and this fact makes them potential users of social services. It is necessary to clarify that this social weakness or fragility which these persons may experience does not necessarily have to follow from a personal or family de-structuring, typical of other groups of persons in situations of exclusion and who are users of social services, but as the result of a situation of economic precariousness, social imbalance, lack of affection, etc., which is often transitory and initial within their itinerary of integration (Lopez and Giol, 2004).

There is no global information on the access of immigrant persons to social services in the context of the BAC, which would respond to

questions such as the number of foreign users of social services, the most widely represented nationalities or the most frequent demands, due on one hand to the principle of normalization and on the other hand to the fact that this information might stigmatize or affect the group in its process of social integration. But on the other hand, this lack of systematizing instruments provokes a vacuum, as regards statistical information, on the use and demand of services, which affects the planning and funding of social services. Only from different studies can we learn about the access of immigrant persons to social services. According to Torres Perez (2004) immigrants who come to the social services are basically looking for information and advice on public social services such as education, health and employment. The demands are focused during the first year in the country and especially by those who have an income below the minimun wage.

As we have seen up to the moment, the first reception that is given to the immigrant population by the basic social services is fundamental, as it is the first access to the social services network. This intervention, as we have been saying, is organized through the principle of normalization which demands access on an equal basis with the rest of citizens to the generalized and specialized benefits and services.

As for the general social services of the municipal administration, these they are some of the programmes or resources proposed at local level among many others:

Basic income: Periodic economic benefit, aimed at covering the needs of those persons who lack sufficient economic resources to face the basic expenses for survival.

Emergency social aid: Non-periodic economic funding benefits to individuals whose resources are insufficient to meet specific ordinary or extraordinary expenses necessary to anticipate, avoid or relieve situations of social marginalization.

Non-contributing pensions: The provision of this pension for invalidism or retirement gives one not only economic revenue but also free Social Security health and pharmaceutical assistance, as well as access to the social services established in the system for pensioners.

Besides these services there are also others such as that of *special aid for situations of risk*, *emergency housing resources*, *orientation on technical aid*, *home assistance*, etc.

As for the coverage of specific needs of immigrant persons, the network of benefits is supported with a series of programmes that developed from the town hall, thus:

The HELDU program. (Network of legal-social assistance for foreign immigrants in the BAC)

A specialized legal service for foreigners which, based in the bar associations, advises immigrants in the legal steps to obtain documentation for labour and social incorporation of foreign persons. This reinforces and supports the social services and professionals in their function of reception of the foreign immigrants, as well as informing them of the directives on the varying General Legislation with regards to immigration, so that they can give equal service to foreign immigrants who request their services.

This service reports, advises, accompanies and proceeds freely on requests for residence, or residence and work, permits for foreign immigrants who have been referred by the social services of the BAC.

BILTZEN. This is a centre of Coordination of Community Initiatives in intercultural mediation and education, to promote the understanding and knowledge of the cultural keys offered by ethnic diversity.

To promote dialogue between the different cultural communities and the administration as well as providing advice in regards to intercultural mediation and education to the different public and private services, besides favouring full social integration of all persons in respect to diversity.

BASQUE OBSERVATORY OF IMMIGRATION-IKUSPEGI: This is the instrument that allows the knowledge, analysis and evaluation of the effect of migratory flows in the BAC.

The management of social policies is changing due to the difficulties that the welfare state finds in its ability to cover the needs that appear in reality. In many countries, there is an increasing trend towards the formation of associations between the State and the Third Sector, not only for the provision of social services, but also for the design of policies. As a result, both the different levels of government and the organizations of civil society have been obliged to adapt their traditional structures and modes of acting and must assume new challenges and roles, with the aim of attending to social needs. While the public administration struggles with the problems derived from these changes, in a slow and bureaucratic way, the organizations of civil society are learning to improve their negotiation skills and to better handle their resources, in a more agile way, in order to strengthen their participation in the political process. Among the Associations and Organizations dedicated to Immigration in the BAC we can emphasize the following[9]:

[9] Information obtained from the Guide to Resources for Immigration in Gipuzkoa aimed at professionals. Basque Government and Pasajes Town Hall

Red Cross, Cáritas Center of Attention to Immigrants LAGUNTZA-ETXEA, SOS Racism, Association Latin Hope, Adiskidetuak Multicultural Association, Cultural Association Humanitarian Assistance Friends of Africa of Equatorial Guinea, NGOs "BEATS", Aukera Centre, ARRATS Association, Helduak Association, CEPA Association, Oarsoaldea-HHI, EPA, MUGAK, etc. This list might likewise include the services of orientation and employment that by their nature also include the group of immigrants.

4. **New challenges of Social Services**

The integration of immigrant persons is not only achieved by assuring a series of minimal services or resources that should cover the needs of these persons in the first moment, but it must be obtained through the recognition of their rights, the assumption of their duties and the incorporation of these persons in the host community in all its process of accession. But while this is obtained, the municipal social services will accompany the immigrant in their process of integration in the host society, carrying out functions of information, advice and orientation and will be, as we have seen, based on registration in the municipality that they will obtain access to the system of social protection and being able to obtain, among others, the health card as well as the social benefits which are their right. But in walking this path alongside the immigrants, social action professionals are meeting a series of obstacles:

Legal difficulties: There is a relevant fact to take into account, and which the law provides for, in spite of the fact that at present it is not being practised. With the modification of the laws of immigration and of the Local Regime at the end of 2003, the police and Ministry of the Interior can gain access to the personal information of immigrants registered in the municipal registry, this access being electronic, without the prior knowledge of the interested party and without any judicial order. This access to confidential information represents, on the one hand, a violation of article 18 of the Constitution, the Law of Protection of Information and of Municipal Autonomy and although it is not being practiced at present, it would have very negative consequences on the fundamental rights of persons and the professional work of the technical personnel in immigration and social workers who, carrying out their functions in the social services, are in a paradoxical contradiction. This situation means that many immigrants without papers are afraid of registering and as a result lose the right to the health service, to education and to the resources of the social services of the public administration.

Bureaucratic difficulties: On the other hand, professionals should motivate immigrants to register so as to be able to accede to all the assistance and services that they can have access to from the registry, but not without warning them of the possibility that this information could be accessed by the police with the consequences that might result. Thus, it is the municipalities themselves which must support this situation, having individuals who are not registered and as a result have difficulty gaining access to basic rights as may be that of obtaining an economic assistance such as the Basic Income, which is often necessary until the immigrant can gain access to the labour market in a regular way, but to apply for which they must be registered in a given municipality for at least a year prior to the date of filing of the request. In the case of social emergency assistance the registration must be for more than six months.

Difficulties in detecting new needs: Analysing the possible difficulties which immigrants can meet when establishing themselves in a new country, and observing the responses of the social services system, it is valid to question their appropriateness to meet, in the first instance, the possible specific social needs of these individuals. These demographic and social changes that are a present-day reality, mostly due to these migratory flows, contribute to the fact that the social needs felt and expressed by the population experience changes. This, in turn, leads to changes in the type of demands that people express to the centres of social services since often "they ask for what they know". Therefore it would be appropriate to ask whether the type of responses or resources that are being given by the Public Administrations are valid for the current demographic reality.

Difficulties to approach new responsibilities: Since the Law of Immigration the social action professions have a new group to respond to in addition to their accustomed tasks, which, also, in the majority of cases, is in a situation of irregularity. Thus, they will assume new responsibilities and will learn to develop a series of new tasks in their professional activity, such as preparing reports on housing for family reuniting, reports on social rooting, etc. which necessarily require specific and specialized training in immigration and cultural patterns, so that they can be designed and generate the most appropriate resources to face this new reality.

There remain the theoretical and practical complexities encountered by the social services and which they must have in mind when articulating strategies and proposals to develop and improve this policy of integration

which, starting from non-reductionist approach, could allow accepting as a whole the specific social needs of each immigrant. Detecting these needs might weaken the social vulnerability factors associated with the condition of immigrant and would favour the normalized development of the individual in the host society, promoting the capacities of each individual and using social resources as instruments of assistance in attaining their welfare and not as ends in themselves. The concept of "social need" in its double dimension—that of particular subjects or individuals, who are therefore, in their specificity, not "identical" to any other; and on the other hand the needs of members of a certain social group or segment with different characteristics that operate as a social "mark" or "distinction" (Laguna Álvarez, 2004), will be an essential element in the structuring and legitimisation of institutional action, aimed at the provision of services and benefits of social welfare.

All these circumstances can shake the system of social protection as we know it, but for the responses from the Public Administration to be appropriate and effective, it will be absolutely necessary to train social action professionals in immigration and cultural mediation, since they can be the key element in the process of integration of immigrants.

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Types of Social Intervention with Unaccompanied Immigrant Minors

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Introduction

The presence of immigrant minors who arrive on their own is increasing in Spain and has become very evident in recent months, with the arrival in the Canaries of numerous boats in which it is not unusual to find minors travelling alone. The saturation of the Canary Islands' centres for minors has led the government to ask the Spanish Autonomous Communities, which are those which have the competence to carry out and manage the protection of minors, to receive groups of immigrants in their centres, in order to distribute equitably and jointly the care for these minors who are alone in our country and who must be given protection, according to the law. In spite of the increase, the total numbers of unaccompanied immigrant minors are not objectively very high, although, among European countries, Spain has received the greatest number of unaccompanied foreign minors (Table 1), followed by the United Kingdom and Italy.

Besides the special issues that they present, as minors and being alone, means that the topic occupies the attention of researchers, politicians and institutions dedicated to social intervention. This need has been

perceived by those dedicated to social research, who in recent years have been developing diverse studies, thus contributing to greater knowledge of this phenomenon. In Spain, it is worth highlighting the following studies: Bermúdez (2004, 2004a), Comas (2001), Rognoni (2001), Capdevila and Ferrer (2003, 2004), Pérez Crespo (2000), Giménez and Suárez (2001), Suárez (2004), Castillo and Angurel (2004), Jiménez (2003), Defensor del Menor de Andalucía (2003), Ararteko (2001, 2002, 2005), Berganza (2003), Díaz (2001), Oliván (2004), Save the Children (2003), Masón (2003), Lázaro (2002), Elías (2002), Proyecto CON RED (2005), Ramírez and Jiménez (2005) and Konrad and Santoja (2005)[1].

Table 1

Unaccompanied foreign minors. European countries. 2002

Country	Scores	Percentage
Spain	6,329	18.5
United Kingdom	5,945	17.4
Italy	5,883	17.2
Holland	3,232	9.5
Ireland	2,717	8.0
Austria	2,400	7.0
France	1,974*	5.8
Switzerland	1,673	4.9
Belgium	913	2.7
Norway	894	2.6
Germany	873	2.6
Sweden	550	1.6
Croatia	227	0.7
Slovenia	165	0.5
Greece	147	0.4
Denmark	137	0.4
Finland	70	0.2
Portugal	8	0.0
Total	34,137	100.0

* 2001

Source: Prepared by the authors from Proyecto CON RED (2005: 52)

[1] An analysis of the studies mentioned, carried out in Spain up to the year 2004, can be found in Setién, M.L., and Berganza, I. (2005)

Unaccompanied foreign minors are defined by the Council of Europe as "those children and adolescents under 18 years old, natives of third countries, who are in the host country without the protection of a relative or responsible adult who habitually takes charge of their care, whether legally or in accordance with uses and customs." In Spain, public institutions have the obligation to assume the guardianship of these minors, a competence possessed by the Autonomous Communities. Due to this delegation of competences, in the Spanish territory we find a diversity of models of social intervention, which affect the social services directed to this group.

This article deals with the social intervention that it is carried out and with three different ways of approaching the attention of these unaccompanied foreign minors. The typology of models has been established through the analysis of diverse variables related with:

—the size of the centres
—the approach to the process of incorporation of minors
—whether exclusively dedicated to immigrants or not
—whether specialized in intervention with minors or not.

Three models have been evolving according to how the situation has changed and the weaknesses and possibilities for improvement that have been detected. Every model has its potentials and weaknesses and, for this reason, it is necessary to think about each model so as to find the most appropriate for the situation now existing in Spain.

1. Variables for the Analysis of Social Intervention with Unaccompanied Foreign Minors

In intervention with foreign minors it is necessary to start from the specific nature of this group: they are minors and therefore they have certain characteristics that separate them from adult foreigners, but equally they are immigrants, which gives them also certain specific characteristics with regard to native minors. This means that the model of intervention has to be considered and designed taking into account these typical characteristics of unaccompanied foreign minors. But in spite of this, it is also necessary to bear in mind that the form of intervention is always based on a political decision and therefore it can be evaluated and modified.

In fact, in Spain there is also a diversity of models of social intervention with this group. This variety can be established by taking certain variables as a base for the analysis, which have been selected because

they are considered to be the most significant. Methodologically they are grouped around three related categories: a) the type of centres of attention to minors, b) the way they are managed and c) the approach to attending to and dealing with the minors. The following variables are studied:

Categories of analysis	Variables considered in the analysis
a) Characteristics of the centres	1. Size of the centre 2. Specificity of the centre 3. Place of location of the centre
b) Functioning of the centre	4. Existence of security personnel 5. Schedule of opening of the centres 6. Type of management
c) Mode of intervention	7. Specialization in the phases of the process 8. Diversity in the educational staff 9. Diversification of resources 10. Resources for adulthood

2. **Characteristics of the centres**

Three variables have been chosen to typify the characteristics of the centres: they size of the centres of attention to minors; the specificity of the centre, whether it is dedicated only to foreign minors or to all kinds of minors; and finally where the centre is located, outside the city, on the periphery or in the centre of the city.

2.1. *Size of the centre*

This is a very decisive factor in the intervention. There are big centres, which shelter 20, 30 and even more minors, and small flats, where no more than 10 young people live. The importance of this decision when the model is established is clear.

A bigger centre means greater economy as well as less need for coordination, since the intervention is more localised. On the other hand, with more young people resident, the relation between the educator and the young person is less, thus reducing the possibility of individual-

izing the processes to the specific needs of each person. Also the sensation of being in a ghetto is greater in a larger centre, both for the minors and for the neighbourhood, running the risk of a greater "social alarm". Nor must we forget that choosing centres where more minors live makes the situations of conflict more difficult to control.

Small homes allow the young person to participate more in the educational process and to have a greater responsibility in the everyday life of the flat, making it possible to give a sensation of home, which is unthinkable in the biggest centres.

Already there are studies that show the consequences of choosing one type of centre or another; "the incidence of runaways among unaccompanied Moroccan minors seems to increase proportional to the size of the reception centres. In effect, the bigger the centre, the more runaways it has. On the other hand, the smallest number of runaways or absences has been experienced in those programmes of reception based on the principle of preparation for autonomy: living together in small flats, allotment of responsibilities in the flat among all the inhabitants, emphasis on the processes of vocational training, emphasis on learning Spanish, and shared and alternative free time and leisure, among other activities. " (Ramirez and Jiménez, 2005: 67).

Equally, when evaluation of the minors themselves is mentioned, it is highlighted that "minors who are living in flats, whether autonomously or in functional homes, and even in lodgings, affirm that the greatest change that they experience when they move from bigger centres is the increase in tranquillity. This is highly valued by the young people interviewed" (Ararteko, 2005: 200). This reality is appreciate in the following phrase of a foreign minor in care who was interviewed, "In the flat it is more relaxed, calmer, you see life differently" (Ararteko, 2005: 200)

2.2. *Specificity of the centre*

This variable distinguishes whether the centre only takes in unaccompanied foreign minors or whether it is a mixed resource, where foreigners and natives in care coexist. This is another key aspect. Normally it is not a decision taken from the beginning, but "in the first moment of the phenomenon, unaccompanied foreign minors were incorporated into existing centres, but when the number of minors reaches a significant level (…) and they find important difficulties to make the needs and expectations of the native minors in care compatible with those of the unaccompanied foreign minors, specific centres begin to be created for this group, which are then used for initial reception. This restructuring only takes place in those zones (...) where the presence of unaccompanied foreign minors is sufficiently

significant, since in zones where the number is small the centres existing prior to the arrival of this phenomenon are used" (Project CON RED, 2005: 148). But in spite of the fact that it has often been reality itself that has made the resources exclusive, due to the large presence of foreign minors among the adolescents in care, we must not forget that "this fact marks a difference in the integration of this group. The Moroccan adolescents live together and undergo the process of integration as a group, without knowing how other Spanish young people live. In this respect a ghettoisation of the group takes place. (Ramirez and Jiménez, 2005: 67).

It is true that the specific resources for these young people, who present differentiated needs and characteristics, facilitate the introduction of specialized resources to respond to the same ones, and therefore it is possible to think of contracting intercultural mediators, personnel specifically trained in the culture of the minors. Nevertheless, it is also necessary to be conscious that with this type of centres the possible relation with native minors is greatly discouraged and we run the risk of designing a different form of attention by the public institutions for native and foreign minors, where the aforementioned are discriminated against, due to smaller budgets, lower adult/child ratios, etc...

2.3. *Location of the centre*

The centres can be opened in the city or in the outskirts, in isolated places. In this case, when evaluating the advantages and disadvantages, we must take into account not only the place where the centre is established, but also the type of centre, especially the size.

A centre located in the city gives more facility of access to diverse community resources, as well as greater independence and a sensation of integration among the young people in care. But, if these centres are established in neighbourhoods with a strong social problematics, they may be incorporating the foreign minors in an environment of exclusion that will be difficult to leave later.

With regard to the centres established in the suburbs or in villages outside the cities, it may be valuable for greater tranquillity, normally they are bigger, which permits different activities (practising sport, organizing diverse workshops such as gardening, etc). But these municipalities often present difficulties of access to public transport.

As concerns relations with the neighbourhood, it may seem that whether the centre is located in the city or a village can be influential, but in reality in both cases a social alarm and a strong rejection by the neighbours of the introduction of the centre in their neighbourhood or environment can occur.

3. **Functioning of the centre**

To analyse how the centres work we have taken three easily observable objective variables: whether there are security personnel inside the centre, the opening schedule—whether throughout the day or only during certain hours, generally at night—and the type of management, whether by the administration or subcontracted to and financed by an association, generally religious, or NGO that manages the centre and assumes the responsibility for the activities that are carried out and the way the centre is organized.

3.1. *Existence of security personnel in the centres*

There is an increasing trend for centres to have security personnel. Normally an external company is employed for these tasks. This is often requested by the personnel of the centre due to the insecurity they experience and feel in their work. It is necessary to evaluate to what point the very fact that this type of personnel is employed in other centres, does not promote this feeling. Another important aspect is to know whether the centres that have this service are of a specific type, whereas another type of residential resource does not normally need security personnel. This can make us see what centres are more capable or succeed in settling existing conflicts by means of educational interventions and not through security personnel.

The existence of this type of personnel reinforces the stereotypes, whether in society, in the neighbourhood or area where the centre is located, and in the adolescents themselves, of conflict and of the inability of the minors to adapt to the centre and the rules." Among the problems that are most apparent in intervention with minors, there are two that, in our view, have the greatest repercussions in the creation of *rejected identities* among them. We refer to the discourse that presents a *Moroccan minor in permanent conflict with the law* (a minor "in social conflict") and the discourse that presents a Moroccan minor with problems of "behavioural disorder" (Ramirez and Jiménez, 2005: 70). This discourse can in turn be reinforced by the assumption that there are security personnel in the centres of reception of minors. Though it is also true, that it can provoke a greater sensation of security in the environment and therefore provoke less "social alarm".

Security personnel neither have training in educational intervention, nor in conflict resolution, nor in dealing with and accompaniment of minors. Their work of intervention in the case of grave conflicts and, above all, is one of containment. Nor do they typically take part in educational meetings.

Therefore, this is an option to evaluate well, since it has consequences both in the intervention, in the perception of society and in the self-image of the adolescents themselves. It would be appropriate not to establish a single criterion, but at every moment and in every centre to see whether there is a real need or not.

3.2. *Schedule of opening of the residential centre*

For diverse reasons, the centre can choose to maintain a schedule where it is open all day, so that the minors can enter and leave when they want. Another system are centres that are only open at night, so that the young people received are obliged to leave during the day.

It seems that the most desirable is for the centre to be open throughout the day and that it should be the minor, together with their educator, who decides when they should stay in the centre, depending on the activities they wish and need to carry out. On the other hand, it may be that the obligation to leave the centre during the whole day encourages the minor to carry out activities that they would not otherwise do, such as language classes, sport, etc.

Nor must we ignore the fact that if they can only enter their place of residence at night, it erases any attempt at normalization of the resource, since it forces the minor to pass their leisure hours in the street with the risks that this can carry. Night opening also brings as a consequence a lesser interaction between the minors and the educational team.

3.3. *Type of management*

Management is usually by the administration or by agreements with private institutions (NGOs, religious orders …). These are two different manners of approaching the responsibility for the diverse interventions that are carried out. In this point, more than evaluating the quality or limitations of each type of management, it will be necessary to observe how each agreement is in each case.

One of the greatest differences between the public and private management by agreement, is the topic of the labour situation of the employees. Thus, the report of Ararteko (2005), referring to this topic, asserts that "some significant differences are called to attention, for example:

a. in the conditions and guarantees established by the agreements themselves: not only in economic terms but in other aspects such as the qualifications of the personnel, their training, or the support, control and evaluation of the services;

b. in the provision of human resources (staff and ratios);
c. in the labour conditions of the employee (salaries, timetables)...

We believe that these questions, together with others that have to do with the very difficulty and exhaustion that are involved in direct work with adolescents, affect aspects such as absences from work, rapid staff turnover, discomfort or labour conflicts ... aspects that, evidently, make the educational work and continuity of the interventions more difficult. In some cases, the discomfort and absences of the professionals have gone to such a point that they have forced the closure of the centre or the cancellation of the agreement (Ararteko, 2005: 207-208)

Equally, another study affirms that "the progressive process of delegation, by the State, of its social responsibilities towards protected minors on the private initiative of the NGOs, means an important saving of public expenditure for the State, which the NGOs try to manage at the cost of greater cuts in the labour rights of their own workers. This process of dismantling of the welfare state has serious implications for the practice of social intervention with minors: the professionals who accept this type of work with its enormous ethical and social responsibilities, tend to be very young, without work experience, without specific training, immigrants with a work permit but without experience, or specialized professionals who, given their training and experience, accept the positions temporarily. The existing labour mobility in the programs of attention to foreign minors is enormous and the minors must often adapt to the constant substitution of their educators or coordinators (Ramirez and Jiménez, 2005: 65).

With regard to the mixed management, it can be dangerous due to the fact that strong differences exist as regards the conditions of work and the situation of the centres between those that are managed directly by the administration and those that are run by private associations.

We must pay attention to how the agreements are set out, what aspects of labour are covered and the aims of the public administration with these agreements, whether it is to favour private initiative or to reduce costs.

4. **Mode of intervention**

This category of analysis integrates four variables related to how the process of intervention is approached. First we take into account specialization in the phases of the process in which the minor is received. The second variable centres on the composition of the staff that deal with minors, in relation with the diversity of origins, language or sex.

The third and fourth variables are related to resources, whether they are residential centres or whether they are attended in another type of setting, such as flats and families of reception and, also, whether there are some resources available for these foreign young people after they reach adulthood.

4.1. *Specialization of the centres / homes in the phases of the process of the minors*

In the majority of the places, where there is a sufficient number, there is not a single centre of attention for unaccompanied foreign minors, but rather different centres or homes are created. They tend to differ according to the phase in which the minors who reside in them are found. There are various ways of carrying out this diversification, thus there normally exist *centres of primary reception*, where the first urgent contact is provided immediately after the minor is detected by the authorities. In the second phase the minor will go on to a *reception centre*, slightly more stable, but where the stay "is temporary in character due to the fact that the minor is waiting for the resolution of their situation. The minors can remain in these centres between two months and one year. The principal aims are the beginning of social integration of the minor in the country of reception: placement in school, pre-labour training, beginning of the process of documentation, knowledge of the host country, etc." (Proyecto CON RED, 2005: 146). Finally the young person would be enrolled in a *definitive resource*, where they would live up to the age of 18 years. This resource can be a home with or without educators, a boarding house, a foster family, etc. There can be diverse combinations of these three possible resources.

This specialization is also noted in the activities carried out by the minors in each type of centre, as well as in the greater or lesser following up of the young people by the educators. In the centres of primary reception, normally there are Spanish classes and leisure activities. As indicated in the report by the project CON RED, "it is significant that for many of these young people the stay in these primary reception resources is perceived as a waste of time, since the activities carried out in the primary reception services do not seek to reach the migratory expectations of these children and young people, but principally to resolve the minor's administrative situation. This means that the actions and activities that are carried out are aimed, principally, at satisfying their most basic needs and occupying their leisure." (Proyecto CON RED; 2005, 146). In another study carried out, with interviews with unaccompanied foreign minors, emphasis is also made on this topic: "According to the

statement of the youths with whom we have worked, these are some of the motives for dropping out of the institutions (...) Leisure without a definite occupation. There are centres where they languish with no occupation: they can not attend training workshops, schools or colleges. Educational action is often limited to a single class where their scanty mastery of the language is not taken into consideration and very different ages and educational levels are all together" (Konrad Torralba, M. and Santonja Perez, V.; 2005: 87). It is in the more stable resources that the minors start to take part in training activities, generally learning a trade, and therefore, more in accordance with the migratory project that these young people normally have in mind.

Another problem that can be linked with this specialization is the saturation that the centres suffer, which has as a consequence the fact the minors can not follow the "itinerary" that would normally correspond to the moment in which they find themselves, but they must hope that there is a free place in the resource for the following phase to be able to enrol in it. Therefore, overcrowding occurs especially in the centres of primary reception and may be prolonged in time. This "constitutes an important source of tension, and (...) has helped generate situations of conflict of greater or lesser gravity" (Ararteko, 2005; 206).

4.2 *Diversity in the educational staff*

This diversity may be related to different variables, such as sex, origin, language or professional profile.

In case of *diversity by sex* of the educators; the decision to hire either men or women tends to be based on the fact that society is mixed, and we are in a society that promotes equality between men and women, therefore, this will be a value to transmit to the young people. Those who prefer only to contract men, refer to the subordinate role played by women in the culture of the minors and the lack of authority given to them.

Reality has meant the incorporation of *diversity of origin and language in the staff*. At present, this need has appeared in Spain with regard to foreign minors originating from North Africa, fundamentally Morocco, but in the future it may also cover other origins, such as Romania or certain countries of sub-Saharan Africa.

The individuals employed in this area of social intervention, have found that the abilities previously acquired were not completely sufficient to attend to foreign minors, with different characteristics, needs and issues from the groups with whom they had worked until then. This is shown in this text, which tells the experience of some educators

from a centre that little by little became a centre of reception for foreign minors: "this new work, which we had not looked for, but which had found us, made us ask many questions: who are these children? Why do they come? What can I do with them and for them, if I cannot even communicate? Can't we see that it is impossible to work? They do not adapt, they do not understand us, they cross Spain from centre to centre, they are addicted to glue, they are children who were walking around loose in their country, many are over 18. (...) Certainly, it makes no sense to work with these children or to have them here for any reason, just to increase the delinquency statistics (...) And so we might continue covering as many other premises that indicate a great pessimism and confusion, as well as a few professional views that lead us into a deep contradiction: everything I know, everything I have been trained for, everything I have worked for, is useless." As way of resolving this issue it was decided to incorporate an intercultural mediator who would also be fluent in the language of the minors, and this "facilitated knowledge of their history, their origin, their life, their search and their itinerary until their arrival here" (Ramirez and Jiménez, 2005: 227-228). Therefore, the incorporation of persons that master the language and culture of the minors makes it possible to communicate with them and to obtain the necessary information to be able to carry out a plan of intervention with the minors.

With regard to the incorporation to the educational team of persons who have been socialized in the same or similar environment as the young foreigners, this has the result, when the educational intervention occurs, of allowing a deep knowledge of the culture of the minors. The lack of real knowledge of the Arab culture and its implications can also have consequences, thus, "many Spanish professionals who are working in intervention (educational, social, medical, psychiatric, etc.) with Moroccan minors do not have specific training and are ignorant, in most cases, of the existing culture or cultures in Morocco. This means that "the Moroccan culture" is seen as a whole, on the basis of very superficial features, some of which do not seem to be negotiable with "the Spanish culture." This ethnocentrism by some professionals promotes interventions aimed at assimilation, when they do not culturalise (Gimenez and Suárez, 2000) or psychiatrise social conflicts. All of which impedes the integration of in care Moroccan minors." (Ramirez and Jiménez, 2005: 82).

But this diversity of origins also brings difficulties: "The employment of Moroccan workers and professionals in the technical staff of the flats for adolescents (and in almost all the programmes in which Moroccans are the principal beneficiaries), although it is a great ad-

vance in the exposition of an intercultural pedagogical intervention, means that the staff have many problems in negotiating the unified educational criteria on which the intervention will take place. This is due to the differences of culture, training and previous experience that exist among the members of the aforementioned technical staff." (Ramirez and Jiménez, 2005: 68).

4.3. *Diversification of resources*

The diversification of the resources refers to whether they are: only residential centres of a single type or also foster families, mixed native/immigrant resources… A diversification of resources has existed and exists in the services of attention to native minors. Thus, for example, foster families have been greatly promoted. In case of unaccompanied foreign minors we must think, based on their specificity, whether only a single type of residential centres can be created or whether there can be alternative possibilities, like those that have been designed for native minors or others.

It is also necessary to take diversification into account when speaking of the needs that are covered by the public administration. Thus, it is possible to attend principally to the needs of residence, or to also create programmes of education, leisure, etc., for the unaccompanied foreign minors. There are public administrations that have established agreements with different associations to deal with Spanish education or leisure activities; others, on the other hand, delegate the planning and carrying out of these tasks to the residential resources.

In this case, we will not speak about advantages and disadvantages, since what diversification permits is a greater individualization in the process of the minor; it facilitates "'itineraries' or paths of incorporation that take into account different situations and needs" (Ararteko, 2005: 223). What we must carry out is an evaluation of the different resources that are proposed or the possibility that these may really be applicable to the reality of unaccompanied foreign minors.

For example, and related to family fostering, in diverse studies the question is raised whether it is possible for these minors. "Unaccompanied foreign minors are almost always received in residences rather than in programmes of family fostering. This is due to three principal reasons:

1. The specificity of the cultural origin of these minors, which makes intercultural relations complex in a family environment that is not their own.

2. Age, almost all unaccompanied foreign minors are more than twelve years old, and family fostering of adolescents becomes more difficult.
3. The complete absence, in some cases, of their family, which means it is impossible to have recourse even to the extended family of the minors" (Ramirez and Jiménez, 2005: 66)

While, with regard to the same resource, in an interview with a foreign minor in care presented in the Ararteko report (2005: 96), this experience is valued positively: "Since 2003 there is also a support family where he lives at weekends. They help him in processing documentation or studies … this is an exceptional situation that he values very much: 'I feel better with them'"

Therefore, with regard to the resources that can be created, apart from the residential ones, it will be necessary to start from the personal itineraries of each young person and to see to what extent they want it and think that it will be beneficial for them.

4.4. *Resources after reaching adulthood*

This refers to the existence of resources for young people after they reach 18 years old. Another of the important factors that mark differences in the diverse approaches to intervention is whether there are well-considered resources accessible to foreign minors when they reach adulthood. When they stop being minors, the duty of reception of the public institutions ends, but they have not necessarily completed their process of autonomy and access to the capacities and resources necessary to be able to lead an autonomous life. The possibility arises to receive young people who finish their period of internment in the different resources of the minors protection system, to prepare their exit and their acquisition of an autonomous life, giving them time to complete the process of maturation and facilitating labour integration by means of the necessary training. The problem is rooted in the fact that these resources have few places and, besides, they are reserved for young people with exceptional behaviour (Proyecto CON RED, 2005: 155).

It seems undeniably positive that institutions assure that the minor will be supported and accompanied until their process of autonomy has come to at end. This also allows the youths to experience their educational process with more tranquillity and to make choices not marked by the fact that once they reach adulthood they will have to be capable of living without any type of support, but that they can even consider

undertaking training beyond 18 years old with the security that they will be supported and, especially, that they will have a place to live, until they are incorporated into the workforce and socially. On the other hand, it is also true that if this takes place in some territories and not others, that there may be a "call effect", which may dissuade administrations from providing this type of resources.

5. **Models of Social Intervention with Unaccompanied Immigrant Minors**

The combination of the variables highlighted gives rise to different models of intervention. These are forms of social action developed by public administrations. Specifically, from our analysis of reality and of the diverse research studied carried out, we have been able to identify three different types of models, which we explain below.

5.1. *Diversified Model of Social Intervention*

Size of the centre	Diversity of size of centres: — Primary reception in a large centre — Large intermediate reception centre — Small homes (6-8 places) as more stable resources for minors who demonstrate their desire to join and who present an attitude and behaviour that permit normalized living together
Specificity of the centre	Specific centres only for immigrant minors
Location of the centre	Diversity: — Primary reception centre: outside the city — Intermediate reception centre: outside the city — Functional Homes: in the city
Security personnel	Centres of primary reception: Yes Reception centre: Yes Functional homes: No
Opening times for the centre	All day

Type of management	Mixed: 1. Private management by means of agreements • Primary reception centre • Intermediate reception centre • Other services (documentation, leisure ...) • Network of flats for autonomous living 2. Public Management: • Functional Homes
Specialization according to phase	Yes, with different resources for every phase
Diversity in educational staff	Yes — Men and women — Diversity of origin and language — Profile diversity
Diversification of resources	Diversification in — Size of centres — Needs to which the administration responds (agreements with diverse associations to manage documentation, leisure time ...)
Resources after 18 years of age	Yes. Has a network of flats for autonomous living for young people that have been received for at least six months and do not present behavioural problems. There is diversity in the types of flats, from those where educators are present for 24 hours to totally autonomous flats, where they are visited sporadically by an educator.

This model is characterized by a diversification of resources and models of social intervention with the group of foreign minors. It corresponds to a territory in which there the number of immigrants received has grown notably, so that the net of reception has developed rapidly. Diverse centres and homes have been created to receive the foreign boys in care, all exclusively for this group.

There is a commitment to separating primary reception from the more stable residential resources. Therefore, a minor who is received goes first to a primary reception centre, where their processing begins, they start the process of documentation, there is an attempt to locate their family, etc. This centre, as well as the intermediate reception centre, are characterized by large size and by being located in municipalities on the outskirts of cities. It is also notable that these centres possess security personnel, whereas the smaller homes do not and, besides, they are located in the city.

With regard to the type of management, this model is based on mixed management. The primary reception and intermediate reception centres, as well as the services of documentation, leisure, etc. are financed by the public administration and managed by private associations by means of agreements. Also the network of flats created for the older children is privately managed. The small homes, on the other hand, are directly managed by the public administration.

As well as this development, the administration has also signed different agreements with private associations to take charge of aspects such as leisure activities, or the processing of documentation. Therefore, covering these needs is not always the responsibility of the personnel of the residential centres, but rather there are different agents involved.

Another aspect in which this model stands out is in the diversity among the educational staff. They all are mixed, composed of women and men, and include individuals originating in the culture of the minors and who are fluent in the Arabic language (the great majority of the minors come from Morocco).

Finally, also typical of this model is the fact that there is a network of flats for young people who have reached adulthood and display good behaviour. Within these resources there is great variety of possibilities, from flats with continuous supervision (24 hours with educators), to flats that the young people rent and which an educator visits occasionally.

5.2. *Focused Model of Social Intervention*

Size of the centre	Medium (12 places)
Specificity of the centre	Exclusively for unaccompanied foreign minors.
Location of the centre	In the city
Security personnel	Yes

Opening times for the centre	Only at night
Type of management	Private, by agreement
Specialization according to phase	No, although there is the possibility that in phases prior to autonomy they rent rooms in municipal lodgings
Diversity in educational staff	By sex: No, only men in the educational staff For origin or language: Yes For professional profile: Yes
Diversification of resources	Diverse experiences: — Minors incorporated into functional homes of the ordinary network — Experiences of family hosting, both in extended families and in foster families
Resources after 18 years of age	Yes, normally economic

A model that is characterized by a type of intervention that is unified and focused around a single centre and similar actions for all. This lack of diversification may have its origin in the fact that there are few foreign minors in care. Also in this case specific resources have been chosen that are exclusively for foreign young people.

The centre is of medium size, located in the city and has security personnel. In spite of being the only centre, there is the possibility of using rooms in a municipal lodging, which on the one hand makes it possible to relieve the centre in case of serious overcrowding, and on the other allows the possibility of differentiating somewhat the phases of the young people. Thus, those who enter the lodgings tend to be those who are close to the age of 18, who are already closer to being autonomous and who do not present problems of coexistence or other types of problem. After 18 years they can use the normal assistance and services, with no specific resource existing for this group.

Another characteristic standing out is the fact that in this model the centre is only open at nights, so that the minors must stay outside the rest of the time. They eat at a restaurant and the rest of the time, either they are carrying out educational activities or they are on the street.

As for diversity in the educational staff, there is a notable lack of women employed as educators. The staff includes individuals with different professional profiles, as well as individuals who come from the

culture of the minors and are fluent in their language. Finally, as for the management, it is private by agreement.

With regard to the diversification of resources, though it is not the most usual, there are diverse experiences of incorporation of minors in the network of normal functional homes, that is to say, those designed for natives, as well as foster families, whether by extended families living nearby, or families "foreign" to the young people but who offer foster care.

5.3. *Model of Transition towards diversification of Social Intervention*

Size of the centre	Small centres (8-9 places)
Specificity of the centre	Exclusively for unaccompanied foreign minors
Location of the centre	Diversity: — Primary reception centre: residential neighbourhood in the suburbs — More stable residence centre: peripheral neighbourhood Both with good communications to the city centre
Security personnel	Primary reception centre: Yes More stable residence centre: No
Opening times for the centre	All day
Type of management	Private, by agreement
Specialization according to phase	Yes, there are two centres: — Primary reception centre — More stable residence centre
Diversity in educational staff	Yes: — Men and women — Professional profiles No: — Origin and language
Diversification of resources	No, but occasional experience of support family at weekends
Resources after 18 years of age	Yes, economic

Finally, the third model starts from an intermediate reality as regards the intervention with unaccompanied foreign minors, between the first, diversified, model and the second, focused, one. Also in this case specific resources have been chosen.

There is a clear differentiation between two centres, one dedicated to primary reception, other one to more stable residence. Both are small in size, although in the primary reception centre overcrowding may occur, whereas in the other, it is not allowed for any more young people to live there than the permitted capacity.

The first centre to which the minors come is located in a residential zone and has security personnel. The other centre is in a peripheral neighbourhood with better access to both community resources and public transport. In the second case, there are no security personnel. Both are open all day, although the minors are encouraged to carry out diverse activities: more Spanish classes in the centre of primary reception, vocational training in the stable residence centre.

The management is private. Both centres are managed by a single private entity, by means of agreements established with the public administration. The educational staff includes diversity of sex and training, but not of origin. No-one is employed who comes from the countries where most of the minors originate or who is fluent in their language**.**

6. **Conclusion**

Often the analysis of social intervention is carried out from the results of the processes of social and labour insertion with foreign minors. We have seen the aims of these minors in their migratory process: basically they come to work, looking for an opportunity for a better life. The young people bring an idea of Europe based on television images, the stories of other immigrants or their own imagination (Setién and Berganza, 2005). "Their migratory project is to work so as to "find a living", which is the motivation that stimulated them to leave their country" (Ararteko, 2005: 110).

In the different resources provided for these young people, new itineraries have tended to develop, which are different from the ones that previously existed and which were aimed at native minors in care. Normally the processes are directed towards more rapid incorporation in the labour market. They promote learning Spanish and the completion of short vocational training courses that allow the minor to train in sectors with good employment potential. Often this itinerary is obstructed by the slow process of documentation, and this collides with their expectations that everything was going be faster and easier.

These expectations of seeking work as quickly as possible, together with the difficulty, sometimes, of obtaining it due to delays in the documentation process, decisively influences the means of intervening with these minors, and it will be important to take in consideration how it is possible to educate young people in the ability to face up to frustrations, so that they are capable of waiting and staying in the process, despite possible delays. But it is also necessary to support the minors in having the social resources to work tomorrow and become autonomous like any other young person.

Often, being in care involves a process of infantilisation of the adolescents, making them give up responsibility for their own personal history and their decision to emigrate. This happens, due to the fact that the programs of protection of foreign minors (flats, residences or centres) in practice, stamp a passive character on the intervention (Rubio, 2002), the intervention becomes a mere assignment of provisions, which does not promote in the minors contractual attitudes and commitments that organize their survival strategies, desires and skills (Ramirez and Jiménez, 2005: 82). It will be necessary to see what model of intervention best promotes the participation and protagonism of the minors.

It is worth highlighting certain characteristics from the analysis of the three models:

— In all three models analysed the centres are specific to this group
— The management tends to be delegated to associations or NGOs
— To the extent that there is a sufficient number of minors, there is a tendency to specialize resources by phases. The primary reception is located outside the cities and has security personnel; once it is "verified" that the minors "behave themselves" they can move to more central residential resources and no longer need personnel apart from the educational staff.
— The administrations select mixed educational staff, both by sex of the educators and by cultural, linguistic and professional origins.
— The diversification of residential resources is sporadic, not stable.
— A relevant and decisive aspect for the selection of a model is the number of unaccompanied foreign minors received in the territory.
— Only the diversified model has developed a network of residential resources for the young people who reach 18 years of age.

The analysis of social intervention with unaccompanied foreign minors gives us clues to the image of these young people that the public administration has when it designs policies for this group. This image will decisively influence the development of these young people.

According to what we have seen in this article, it can be appreciated that the administration is resistant to mixing these minors with natives in care. It seems that they tend to act out of the fear of generating "social alarm", with more-or-less isolated centres of primary reception and with security personnel. It is also felt that in those places where there are a greater number of minors the focus is on those who show good behaviour and an "itinerary" of resources is designed for them, where they are given more independence and participation, while they are supported on reaching adulthood. This itinerary is similar to the network of protection for native minors in care. For those foreign young people who display troubled or problematic behaviour, this process is more difficult.

The administration has to stay alert so as not to be influenced only by public opinion in its policies with unaccompanied foreign minors. The mass media often show only the most troubled side of these young people, leading to fear and rejection towards them by society. But the protection policies have to give priority to the interest of the minor and promote their complete development. We must consider to what point sometimes, the centres created to attend to them may not be incompatible with the educational process in which they are situated. It is important to base them on the principle of normalization, so that the minor lives in conditions, the more normalized the better. Large, specialised, often isolated centres, that only open at night … do not help this. To finish with, we leave open questions in the air for reflection: why in the case of native minors in care is the family environment promoted, being considered normalising for them, whereas with foreigners, centres should be created, with characteristics which mean that the centres are hardly normalising? Could it be that, at times, the intervention is ripe with prejudices that label these minors as troubled and problematic?

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The school, a bridge to integration for young immigrants: Encouraging success

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This chapter presents an analysis from the intercultural perspective of the work carried out by the team of the socio-educational project *Bultzatzen–Encouraging Success* in the neighborhood of Astrabudua (Erandio). This is a project financed by the Erandio town hall, carried out in Astrabudua's Institute of Secondary Education (IES) and the Ignacio Aldekoa primary school (CEP), and coordinated by the Department of Education at the University of Deusto. Its beginnings go back to the year 2004-2005, and in this time, the project has been consolidated from its own experiences and, principally, from the joint reflection of the team.

Bultzatzen, in Basque "pushing", is a project of socio-educational intervention that, as its name indicates, proposes to respond to the situation of risk of school failure in which the young people of the neighborhood of Astrabudua find themselves. Though the project is not aimed specifically at the immigrant population but at students that need some help to achieve school success, rapid demographic changes and the arrival of important groups of immigrants in the neighborhood, logically, affect it. This increase has gradually been reflected in the project, from the first edition to this third in which more than 50% of its participants

come from other countries. For this reason, an analysis of the project is necessarily made from the perspective of the integration of young immigrants.

The chapter is constructed in five sections. The first describes the situation of young immigrants in Europe and their level of integration in the school system. In the second, we explain the philosophy of the Bultzatzen project as well as its organizational structure. From here, the following sections describe the aims of the project: the social integration of young people, the construction of a space of participation and dialogue, the integration of families in school. To finish with, we discuss the possibilities of making the aims of social integration compatible with academic success and educational quality.

1. **Educational responses for the school integration of young immigrants**

Today's migratory movements have constituted a real challenge for the principal social institutions, among which is the educational system. We can affirm that efforts have been made to promote the integration and participation of young immigrants in the educational system. Nevertheless, studies of their situation in the school, both in Europe and in the rest of the world, demonstrate the urgent need to implement new strategies and techniques that permit greater levels of equality and integration for immigrant children in the educational world (EUMC, 2004; Eurydice, 2004; OECD, 2006; OECD and UNESCO, 2003).

In general, the investigations mentioned imply important advances as regards the education of immigrants. The most widespread tendency is that of recognizing education as universal right, independent of the cultural or socioeconomic origin of the person. Therefore, the first levels of equality are reached, as is reflected in the right to education and obligatory and free education. Nevertheless, significant differences also appear in higher levels of equality; specifically, high indexes of concentration of immigrants are observed in certain geographical zones and specific types of schools, as well as high rates of absenteeism, failure and school drop-out rates.

In relation to the distribution of these groups, if one focuses on a few certain geographical spaces or centres, one will lose the opportunity to learn about others in heterogeneous contexts. The study developed by Ensminger, Lamkin and Jacobson (1996) in the whole Chicago metropolitan region, demonstrates the existence of important influences and interactions among the variables *neighbourhood* and *academic results*.

Specifically, they found a positive influence on academic performance among those young people who were living in a neighborhood with a high percentage of persons whose work might be classified as "white collar." In the case of immigrants, these are concentrated in certain educational contexts: urban areas, areas of lower sociocultural level and the network of public schools (Defender of the People, 2003; ESRC, 2003; Eurydice, 2004). Everything seems to indicate that, more than the variables *immigration* or *ethnic minority* constituting a risk factor in themselves, the concentration in socially and culturally more disadvantaged areas increases the probability of failure in school.

As for the equality in the results, it is possible to state how, among the general population, the quantity of young people that leave school before finishing obligatory education, varies between 20% and 30% depending on the operative definition that is used (OECD, 2001; OECD, 2003a and 2003b). Nevertheless, immigrant children and teenagers in Europe obtain poor academic results and greater school drop-out rates in comparison with the general population. This trend reproduces, again, those detected in other countries. In the United States, for example, the percentage of young people that leave the school between the 16 and 24 years is 10.5% when one refers to the population in general, but rises to 27.6% when one talks about first generation immigrants and 18% when one talks about second generation immigrants (Child Trends Databank, 2002).

The framework presented induces us to think that traditional education is not sufficiently sensitive to cultural differences. When one considers that low academic results are due to the low cultural standard of the home, one tends to design proposals of technical or compensatory type: to increase coverage in the pre-school area, incorporate support in languages, offer classes in the mother language and grant extra hours of teaching. These are important measures for the future education whose principal aim is to support the immigrant population in acquiring relevant competences and improving their results (OECD, 2003b). Sometimes they are completed with cultural aspects that facilitate their incorporation in the host society, for example with training on the local culture (OECD, 2003b). Nevertheless, in spite of the aforementioned measures, when the students have different cultural codes from those present in the school, the process of education is seriously difficult. The strategies mentioned, as John Durston recalls, "cannot be conceived as a way of saving the child from his or her environment" (1999:4). The same author explains the process clearly: "The risk of failure derives not only from what is lacking in the students and their envornment but from the traditional tendency to suppose that the child has assimilated in his or

her home the dominant codes of conduct. Nevertheless, working-class children bring other codes and knowledges, those of their own culture. Therefore, performance improves if there are links between teachers and parents, so that both become bilingual in the two silent languages that are the cultures of the school and of the local environment" (1999:2). In this context, schools as centres of socialization, run the risk of remaining isolated from the culture, the community and the family context. Therefore, it seems to be necessary to develop more open and diverse strategies to repond to the needs of the students.

From what has been said so far, we cannot deny that school can play very different, almost contradictory roles, with regard to social integration. On one hand, it can facilitate and help the participation and social integration of new groups, putting in place different initiatives that respond to their needs. On the other hand, it can become a place that deepens social differences if it is not sensitive to the sociocultural characteristics and the specific needs of the students (Connell, 1993).

Nevertheless, the results of the principal investigations in this matter also demonstrate some important nuances that must be taken into account for planning educational intervention with immigrant groups (Eurydice, 2004; EUMC, 2004, OECD, 2006):

—Despite a lower level of school success, very positive experiences exist with foreign groups.
—Some groups obtain good results and reach high educational levels such as the population of Chinese or Indian origin in the United Kingdom.
—In the majority of cases, second generations of immigrants obtain better results than recent immigrants to the country, exceeding the educational level reached by their parents.
—In all ethnic groups, girls obtain better results.

The experience of Bultzaten[1] arose as an initiative that was responding to the situation of risk of school failure in the neighbour-

[1] The information in this chapter comes from the reports presented in the years 2004/5 and 2005/6. To prepare it we carried out two processes of empowerment evaluation or evaluative process that sought to give a voice to all the agents involved in the project evaluated (Fetterman, 2001). Its principal aim is that the team involved in the process is itself a protagonist of the evaluation and improvements are proposed from its experience. Its holistic approach considers the complete program (coverage, implementation and results). The methodologies used have been diverse: questionnaire of incomplete phrases with the students on the perception of the general project, the relationships, personal experiences as well as the image that the parents have of the project; letter to a future friend of Bultzatzen where their experience in the project is described; questionnaire to

hood of Astrabudua (Erandio). This is a project of informal education that is carried out in free time, after school. For this purpose, a process has been planned that involves the managerial teams and teaching staff of both schools, the students, the families and the Department of Education at the University of Deusto. At the same time other social actors are invited such as the social services of the Town hall and the Team at Educational Intervention (EISE), among others. This has never been a proposal aimed only at the immigrant population but at a sector of the students that needs some help for school success, but rapid demographic changes, logically, affect the project, with indexes of immigration that exceed 50% of the participants in its third edition. Other projects of educational innovation, such as communities of learning[2], have become a model in analyzing the possibilities of an inclusive and quality education (Elboj, et al. 2002; Jaussi, 2002). Without proposing to reach the level of change in the management and school culture of the communities of learning, the Bultzaten project shares its fundamental principles and has been developing different strategies to reach them. In the following sections the process followed is explained closely.

2. **Bultzatzen-Encouraging Success: Philosophy and organization of a project**

As has been mentioned in previous sections, Bultzatzen is a project of socio-educational intervention that was born with the intention of seeking higher levels of educational equality. The managing team of the project shares a starting premise: interest in a reflective and critical education whose axis of interest is the relation between education and justice (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1999). From this premise a double goal was agreed: to facilitate social and school integration of students at risk of school failure. This through intervention in free time and consolidating the school as a space of reference in the municipality.

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the teachers, analysis of the evaluation meeting of the members of the Committee and of the joint evaluation meeting between the Committee and the Volunteers; analysis of content of the project timetable.

[2] *Communities of learning* are educational experiences that understand learning as a complex process that is realized in the community. They are based on communities of practice, a concept proposed by Jean Lave y Etienne Wenger at the end of the 1980s and start of the 1990s (Wenger, 1998, 2001, 2006; Wikipedia, 2006; Smith, 2003).

It has been decided to link the primary and secondary schools as a preventive strategy, since the preparation of students for the transition is one of the factors that most affect their subsequent progress (Marchesi and Martin, 1998). For this reason, the activities take place in the IES (library, computer rooms, classrooms). Though the personnel and the methodologies are different from the ones used during school, it is considered indispensable for the success of the project to start from coordination among the different educational agents: teachers, educators, parents of students and public institutions (social workers, teams of socio-educational intervention).

The organization reflects the interest in the coordination and the incorporation of the project in the schools. Thus, it is possible to say that the typical feature is that decision-making and responsibilities in the educational process are shared between the Coordinating Committee, composed of representatives of the educational agents involved: Astrabudua IES, Ignacio Aldekoa CEP, Department of Education of the University of Deusto and the Town Hall, reperesented by the social services and the socio-educational intervention team. The Educational Team responsible for developing the tasks of socio-educational intervention and the voluntary educators were invited to the follow-up meetings.

When the results of the Pisa report are analyzed, Alvaro Marchesi and Susana Martínez (2006) identify the lack of confidence in the possibilities of learning of the students as one of the variables that influence bad school results[3]. In this case, the Bultzatzen project was initiated with the aim of creating an environment of positive experiences which would improve the expectations of the students, through a meeting space, to do their homework and share leisure time with their peers, always with the support of educators[4]. With time, it has also become into a very exciting project for the educational teams for

[3] The base document of 21st Monographic Week on Education *Educational centres of success*, written by Alvaro Marchesi and Rosario Martinez (2006), offers a detailed analysis of successful schools in Spain from the results of the Pisa report.

[4] The dynamics of work during the afternoon/early evening in Bultzatzen, is constructed in three different periods and in the form of workshops, in a schedule from 16.30 to 20.00.: a) Reception and snack: time for adjustment and resting as well as a snack. B) Workshop / classroom of guided study: There are two principal aims: first, to develop and to establish study habits and secondly, to consolidate the knowledge of the students in instrumental areas, particularly in mathematics and language. C) Workshops of Sociocultural Development and Free Time: seeks to improve the social competences of the students, to develop their capacity for participation and responsibility and to take part in the development of projects and in cooperation with other peers.

two reasons: they have managed to create a group of persons and professionals with good relations and common goals. According to the participants, the meetings imply an opportunity to debate, reflect and learn about different aspects related to their areas of interest. As the form of work agreed is based on consensus, the meetings imply an opportunity to comment on different questions such as absenteeism, failure, peer relations or the challenges of immigration. Additionally, it is an interdisciplinary and complementary team (teachers, social educators, social workers, educationalists, psychologists), where the wealth of debate and the complementary nature of the points of view have been an important element of the project. Thus, a joint work process during five years has created the conditions to make them more inclusive, open and reflective. Similar to the conditions of the process of transformative learning (Mezirov, 2000).

The theories that explain learning and school success have experienced an important transformation. Until very recently it was thought that learning was an individual process, with a beginning and an end, and that it was best to establish delimited spaces and times for this type of activity (Wenger, 1998:3). On the other hand, it was thought that if some type of interaction existed, it was limited to student-teacher. Nevertheless, today we know that learning takes place in the real world, in a certain geographical or spatial and social context (Wenger, 2001:26). A context that refers to the culture to which the individual belongs, to the persons with whom it interacts and links, and to the institutions with which it participates in one way or another. On the other hand, learning does not only take place during schooltime but is open to life, since everyday life is a permanent opportunity for learning where problems appear to be confronted. Therefore, if learning takes place in different conditions to those previously thought, it seems logical that education, its institutions and its strategies, should adapt to these new conditions. In fact, all three UNESCO reports are not far from this perspective, claiming other spaces and times for education (Combs, 1967, 1985; Faure, *et al*. 1973; Delors, 1996).

Bultzatzen gathers these principles and incorporates them both into its aims and into the strategies developed. According to Wenger (1998) it is understood that context not only means a physical environment, but implies a social environment, some persons and some possibilities of interaction and links among them. For this reason, in order to open the centre to the community, the Bultzatzen team has opted for a project of education that is non-formal, flexible and organized in collaboration with other social agents who come as volunteers (Parents' association, university students, interested persons). Likewise,

it has been verified that learning is based on the links and relations established among persons, the greater wealth of relationships and interchanges that happen, the more productive the learning will be (Jaussi, 2002). From this point of view, the school can provide social relations, channels of information and participation that constitute social capital for individuals (Dubet, 2003; Terrén, 2003). For this reason the teachers, other students, families and volunteers, as well as members of the community, are invited to participate.

From this perspective, participation is seen as the principal educational strategy to promote and increase success in learning. In Bultzatzen, the educators explore how persons can take part, and prioritize the kind of learning that is constructed colaboratively, those activities that are a focus of interest for the children and where adult volunteers can join in.

3. **Space of meeting and dialogue for the students**

Immigration tends to present a situation of vulnerability derived from the precariousness of its socioeconomic situation and also the difficulty to access relational networks of information and participation. Whether it is one's own or a family option, it puts to the test the psychic stability of the young people who must accept losses, develop their migratory griefs and their feelings of personal identity. At the same time, like other boys and girls of their age, they are at a moment of crisis when they must develop their identity. It is possible to say that these young immigrants have greater difficulty because of receiving contradictory influences and many obstacles that impede the development of their identity (Giménez and Perez Crespo, 2002; Massot, 2003; Siguan, 1998, 2003). Carlos Giménez (1994), has coined the term *differentiated socialization* to describe the different logics and baggages between family, friends, school, community, immigrant colony, mass media and public institutions.

In Bultzatzen, the targets of the project are the students of the last two years of primary school (5th and 6th year), as well as those of the first two years of secondary school, who are at risk of dropping out or failing in school, and who have the possibility and desire to graduate from high school. On the other hand, in 2004 almost 20% of students belonged to an immigrant group or an ethnic minority and often they had more difficulties to follow and get involved in their studies. The number of immigrants has increased to 50%. Most of them come from Latin America (Bolivia, Colombia and Ecuador). The continuing arriv-

als and departures reflect the situation of instability that the immigrant group experiences and the different processes of socialization of these minors in comparison with their native peers (Giménez and Perez Crespo, 2002): family responsibilities, return to the country of origin, changes of domicile, perception that they spend long periods of time in school, in different places. The schooling of this group, in most cases due to family reunification, tends to be staggered, and can take place throughout the year. When they arrive in Astrabudua, they are in preadolescence or adolescence and have left behind their previous links (other relatives and friends). This process is characterized by a drastic change in their vital panorama that Siguan (2003) does not hesitate to characterize as a "rupture." Jaume Funes (1999) explains this as follows: "They are individuals that arrive unexpectedly, not knowing our basic codes of relation (they do not know the language nor have they received basic schooling in their places of origin), their vital logic does not seem to have anything to do with that of the local boys and girls with whom they are going to have to coexist" (p.127).

Relationships with the peer group have great influence on the development of a feeling of well-being and self-esteem, during infancy and adolescence. Also, the need for affiliation with their equals has a regulatory function that influences the way of acting of both the new members and the group itself (Chen, French and Schneider, 2006). The aforementioned regulatory function changes depending on the activities (autonomous, cooperative), relations (affective or instrumental) and the group's norms (whether they encourage assertivity or promote social inhibition). After analyzing diverse international investigations in this topic, Chen, French and Schneider (2006:11) affirm that the peers can play a very active role in socialization through participation in group activities. During these activities they reproduce the norms learned from their elders and adapt or recreate them depending on circumstances. The authors consider that for young immigrants, the group of reference can be a protective factor in their adjustment to environments different from their own family (p. 12).

This point is important since low levels of social capital tend to be associated with equally low levels of interpersonal confidence (Terrén, 2003: 274). As a result, the creation of social capital is an need in a context of multiculturality. Reality shows that, often, it turns out to be difficult to find a reference group since the groups are already formed and they follow their own dynamics. Thus, in the evaluation meeting of the Coordinating Committee of the project, emphasis was placed on the feeling of disorientation that tends to be promoted by the following circumstances:

—Absence of the extended family and of friends from the country of origin. Despite the reunion with the nuclear family the benefits do not cover the feelings of loss.
—Absence of social support, given that they have left their principal referents in the country of origin.
—Assumption of family responsibilities, often related to the previous point.
—Appearance of processes of anxiety, derived from adjustment to a new country, school, way of speaking, etc.

Other investigations have showed how the processes of social integration are mediated by complex identity dynamics (Carrasquilla and Echeverría, 2003). Thus, the school is constituted as a favoured space for contact between groups with diverse cultural baggage, but it can turn out to be an imposed relationship and, on occasions, does not extend to the establishment of relationships outside this space, at least between teenagers (Carrasquilla and Echeverría, 2003). We have little information about this topic, although the data makes us feel that its character of non-formal education favours meeting and participation between peers. The project is a space that propitiates a climate of confidence and allows improvement in the feeling of belonging.

In this respect, the project tries to place within their reach a scale of identities that allows them to go in and out of diverse cultural situations (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1999). One of the components of social capital is trust, since distrust carries the perception of the other as a threat and prevents intercultural contact. When trust exists, cooperative relations increase and, with them, social capital grows. Nevertheless, when it does not exist, certain groups are reduced to a situation of social vulnerability (Dubet, 2003:276). Informal education multiplies the opportunities to obtain it. The students themselves show their interest in beginning new relationships and creating links of confidences in an environment of free time. Also, the educational team trasmits confidence and provides the opportunity to have school support, which stimulates and supports school incorporation, with the same status as their companions (Banks, 2004).

Trust arises slowly from experience when each side respects and plays its part in agreements beside contributing to the success of a shared project (Durston, 1999:11). Informal contacts also serve to increase confidence since it is based on the sensation of shared experiences. In the case of Bultzatzen, testimonials and the analysis of the diary show how personalized tutorials, dialogue and reflection have been prioritized as

ways of resolving problematic situations, more than the strict use of the rules agreed by consensus at the beginning of the year. In other words, a style of interaction has been adopted that is personalized, conciliating, with a relaxed concept of time that supports dialogue in an informal environment. The organization of the project itself, based on workshops and joint activities, stimulates individuals to comment on their interests, clarify their expectations and describe their interpretations from a community dialogue.

4. **The participation of immigrant families in the school**

Immigrant and minority families do not tend to either come to or take part in school life. This fact could be seen as a lack of interest in the learning processes of their children, but in fact research on the causes shows that, often, the parents do not feel comfortable in the school. Thus, the previous experiences of the parents, their ignorance of the school policies and rules can generate a feeling of inferiority and the perception of not being well received. Socio-educational level is another influential variable, since lower-class families feel unable to contribute relevant things to the education of their children and, as a result, do not come to meetings (Vila, 1998). As has been mentioned previously, the immigrant population tends to be characterized by this double situation: immigration itself and living in contexts of low social level (Marchesi and Martínez, 2006). This situation produces a paradox, given that it is the group that needs greatest support and simultaneously that a greater distance is created between the families and the schools, constituting a vicious circle that is difficult to break. Nevertheless, when the lack of intercultural comunication is overcome, the evidence indicates that the participation of the parents improves the impact of the projects aimed at achieving greater quality and equality (Durston, 1999).

Teresa Aguado (2005) affirms that, in an optimistic version, the community and the family should be partners who cooperate with the school, while at the same time the school becomes a space of learning for the family. From the collaboration among the different agents, different benefits are produced. These affect the personal capacities (knowledges, narratives) and the capacities of interrelationship (the way of relating, teamwork, reactions). When the changes are deep, even, it is possible to influence the organizational change and create synergies that favor the creation of communities of learning (Mitchell and Sackney, 2000).

Conscious of this situation, in Bultzaten we have tried to create meeting points between the school and the family, through a variety of strategies: interviews, invitations to parties, communications, family–school contract. A model of fluid communication has been initiated[5], both formally and informally, which supports reaching other forms of family involvement such as volunteering or involvement in learning. These are the first stages, with their high and low points, where much remains to be done. As a result, perseverance in supporting communication and participation is one of the strategies decided on by the educational team.

An especially prominent aspect is the goodwill of families to come to the school and to talk with the Bultzarten educators, while it is true that the flexibility of schedules has facilitated contact with all the families. In the interviews, the Bultzaten families have expressed their positive view of the project: that their children are attended in a fringe period when they were otherwise in the street or alone at home, due to the long working days of their parents, the free nature of the project, are some of the characteristics praised. Thirdly, we can mention that the families perceive

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[5] Epstein and Salinas (2004) propose six models of involvement of the family in the school:

1. Parenthood: supporting the family by means of strategies that favour the practice of their parental roles, the school for parents being a good example of this model. It also implies the collaboration of the parents to understand better the culture of the students.
2. Communication: to create fluid channels of communication between the family and the school. It includes both informal channels, in the playground when you come to pick up the children, and formal channels, appointments with the tutors or letters and notifications that are sent home.
3. Volunteering: to support the involvement of the families in diverse activities such as excursions, reading stories, explaining their jobs, their culture and folklore, etc.
4. Learning at home: this model refers to the requests often made from the school to ask for the involvement of the families in the academic learning of their children, supported on the fulfilment of school tasks, promoting reading, etc.
5. Decision-making: including the families as participants in the decision-making of the school, through the School Board, committees, etc. Some experiences of educational innovation such as the Communities of Learning are based on this model, completed with other levels such as that of volunteering and collaboration.
6. Collaboration: coordinating the resources of the school and the community. The school visits and uses different services (sports facilities, libraries) and invites volunteers from the community to do some tasks (translation, tasks of social mediation, interactive groups). Also the school can be open to the community, providing its facilities and developing in the students the sense of community and participation (volunteer activities).

improvements in the behavior of their children: they are satisfied and are not on the street.

For school life to harmonize with community development, Terrán (2003) suggests that education must promote strategies of connection with other professionals in education and social work. In the same line, the families of the immigrant participants have also found in the project and in the educational team professionals who are not distant, with whom to share their expectations and concerns about their children, the daily family problems, their nostalgia for their country and its culture, their difficulties of adjustment and their fears. As a result, the team has served as a bridge for the social services and a source of information about other resources (town halls, NGOs) to which they can gain access to carry out family regrouping, to recognize their working rights and to manage their papers.

5. **Towards a quality education: improving academic results**

As in other educational initiatives, such as the Communities of Learning, the construction of social capital and the creation of networks of social participation and integration are not incompatible with the aims of quality and academic results. Schools cannot give up promoting higher levels of equality as regards results among groups of more disadvantaged social class or origin. According to the *principle of instrumentality or functionality* (Jaussi, 2002), it is not necessary to choose between social integration or academic success, quite the contrary, we seek to make both aims as compatible as possible and to work for the construction of an ideal school, desired for any boy or girl. The Bultzatzen project, in its first aim, proposes to "push" towards success those young people who are at risk of failure. And the results are seen, not only in the opinion of the participants and professors, but in the academic results obtained.

The objective results of the last evaluation of the year (table 1) in the IES show a notable advance in the academic performance of the participants. If the two columns are compared, we see how the average of failures is reduced to half in both years. This information is more important if we take into account that three persons did not manage to reduce the number of failures. This notable improvement is clear both in the native participants and among those belonging to the immigrant group. On the other hand, it is important to highlight that they participate in Projects of Educational Intervention (PIE) have passed the first stage.

Table 1

Curricular level of participants in the Bultzatzen Project–2005, at the end of the experience

Levels	N ° Students	Average of subjects failed (1st evaluation)	Average of subjects failed (Last evaluation)
1 ° ESO	8	5.12 failures	2.7 failures
2 ° ESO	10	5.9 failures	2.7 failures
2 ° ESO PIE project	5	—	All pass PIE

The reasons that can explain these results it is that we have managed to motivate these minors accomplish a leisure task and, in this way, we have managed to get them to acquire working habits as well as a certain responsibility. In the opinion of the teachers, Bultzatzen students have shown an improvement in all the aspects consulted, accomplishment of tasks, school performance, utilization of an agenda (or planner), school attendance, motivation, attention in class, attitude toward peers and social skills (Table 2). When the results are compared with those of the first year, it is observed that in the second edition the scores are better in all aspects, especially in attendance toward class, attitude toward companions and social skills. Certainly, the procedure of selection of students, together with the strategies to promote confidence and personal safety, followed by the educational team and voluntary persons, may have been factors that have influenced this evaluation.

Among the participants, it is possible to to state that many are conscious of their needs and the potentials of the project to improve their studies and their social integration. However, the testimonies of some demonstrate that they cannot find any other motivation to go to the project apart from obligation[6]:

> "I come to Bultzatzen because it helps me with my studies." (Fabiola, 15 years),
> "... because I need help." (Asun, 14 years),
> "... to pass." (Itxasne, 14 years),
> "... because I want to do my homework and have fun." (Alain, 10 years)
> "... because I like it." (Iker, 15 years)
> "I come to Bultzatzen because they make me." (Javi, 15 years)

[6] To maintain confidentiality, the names of the minors are fictitious.

"Thanks to Bultzatzen I have managed to improve in my studies 'a little.'" (Javi, 15 years)

"... I have managed to pass and to achieve what I want." (Asun, 14 years)

"... I have managed to pass more." (Virginia, 16 years)

Table 2

Opinions of the teachers-tutors about the results of the students. (Maximum score 4)

Aspects Evaluated	Average Score (max. 4) Year 04/05	Average Score (max.4) Year 05/06
Accomplishment of tasks	2.6	2.84
Attitude to peers	2.5	3.16
Behavior in class	2.3	2.84
Attendance	2.1	2.72
Assistance	1.8	3.44
Motivation	2.7	2.97
Attention in class	2.5	2.84
Utilization of the agenda	2.3	2.81
Academic skills	2.2	2.69
Social skills	2.1	3.06
Score in the evaluations	1.8	—

In any case, it is interesting to verify how the same participants whose motivation seems to be externally imposed obligation, generally think that Bultzatzen helps them improve in their studies either by passing or completing the tasks set:

"Thanks to Bultzatzen I have managed to have better grades." (Fabiola, 15 years)

"... to pass six of my eight subjects." (Marten, 15 years),

"... to do my homework on time." (Unai, 15 years)

This change has also been valued positively by the managerial teams who remember how the Bultzatzen project tried to create a space where it was possible to cover not only educational but also leisure and social aspects. Some participants comment that the project has influenced their leisure habits, reducing the time dedicated to television and the street:

"In the evenings, when I do not come to Bultzatzen I stay at home watching TV or go out on the street." (Javi, 15 years)
"... I am with my friends watching the soaps." (Fabiola, 15 years)
"... I am on the street." (Enrique, 15 years)
"... I stay in watching the evening soaps." (Virginia, 16 years)

The process of personal development is systematic and Bultzatzen constitutes only one influence more, among many others, which the participants have. To know its real impact requires a type of investigation that allows us to make comparisons between the participant group and a control group. Therefore, these results pratically correspond with the perception that the different agents have of the effects of participation in a socio-educational project. Nevertheless, they allow us to glimpse the effects of a project that provides a place for meeting, acceptance and help to a group of teenagers at risk of dropping out of school. Additionally, consulting all the agents involved allows us to have a global vision of the topics. In this respect, we can feel a positive influence of the project, especially of preventative character, in topics related to social relations, self-esteem and motivation for study.

5. **Final reflections**

Studies worldwide such as the PISA Report, in its different editions, show that in education, quality and equality are not incompatible. Thus, for example, the Finnish educational system is presented as a model to follow (Finnish National Board on Education, 2006a, 2006b). An educational model that promotes the integration of its immigrants in the normalized school and which also proposes out of school activities to improve academic results, social integration and thus to make compatible the schedules of its participants and families.

Together with these models, other innovative projects such as communities of practice and Communities of Learning contribute important keys of intervention to promote equality and respect for cultural diversity in school. The experience presented, Bultzatzen, without creating a new structure as complex as the Communities of Learning, shares diverse principles of intervention such as the participation of all the agents, dialogue in equality, the creation and empowerment of the community or the promotion of quality.

The most innovative educational strategies incorporate participative processes of the teachers and the community. Constructing a process of this type is a joint task of individuals, groups and organizations. Every element and every phase of the process has a systematic relationship with

the rest, since every element constructs and influences others, through interdependent relations to create synergies and to improve the capacity (Mitchell and Sackney, 2000). The research on this topic contributes important clues but still we need to advance in a topic of such relevance (Durston, 1999). These innovative ideas must be introduced into the curriculum and in the training of new teachers and educational agents (social educators, social worker) in order that they should be receptive to projects that remodel the power relations in the school and the community.

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Immigration and Labour Market: reality and future perspectives

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Introduction

Immigration has been a permanent characteristic of cities since the beginning of history. This has contributed great value, as a factor of growth and innovation, in spite of the fact that today we think of developed cities as having a lower demand for labour and consequently, a smaller number of immigrants for the labour market.

Cities obtain great benefits from immigration, as well as gaining social heterogeneity from a population of multiple origins. This massive influx leads cities to grow in size and diversifies the labour market, which favours this activity. But to face increasing international competition, there is a tendency towards deregulation and increasing flexibility of the labour market, which implies more precarious employment, extension of informal work and an increase in employment requiring few qualifications, as is the case with young immigrants. Thus, the great majority of immigrants can only accede to the underground economy since they do not meet the required profiles of qualifications, and instead opt for precarious and badly paid jobs.

Migratory movements constitute one of the most decisive factors that shape the present-day international panorama. They have given rise not only to a new concept of the world, with its own internal dynamics, but also to a series of questions and problems that are projected directly onto the level of our society. Therefore, we are facing a task that

is not only possible, but necessary: to deal with historical and prospective descriptions of migration so as to contribute solutions to problems that already exist or to anticipate others that are coming. The fact is that migratory movements constitute one of the most problematic fields of the 21st century, and at the same time probably the most important for the future of today's society.

Politics has influenced this debate to such an extent that very polarized alternatives come to be proposed. Thus we see positions such as the hermetic closing of borders and others who opt for an open door policy. We clearly note that both are not very realistic, politicised attitudes. Since, on the one hand, the zeal to maintain a certain religious, racial and social "homogeneity" lacks prudence and coherence at the moment; and on the other side, uncontrolled "solidarity" may undermine any concern for the maintenance, development and growth of the existing first world states, which would inevitably impact other countries.

The moment has come to construct a rather more mature option, without demagogic or radical posturings. The idea is to provide an alternative where the will to receive immigrants and the control of their movement achieves a sustainable flow.

1. Relationship between immigration—or migratory flows—and labour market—as regards employment

As a structural fact, it is unjust to blame immigrants for taking work from natives; rather, their destiny is linked to highly dangerous or poorly paid sectors. All the sociological studies reflect that there are specific Spanish economic sectors such as that of construction, agriculture or domestic service and caring for the elderly which use immigrant labour, since the Spanish are increasingly unwilling to accept the aforementioned work, because of poor labour conditions. Instead of taking away jobs, what they really do is to stir the economic fabric into action.

Already, William Fogel, Nobel Laureate in Economics, an economic historian, liberal and defender of the market, attributes the success of American economic development to the extraordinary capacity of its human capital, formed by great waves of immigrants of different origins. Declarations about its economic importance are heard from all observatories.

Recently a discourse has appeared that definitively consecrates the reigning Eurocentrism, which is formulated as an affirmation that if they could come, they would all come in real tidal waves. This is a perverse rhetoric, which devalues whatever is not an industrial and technological civilization with its seductive capacity, ignoring other worlds of life and

culture. "The fear of invasion is more an effect of the paranoia of the rich minority of West, than an objective threat."

1.1. *Migratory policies in globalisation*

The mercantilisation of immigrants is a problematic fact. Recently there has been a deceitful explosion of a discourse which at first sight appears philanthropic. This proclaims the number of immigrants who will be required to maintain the well-being of developed countries. Thus, we see a mercantilisation of immigrants. Everything is reduced to goods and surrendered to the laws of the market. We accept those that are necessary following only the requirements of supply and demand.

Economic globalisation completes the migratory cycle, which previously displaced European settlers to supposedly underdeveloped regions; and which now in its place, drags—and this is so-called "pull effect"—millions of new migrants who, alone or with their families, go to the industrialized zones in search of a better life. When economic globalisation has opened borders to the free circulation of commodities and appliances, there is no sustainable reason for maintaining that emigration is not a right for all, the right to enjoy the benefits of a world that they also helped to construct.

Immigration has revealed that the current concept of citizenship is suffering from a radical expropriation. Most often it reduces the immigrant to a human resource, whose right to existence depends only on economic interest, according to their degree of yield and utility for capital (Ricardo Petrella, 2000). The reduction of immigration to an "economic resource" raises the great paradoxes of immigration: commodities are globalised and persons are nationalized; the demand for labour increases and the need for people decreases. According to UN sources, Europe needs approximately 160 million immigrants in the next 25 years to guarantee its economic survival.

1.2. *Insertion through employment*

The German model raised the emigrant to the status of a guest dependent on employment (Gastarbeiter); not to attribute the dignity of the guest to him/her, but to reduce him/her to the provisional status of the guest. To this end it is essential to prevent family regrouping and settling in the territory. The residence and employment permits are mutually linked: they stay while they have work and are expelled if they lose it. Citizenship, though in a minimal degree, is granted by the work contract.

The model extended its long shadow over the Spanish situation, whose current legislation makes the legal stability of foreigners dependent on their employment status: the granting of permissions and renovations is normally linked to the possession of a job and/or work contract. Thus appears the "El Ejido" model which needs labour, as long as the workers agree to live in the greenhouses. Next to the farms, the shanties grow; next to the golf courses, the slums; next to the gaming casinos, the short-term housing. Migrants will only be tolerated to the extent that they benefit the natives.

1.2.1. Immigrants: do they "take" our jobs?

An important aspect of the social perception of the migratory phenomenon has to do with possible *competition on the labour market* between natives and immigrants. The first thing that it is necessary to say on this matter is that a cause-effect relationship between immigration and unemployment is discarded. There have been moments of high immigration and full employment in many European countries. Even today the countries with a higher rate of unemployment are those that have fewer immigrants (Spain) and vice versa, those that have more immigrants have a lower unemployment rate (Switzerland). Nevertheless, this does not mean that the arrival of immigrants does not produce a downward pressure on wages and a substitution of natives in certain types of employment. What truth there is, however, is reflected in popular ideas that falsely believe that the number of working posts is fixed and that the immigrants "take jobs from the natives".

In spite of its possible political yields, such a simplistic vision is not sustainable from an economic point of view, since neither is the number of jobs fixed in magnitude, nor is the labour market a uniform whole where those who offer work compete among themselves with no restrictions. There are indications of the impact of the revitalizing effect of immigration on the whole of the economy and, therefore, on the creation of employment, on the containment of wage levels and inflation in periods of growth, etc. On the other hand, the theory of dualism of the labour market proposed by Piore at the beginning of the seventies showed the segmentation of this market and the existence of discriminatory factors (race, gender, etc.) which, independently of training and qualification, impede and prevent the access of certain sectors of population to the better-paid sectors of the labour market, with more stability and recognized prestige. Thus there is a dualization of this market which prevents immigrant and native workers from competing among themselves in a completely open way, given that they act in quite separate sectors, even

though they may be employed in the same sector or the same companies. The work done by the immigrants, or at least the money for which they do it, is not wanted by the natives, who have either rejected it, which generates the demand for immigration, or have climbed higher on the ladder of sectors with the arrival of the immigrants. This would explain the ethno-stratification of the labour market and the ethnic or national concentration in certain employments.

Perhaps it is necessary to nuance this theory of dualization, since the factors that make a given job more or less attractive (salary, stability, status, etc.) are not always accumulative and differ notably from one sector to another (e.g., domestic service, agriculture, etc.) and within the same type of job. Besides, the mechanisms by which work is assigned are complex enough and involve not only legal regulation, but also social networks, including those of immigrants and those of the latter with their employers. But what it does seem reasonable to affirm is that a strongly segmented market generates niches that are more or less exclusive, and that certain groups are constrained to fighting for a limited range of jobs. Competition with natives would take place especially when, after a period where immigrants occupy ethnic redoubts, to which they are assigned on arrival, they leave them to compete in sectors occupied essentially by natives.

Validity, on the one hand, and the policy of quotas, which directs the immigrant workforce towards specific jobs with greater irregularity and precariousness, on the other, has created a vicious circle of employment and legal instability, which considerably increases the vulnerability and *discrimination against immigrants in the labour market*. In fact some employment niches have been created in economic sectors and types of activity with a notable presence of certain non-EU immigrant groups. This phenomenon has been labelled "ethnification of the labour market" by I. Wallerstein. Its economic function is clear: belonging to a certain social group serves to make a very low wages possible for entire sectors of the workforce.

Besides the discrimination that means the assignment of immigrants to sectors and activities with a higher level of irregularity and precariousness, the position that the labour immigrants occupy within the respective labour markets, to a great extent determined by the type of access to them, is systematically worse. In general, for all sectors and activities, it can be said that immigrants are more affected by informality than natives. The lack of contract is accompanied in many cases by wage discrimination, working conditions involving health risks, abusive working hours, etc. We are seeing a new form of reduction of human beings into a cheap and exploitable workforce subordinated to the arbitrary require-

ments of the contractors. For this reason it is impossible to speak of immigration in Spain without pointing out the limits and contradictions of the democratic project of the social State of law.

2. **The reality of employment through specific actions**

2.1. *Access to employment. Why is employment important?*

Employment is essential for integration. Employment provides a regular income and economic independence, security, a social position and opportunities for interaction with members of the majority community and for social integration.

As soon as the immigrant's basic economic needs are satisfied, they will try to progress and obtain recognition. For established immigrants, the ascent to higher-level employment with a better income becomes something significant. Good employment determines the quality of life of a person, affects their self-esteem and grants them recognition in a wider community. Established immigrants and members of ethnic minorities have the same levels of personal expectation and aspirations as other people in general. They expect to have the same employment opportunities and standard of living as others and they feel frustrated and furious when they find that these opportunities are unjustly denied them.

Many immigrants, initially, accept employment in the least attractive sectors of the labour market, there is less competition. It is possible that immigrants do not have the recognized abilities, qualifications or fluency in the language necessary to compete for better jobs. They have to face discrimination and underemployment and their levels of unemployment are greater that those of the population in general. When they aspire to progress, many people find it difficult to make the leap to jobs with better perspectives and remain stuck in the sectors where qualifications are not required and which are worse paid. This also tends to affect the second generation. Such discrimination and structural disadvantages imply a loss of human potential and can be a reason for economic and social problems.

Different reports have admitted the prime importance that must be given to equality of opportunities in employment and in the training of immigrants and ethnic minorities. It is widely accepted that a range of positive measures is necessary, both to assure equality of opportunities and to help overcome the lack of linguistic knowledge and of other types. The improvement of the employment and prospects of immigrants and

ethnic minorities has a direct effect on integration. The establishment of equality of opportunities and harmonious relationships in employment between different ethnic groups can play a key role.

If there are no others seeking the employment for which they have specific training or the necessary education (for example, training in language, training in basic knowledge with compensatory education, some aspects of job seeking and self-presentation), it may be necessary to adapt current programs and to offer preliminary education or basic training so that the persons affected may reach the common level of training.

The training of government employees is an important element within a strategy of integration. They have to include ethnic and cultural diversity, be sensitive to discrimination and how attitudes can affect behaviour, and be competent as regards multiethnic communication, intercultural management and rendering of services. Also, it is useful for the public authorities to adopt explicit codes of conduct by means of a declaration on the equal opportunities policy of their organization, the aims and of specific rules on just, respectful and non-discriminatory behaviour of government employees.

2.1.1. Recommendations to the public administration

- —Guarantee that new and established immigrants who have not mastered the language should have access to language courses.
- —Facilitate courses of reception and orientation to the culture and society of the host country that include preparation for employment for new immigrants. The specific needs of women must be taken into account, including the effects of the double disadvantage that they suffer, and the need for measures to deal with child care should be considered.
- —Establish a system for the recognition of educational qualifications, and prior vocational and professional training.
- —Facilitate supplementary education or training programs to adapt and raise the qualifications to meet national requirements.
- —Facilitate pre-professional training and access training for immigrants and disadvantaged members of ethnic minorities, to raise the disadvantaged persons to the levels required to enter the general workforce. Facilitate specific information about the opportunities for immigrant women, in order to deal with the problem of isolation.
- —Review governmental policies on the labour market and vocational training and to guarantee that they are adapted to the needs of immigrants and ethnic minorities, especially of young people.

—Guarantee that government strategies to promote equality of opportunities include vocational training for immigrants and disadvantaged members of ethnic minorities.
—Guarantee that immigrants and ethnic minorities have equality of access to public vocational training for employment.
—Stimulate the private sector to organize programmes of training and development for disadvantaged members of the communities of immigrants and ethnic minorities.
—Guarantee that vocational training for immigrants is flexible; capable of facing the variety of individual needs and that, as this training will be more expensive than normal vocational training, the funding provided is appropriate.
—Give special attention to the needs of young immigrant women.

2.2. *Advancing in employment. Why are measures necessary?*

Discrimination, structural and social disadvantages continue to affect established immigrants and members of ethnic minorities. As well they have less chance of ascending in employment towards more specialized positions or becoming managers. Their likely fate is, rather, unemployment or at best to stay in low-paid employment with little security. Young immigrants see that they have bad economic perspectives and this reduces their motivation, making them feel frustrated and creating a sense of injustice.

Entrepreneurs have an important role to play in giving equal opportunities and facilitating training and development for ethnic minorities, so that they can compete on an equal basis. When investing in the potential for employment of immigrants and ethnic minorities, entrepreneurs can also help to build more stable local communities and to develop stronger local economies.

Entrepreneurs also benefit from having a more diversified workforce. They have access to an underused source of talent, whose significance is increasing because communities of immigrants and ethnic minorities include more young people that the population as a whole and they constitute an increasing part of the labour market. The recruitment among a diversified population gives the workforce new perspectives, experience, knowledge of languages, links with the countries of origin and comprehension of them. This is important for entrepreneurs to be able to compete on ethnically and culturally diversified markets in Europe and worldwide. To practice equal opportunities policies in employment, implies:

—Adopting anti-discriminatory codes of practices.;
—Adopting declarations of equal opportunities policies and circulate them among the personnel
—Ensuring tangible support and participation of upper management;
—Guaranteeing that policies of promotion and dismissal are not discriminatory;
—Following and evaluating the efficiency of equal opportunities policies;
—Stimulating immigrants and ethnic minorities apply for work in the company;
—Training the directors in non-discriminatory and intercultural management practices, to help to change attitudes and behaviour;
—Recognizing the benefits of a diversified workforce and the intercultural and bilingual knowledge of immigrants and members of the ethnic minorities;
—Communicating the reasons why changes are made in the organization.

Carrying out positive actions means promoting an effective equality of opportunities for immigrants and ethnic minorities, with members of these groups as active participants in identifying needs and implementing solutions. This might include: the positive stimulus of occupying higher levels of employment, updating the level of training and increasing knowledge of language or communications, development of management.

Public administration has the special responsibility to take the initiative and set an example in its own employment practice and to stimulate immigrants and ethnic minorities to set up business. This includes the following measures: stimulate and support the development of economic activities for entrepreneurs proceeding from immigrant or ethnic minorities; facilitate access to funding, business advice, training in commercial activities and knowledge of the regulations; check regulations to guarantee that immigrants have the same opportunities as others to establish and to develop their businesses.

2.3. *Why are other measures needed in ethnically diverse areas?*

Economic restructuring has hit ethnic minorities disproportionately hard, as they tended to focus on the sectors and jobs that have been worst affected. In all the EU Member states, immigrants and members of ethnic minorities have high levels of unemployment. There is also

evidence that discrimination continues to affect the second and following generations. This increases the probability that ethnic minorities are excluded from access to higher levels of employment and to decision-making positions. It is necessary to reinforce and support legal and administrative action to guarantee equality of access to employment by means of additional measures aimed at improving opportunities for rising to higher levels of employment.

The economic change has also affected sectors of the majority population, and it has become necessary to consider how policies of integration and of social incorporation and cohesion are correlated. To this end we propose a series of recommendations to the Public Administration, as follows:

- —Guarantee that labour market policies include a specific strategy and programme in order to promote equality in employment, training and opportunities of development for immigrants and ethnic minorities.
- —Work in association with other employment and training institutions to improve opportunities for disadvantaged ethnic minorities.
- —Use provision of subsidies and public funds to stimulate entrepreneurs and other recipients of aid to put into practice policies of equality of opportunities in employment.
- —Publish and develop training materials and resources aimed at entrepreneurs on how to facilitate equal opportunities in employment.

There are also a series of recommendations for employment entities: Work with other entrepreneurs in the same business sector, with the government and with social agents; achieve an understanding of the benefits of ethnic diversity; and encourage them to take positive action, and set out goals with regard to the number of immigrants and members of ethnic minorities that should be on their staff.

3. **Perspectives of immigration as a response to the needs of the labour market**

3.1. *The European position*

The phenomenon of immigration can be read in different ways, and though people move to other countries for many reasons, immigration for economic motives is one of the most important. The high birth rates

in the developing countries along with major economic crises that have hit wide zones of the planet in recent years, lead to significant migratory flows throughout the world, which affect different areas and countries unequally.

The consequences for the countries of origin of immigration are ambivalent: while on the one hand the migratory movement generally implies a source of income that may be fundamental for the country, it also generates a loss of human resources that, in many cases, means those individuals with a more enterprising spirit or even highly qualified sectors of the population, and which can lead to these countries losing human capital that is very important to their development. Recognizing the different dimensions of immigration and how this phenomenon affects the different parts involved—and especially its protagonists, the immigrants—,we now centre on the aspects more directly related to the labour market of the host countries, their effects on it, and the potential capacity for immigration to cover the requirements of some growth economies that face a future reduction in their potential workforce.

The first characteristic to highlight in the analysis of immigration under this aspect is the debate generated by its impact, which includes everything from the methodology used in demographic and economic projections—questioning the quantification of the forecast needs—to the effects generated in the host countries. In this line, the spreading of prospective demographic studies by different entities and the diffusion of estimates with regard to the workforce needs that would only be covered in the medium-long term with the arrival of large number of immigrants, has given rise to a significant debate on the appropriateness of this resource, as well as on the reliability of the projections.

3.1.1. Effects on the labour market

The debate on other effects of immigration, fundamentally on the level employment and wages, seeks to penetrate the different impacts of the entry of immigrants into an economy, although there are few studies at a European level in this area (they are more frequent in the United States). Different economic models emphasize diverse aspects, although the opinion about the existence of a double market, that is to say, the hypothesis of a segmentation of the labour market, with the native workers on one hand, and the immigrant workers on the other—prepared to accept working conditions (wages, precariousness ...) that are thought unacceptable by the native workforce—is widespread enough, especially in its aspect of partial segmentation—competition of the least qualified internal segment of a country with the foreign workforce. The

different studies carried out to date indicate a significant dispersion of the results: the effects of the impact of immigration basically depend on other factors, such as the productive structure and characteristics of both the native population and the immigrant workforce.

—Need to maintain a specific levels of population. In the debate on the levels of immigration necessary in European economies, though less frequently, positive aspects of the reduction of population tend to be emphasized which are generally ignored in demographic projections, such as reduction in the consumption of resources, improvement of the environment and consequently quality of life, or the decrease in competition for access to housing, to education or even to the labour market.

—Other effects of the immigration in the host societies. There is a body of experts that emphasize the indirect economic costs and the social, cultural and political effects of immigration. Aspects related to social cohesion and the changes of adaptation necessary in the host societies would be included in this section.

—The permanency of the effect of immigration on aging. From this perspective, migrations of substitution are not a solution in the long term, given that the immigrants also age. Current immigration in Europe has a relatively young age structure (the average of age of immigrants is 30 years old). Also immigrant women have relatively high levels of fecundity, which can facilitate the growth of birth rates in the host countries, although different studies indicate that once integrated in the country, these rates tend to diminish, approaching those of the aforementioned countries.

In short, the European position seems to tend towards a recognition with regard to the need for certain levels of immigration, not yet determined, that respond to the needs of the EU economies, as well as a global approach to immigration, which should take all its dimensions into account. That is to say, immigration would be a partial solution to the demographic and human-resources problems predictable in the medium term, but it does not seem that for the present we can predict a policy of opening borders which would allow a significant influx of immigrants from third countries.

3.2. *Situation in Spain: an approach to the effects of immigration on the labour market*

After a relatively recent past in which Spain was defined as a source country of emigrants, the State has converted, since the mid 1980s, into

a host country. Though it still has relatively low immigrant numbers in comparison with other societies in the region, in recent years growth has been very significant, and it was the European country that received the greatest number of immigrants in the year 2001. Also, changes are taking place in the characteristics of the immigrants, which do not in any way constitute a homogeneous group. In general, we must emphasize that: the population from Latin-American countries increases significantly, especially those from Ecuador and Colombia, and also that women start to be an important segment of immigration.

The majority of the immigrant population is of working age, and the numbers on their participation in the labour market are clearly relevant: in the year 2002 they were already almost 5% of the total number of workers in the country, which reveals a rate of activity higher than the national rate. This fact is equally reflected in the increasing affiliation with Social Security of the immigrant population. The increase in the annual contributions to Social Security by foreign workers is also of interest.

Thus, we must indicate that the positive effects of immigration on the state economy are already becoming noticeable, as is their impact—at present limited—on the population and demographic structure. Determining the number of immigrants that the Spanish economy needs, not in the short term, but in a more distant future, is a difficult exercise, in which theoretical attempts have so far offered rather indefinite results, due to the difficulty in taking into account all the factors that influence the process and predicting their variation in the medium/long term: behaviour of the economy, levels of employment and wages, increases in productivity, segmentation of markets, internal flows in the EU, impact of the immigrants themselves on demand, effects of family regrouping, and social policy.

In any case, the majority of the studies carried out in this area promote the need to approach immigration in our society as an opportunity to relieve the negative effects of aging and of the reduction in the size of the workforce.

3.3. *The response of the autonomous communities–immigration plans*

The different guidelines of European immigration policies have already been determined, which intend a global approach to the phenomenon taking into account the different dimensions of immigration. The Autonomous Communities in Spain, lacking direct competencies as regards the control of migratory flows, have designed Plans of Immigration that basically seek to facilitate the integration of foreigners in the host societies, also generally including aspects related to coopera-

tion with the countries of origin. The Autonomous Communities with a greater tradition of immigration, or in which the growth in the number of immigrants has been greatest in recent years, have laid down the initial guidelines for a series of developments in this field that generally include the following diversely structured areas: Access to health care, access to social resources and housing, legal assistance, training and employment, education, socio-cultural participation, sensitisation of the native population and cooperation with the countries of origin.

Taking into account the topic of this article, in this chapter we will focus on the aspects most directly related to the labour market: the employment and training of the immigrant population. The majority of the Immigration Plans at Autonomous Community level start from the immigrant's situation in the labour market and refer to various aspects:

—The legal situation of the immigrant: a fundamental basic for access to the normalized labour market. The significant number of immigrants who join the underground economy and suffer conditions on the margins of labour regulation (contracts, salary, hours...) is closely related to their irregular situation, which makes them accept these conditions.
—Access to employment services: we start from a situation of ignorance of the immigrant population with regard to the mechanisms placed at the disposal of citizens in each Autonomous Community, language being one of the most significant obstacles to take into account in this area.
—The level of qualifications of the immigrant population and the type work that they obtain. On this point, besides the initial level of training, language is again a basic obstacle, along with the problem of achieving recognition and equivalence certification for their education / training in their countries of origin.
—Other restrictive conditions: normally related to the family and determining cultural charges, for example, relating to female employment. The recognition of this situation of disadvantage gives rise to a series of specific actions and programmes that, induced by the need to insert the immigrant group globally, simultaneously seek to optimise resources that, in various Autonomous Communities, are clearly significant for the regional economy as a whole.

3.3.1. Immigration in the Basque Country: an incipient phenomenon …

In the Basque Country the foreign immigrant population is a very small percentage of the total population, far from the numbers that are

found in other EU countries or even other Autonomous Communities where, among other reasons, the structure of their labour markets or their geographical proximity to areas of strong immigration, has led to the arrival of a relatively large group.

Until very recently, economic immigration was practically nonexistent in the Basque Country, and the balance of migratory flows, taking into account population movements both from other Autonomous Communities and of foreign origin, were negative. In the year 2000, these migratory balances became positive, thanks to the entry of foreign immigrants, putting an end to the loss of population in the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC). In analysing foreign immigration, it is observed that the increase in recent years, while lower than the State average—according to information from the 2001 Census, the foreign population is 1.5% of the total of the BAC, compared to 3.85% in the whole of the State—, shows a clearly increasing trend, as well as a certain change in its composition, which has begun to modify its principal differentiating characteristics:

—The foreign population of EU origin is losing importance, while the number of people from other countries is rising.
—The population from Latin America continues to grow.
—Immigration from the African continent begins to become visible, though in very limited and concentrated terms, fundamentally, in the province of Alava, where temporary agricultural employment is more relevant.

Thus, though absolute numbers are low, both the importance of the growth seen and the probable continuation of the reasons for these migratory movements in the countries of origin, along with the need for a labour market in recovery, place immigration on the Basque political agenda, and are leading to the development of interventions that seek to learn from the experiences of other countries and regions, with two objectives: to make the concept of citizenship extendable to all residents of the Basque Country, regardless of origin, and to propose preventive measures to prevent the development of xenophobic attitudes among the Basque population. For this reason, and in order to develop different fields of action, the recently created Department of Immigration has devoloped the Immigration Plan.

3.3.2. …That liberates tensions in the basque labour market

The Basque economy has serious difficulties filling certain jobs due to their working conditions or from lack of generational replacement.

Immigrant workers are sought to fill positions that are not attractive to the native population for any of the following reasons:

—Economic: low salaries and high level of labour turnover (instability)
—Social: lack of social prestige, long hours, weekend work, night work...
—Environmental: difficulty, outdoors, posture …

The migratory phenomenon has a balancing role in the running of the labour market in periods of expansion. It responds to the needs of the labour market with more difficulties to find workers, allowing the native workforce to be orientated towards more dynamic and socially valued jobs. These workers, specifically non-EU workers, have a greater capacity for geographical mobility; since their level of need is greater, they have fewer social ties and a younger age structure. They constitute a pad that serves to muffle the tensions of the labour market in activities with seasonal peaks in productivity.

These workers form the weakest part of the labour market and in any recession they are the first to lose their jobs. In periods of economic growth, they have a high level of rotation in the hardest jobs, the primary sector tends to be a point of entry from which they can move to other jobs in other sectors, with better conditions and/or in better paid positions.

4. **Conclusions**

Many reports have recognised the cardinal importance of equality of opportunities in employment and training for immigrants and members of ethnic minorities. It is widely accepted that a range of positive measures is necessary, both to assure equal opportunities and to help overcome the lack of linguistic and other types of knowledge. Improvements for immigrants and ethnic minorities in regards to employment and its perspectives has a direct effect on integration. The establishment of equal opportunities and harmonic relations among different ethnic groups in the work place can play a key role.

If there are no others seeking the employment for which they have specific training or the necessary education (for example, training in language, training in basic knowledge with compensatory education, some aspects of job seeking and self-presentation), it may be necessary to adapt current programs and to offer preliminary education or basic training so that the persons affected may reach the common level of training.

Discrimination and structural and social disadvantages continue to affect established immigrants and also members of ethnic minorities. They have fever chances of ascending towards more specialized positions or becoming managers. Their likely fate is, rather, unemployment or at best to stay in low-paid jobs with little security. Young immigrants see that they have bad economic perspectives and this reduces their motivation, making them feel frustrated and experience a sense of injustice.

Entrepreneurs (including employers) have an important role to play in giving equal opportunities and facilitating training and development for ethnic minorities, so that they can compete equally. By investing in the employment potential of immigrants and ethnic minorities, entrepreneurs can also help to construct more stable local communities and develop stronger local economies.

Entrepreneurs also benefit from having a more diversified workforce. They have access to an underused source of talent, whose significance is increasing because communities of immigrants and ethnic minorities are made up of more young people that the population as a whole and they constitute an increasing part of the labour market. Recruitment among a diversified population gives the workforce new perspectives, experience, knowledge of languages, links with the countries of origin and comprehension of them. This is important for entrepreneurs to be able to compete in ethnically and culturally diversified markets in Europe and worldwide.

It is important to carry out positive actions to promote effective equality of opportunities for immigrants and ethnic minorities, with members of these groups as active participants in the identification of needs and in putting solutions into practice. This might include:

—Positive stimulus to occupy higher levels of employment;
—Updating their level of training and increasing their knowledge of languages or communications;
—The development of management.

Public administration has the special responsibility of taking the initiative and setting an example in its own employment practices and stimulating immigrants and ethnic minorities to enter the labour market either as employees or in self-employment.

Economic restructuring has hit ethnic minorities disproportionately hard, as they tended to focus on the sectors and jobs that have been worst affected. In all the EU Member states, immigrants and members of ethnic minorities have high levels of unemployment. There is also evidence that discrimination continues to affect the second and follow-

ing generations. This increases the probability that ethnic minorities are excluded from access to higher levels of employment and to decision-making positions. It is necessary to reinforce and support legal and administrative action to guarantee equality of access to employment by means of additional measures aimed at improving opportunities for rising to higher levels of employment.

Immigration has provided much to talk about and has been a very polemic topic, especially in recent years. An intensely debated aspect has been whether these migratory flows are profitable, whether in global terms they compensate costs with benefits. Clearly, well channelled and organized migratory movements will benefit entrepreneurs, by providing members of the workforce, and giving immigrants a higher salary and improved quality of life, if we are refering to legal conditions. But it is evident that if this recruitment is done in a situation of exploitation and marginalization, besides not being beneficial for the immigrant, it also creates social discomfort in the affected area, which would harm all the members of society.

The Entrepreneurial Activity of Immigrants in the Basque Autonomous Community

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Introduction

Immigration flows to Spain and the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) have experienced a substantial growth since the 1990s. As a result, the percentage of immigrants registered with the Social Security department has also increased. On the contrary, the percentage of self-employed immigrants has decreased between years 2001 and 2006, as the self-employment of the total population has also done. Even though the presence of the immigrant population in the BAC is not as significant as it is in the whole of Spain, the percentage of self-employed immigrants out of the number of immigrants affiliated with the Social Security department in the BAC is higher than that of Spain as a whole.

By analyzing environmental factors such as the development of immigration and immigrants' participation in the labour market, self-employment patterns, macroeconomic conditions as well as immigration policies in Spain and the BAC, we aim to answer the following ques-

tions: (i) Why has the percentage of self-employed immigrants out of the immigrants affiliated with the Social Security department decreased when the percentage of immigrants out of the total population has been increasing both in Spain and the BAC?; (ii) Why is the percentage of self-employed immigrants out of the immigrants affiliated with the Social Security department in the BAC higher than that of Spain when the percentage of immigrants out of the total population as well as the percentage of immigrants affiliated with the Social Security department is higher in Spain?; (iii) Which are the effects of environmental factors such as macroeconomic conditions and immigration policies on the self-employment patterns and firm survival of immigrants in the BAC? Additionally, we will look at human capital attributes of the entrepreneur as well as other internal firm characteristics and correlate them to venture survival of immigrant entrepreneurs who operated in the BAC between the years 1993 and 2003.

This chapter is organized in two parts. In part I, immigration policies and the labour market development of immigrants in Spain and the BAC will be described. Firstly, we will show an overview of immigration and self-employment patterns in Spain and the BAC; secondly, we will present ways of obtaining wage labour work and a residence permit in Spain. In part two, we will analyze and compare firm survival of immigrant versus local entrepreneurs in the BAC, trying to relate this to the environmental factors considered in part I. Finally, we will conclude by presenting the most relevant findings of our study and by suggesting some research proposals for future work.

PART I. IMMIGRATION POLICIES AND LABOUR MARKET DEVELOPMENT OF IMMIGRANTS IN SPAIN AND THE BAC

1. **Immigration and Self-employment Patterns in the BAC**

The immigrant population in Spain, as in other Mediterranean countries, has experienced a remarkable increase within the last decade. The percentage of immigrants out of the total Spanish population has grown from 1.8 to 6.5 between 1998 and 2005. In the BAC, where the presence of immigrants traditionally has not been very significant, this percentage has increased from 0.8 to 2.7 in the same period. Table 1 shows that more than the half of the immigrant population of the BAC lives in the province of Bizkaia. However, Araba, where the percentage of immigrants with respect to the total population has been multiplied by four between 1998 and 2005, is the province which

Table 1

Development of the immigrant population in the BAC and Spain (1998-2005)

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Araba	2,747	3,471	3,886	4,630	6,630	7,978	10,063	12,788
Bizkaia	8,105	9,110	9,288	9,493	11,679	13,972	18,810	29,691
Gipuzkoa	6,143	6,041	5,648	5,392	5,892	6,650	8,277	14,916
BAC	16,995	18,622	18,822	19,515	24,201	28,600	37,150	57,395
Spain	719,647	801,329	895,720	1,109,060	1,324,001	1,647,011	1,981,933	2,873,250
	% out of the total population							
Araba	0.97	1.21	1.36	1.60	2.27	2.71	3.40	4.26
Bizkaia	0.71	0.80	0.82	0.84	1.03	1.23	1.66	2.61
Gipuzkoa	0.91	0.89	0.83	0.79	0.86	0.97	1.21	2.17
BAC	0.81	0.89	0.90	0.93	1.15	1.35	1.76	2.70
Spain	1.81	1.99	2.21	2.70	3.16	3.86	4.59	6.51

Source: Made by the author from data of Ministry of the Interior (2003), State Secretary of Immigration and Emigration (2005) and the Spanish National Statistical Institute, www.ine.es (2006)

Graph 1

Development of the immigrant population in the BAC and Spain between 1998-2005 (%)

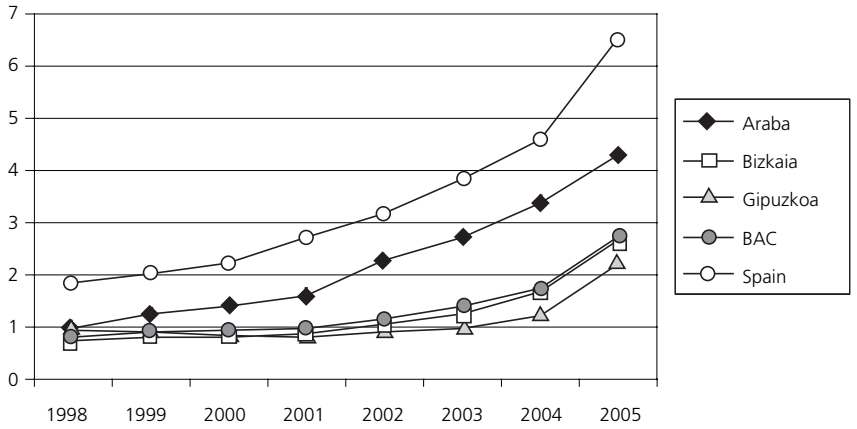


Table 2

Development of the percentage of immigrants registered with the Social Security department in the BAC and Spain (2001-2006)

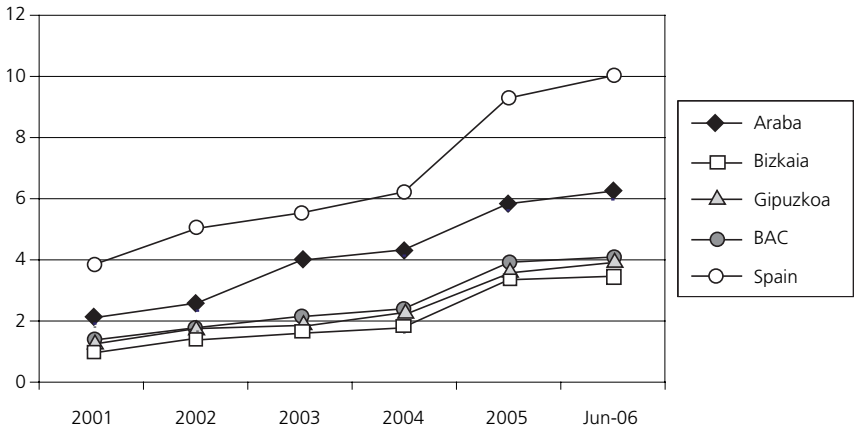
	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	Jun-06
Araba	3,098	3,675	5,903	6,528	8,944	9,644
Gipuzkoa	4,004	5,213	5,880	7,111	11,166	12,366
Bizkaia	4,724	6,727	7,626	8,760	16,093	17,255
BAC	11,826	15,615	19,409	22,399	36,203	39,265
Spain	607,074	831,658	925,280	1,076,744	1,696,117	1,869,537
	% of the total population affiliated					
Araba	2.26	2.64	4.06	4.45	5.93	6.32
Gipuzkoa	1.42	1.82	2.02	2.39	3.66	4.01
Bizkaia	1.10	1.53	1.72	1.94	3.45	3.67
BAC	1.39	1.80	2.21	2.50	3.92	4.21
Spain	3.85	5.14	5.58	6.27	9.34	10.03

has experienced the greatest growth. Graph 1 shows that, by 2005 this percentage almost doubled the numbers of Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa. A possible explanation for this reality is the existence of more job opportunities which fit with the kind of jobs, such as construction and farming, which are usually available for immigrants in the province of Araba. The higher percentage of immigrants registered with the department of Social Security in Araba compared to those registered in Gipuzkoa and Bizkaia, shown in Table 2, would support this hypothesis.

As a result of the growth of the immigrant population of Spain and the Basque Country, the percentage of immigrants registered with the department of Social Security has also increased in both territories. Table 2 shows that the Spanish percentage of affiliated immigrants more than doubled the one registered in the BAC in June 2006. Nevertheless, despite this percentage traditionally being lower in the BAC than that of Spain, the growth in the number of immigrants affiliated with Social Security experienced in the BAC between years 2001 and 2006 (which has tripled) has been higher than that undergone in the whole of Spain (which has multiplied by 2.6 points within the same period).

Graph 2

Development of the percentage of immigrants registered with the Social Security department in Spain and the BAC (2001-2006)



Source: Made by the authors using data from http://www.mtas.es/estadisticas/presenta/index.htm

Graph 2 illustrates the development of the percentage of immigrants registered with the Social Security department in Spain, the BAC and the three provinces that constitute it. Araba stands over Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa, whereas these two provinces are below the average of the BAC. Bizkaia is the territory where the development of the percentage of affiliated immigrants has been higher. In all cases, the most significant growth was experienced between December of 2004 and 2005, year in which the last extraordinary regularization process of illegal immigrants in Spain took place. As a result of this amnesty, 572,000 of the requested regularizations were granted.

The patterns of self-employment among the total population both in the Basque Country and the whole of Spain have slightly decreased over the last few years. The percentage of people registered as self-employed in the Basque Country and Spain, decreased by 1.54 points and 1 point, respectively, between years 1999 and 2005. A possible explanation for this phenomenon is the effect of the economic crisis suffered in Spain during the 1980s and the early 1990s as well as the resulting high unemployment rates which characterized this period (see Graph 3).

Still, table 2 shows that the percentage of self-employed people out of the total population registered with the Social Security department

Table 3

Development of the total population registered as self-employed with the Social Security department in the BAC and Spain (1999-2005)

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Araba	18,732	18,953	18,854	18,985	19,268	19,686	19,793
Gipuzkoa	68,193	69,193	68,966	69,680	70,905	72,013	72,557
Bizkaia	78,344	80,468	80,985	82,089	83,551	85,801	86,524
BAC	165,269	168,614	168,805	170,754	173,724	177,500	178,874
Spain	2,528,340	2,591,100	2,622,593	2,674,945	2,771,318	2,880,546	2,966,184
	% of the total population registered						
Araba	14.79	14.38	13.74	13.63	13.24	13.43	13.13
Gipuzkoa	25.70	25.06	24.44	24.28	24.41	24.24	23.77
Bizkaia	19.69	19.31	18.80	18.70	18.88	19.02	18.54
BAC	20.92	20.45	19.86	19.73	19.77	19.84	19.38
Spain	17.34	17.01	16.65	16.52	16.71	16.78	16.34

Source: Made by the author using data from http://www.seg-social.es

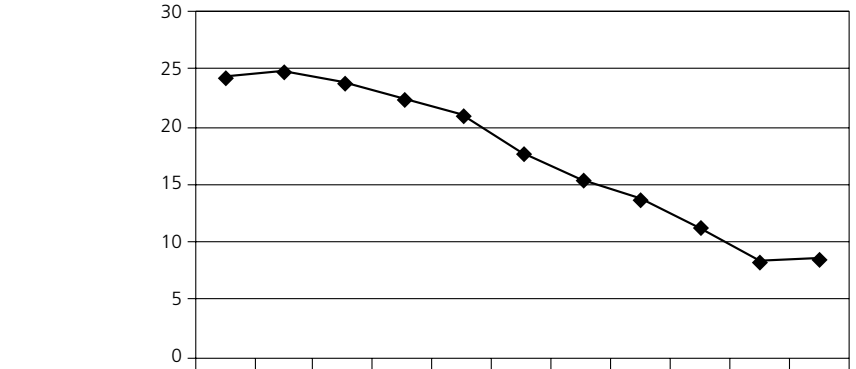
in the Basque Country remained 3 points higher than the Spanish average both in 1999 and in 2005. This reality could suggest the existence of better entrepreneurial conditions in the BAC. By provinces, Gipuzkoa presents the highest percentage of self-employed people, with 10 and 5 points above the numbers of Araba and Bizkaia, respectively.

Environmental factors such as macroeconomic conditions may have an influence on the patterns of self-employment. Graph 3 illustrates the development of unemployment in the BAC between 1993 and 2003. Due to the economic crisis suffered by Spain and thus, the BAC, during the 1980s and the early 1990s, the unemployment percentage has been high until the beginning of the 2000s. However, after having reached its highest point in 1994, this percentage decreased extraordinarily until 2002. This pattern coincides with the also decreasing pattern of self-employment in the BAC between 1999 and 2003. Therefore, we could conclude that in periods of high unemployment and thus, of low job opportunities, the choice of self-employment increases and vice-versa, low unemployment would have a negative effect on the probability of becoming self-employed.

The same decreasing tendency found in the development of self-employment is observed among immigrants. Table 4 shows that both in the

Graph 3

Development of unemployment in the BAC between years 1993 and 2003 (%)



	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03
Unemployment	24.3	24.9	23.8	22.4	21.1	17.8	15.5	13.7	11.1	8.3	8.6

Source: Made by the author using data from the Basque Statistical Institute (EUSTAT)

BAC and in Spain, the percentages of immigrants affiliated as self-employed with the Social Security department are much lower than those registered among the total population. These facts suggest that, with the exception of Madrid, Barcelona and a few other metropolitan areas, the entrepreneurial alternative among immigrants is not as widespread as in other European countries with longer immigration history such as the United Kingdom, France and Germany.

In the BAC, the percentage of self-employed people among immigrants decreased from 15.30% in 2001 to 10.10% in June 2006; whereas in Spain, it dropped off from 13.37% to 8.53% within the same period. Graph 4 makes it clear that the province of Gipuzkoa stands out from the other geographical areas—as happens in the case of people affiliated as self-employed among the total population—by presenting the highest self-employment percentages (almost 3 and 5 points above the averages for the BAC and Spain, respectively). The fact that the percentage of self-employed people among the total population is also higher in Gipuzkoa may lead us to think that there are better entrepreneurial conditions in this province than there are in Araba and Bizkaia. Bizkaia occupies second place, followed by the BAC, Spain and, finally, Araba.

Table 4

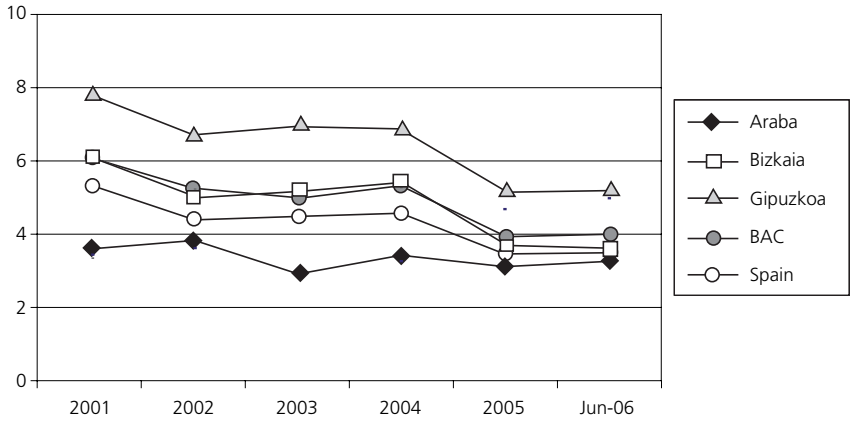
Development of the percentage of immigrants registered as self-employed with the Social Security department (2001-2006)

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	Jun-06
Araba	282	353	429	561	701	800
Gipuzkoa	782	878	1,020	1,226	1,454	1,615
Bizkaia	745	841	991	1,194	1,455	1,549
BAC	1,809	2,072	2,440	2,981	3,610	3,964
Spain	81,167	91,285	104,309	123,147	145,869	159,403
	% of the total population of immigrants registered					
Araba	9.10	9.61	7.27	8.59	7.84	8.30
Gipuzkoa	19.53	16.84	17.35	17.24	13.02	13.06
Bizkaia	15.77	12.50	13.00	13.63	9.04	8.98
BAC	15.30	13.27	12.57	13.31	9.97	10.10
Spain	13.37	10.98	11.27	11.44	8.60	8.53

Source: Made by the authors using data from http://www.mtas.es/estadisticas/presenta/index.htm

Graph 4

Development of the percentage of immigrants registered as self-employed with the SS Department in Spain and the BAC (2001-2006)



Although the percentage of the immigrant population as well as the percentage of immigrants registered with the Social Security department in the BAC is lower than those of Spain, the percentage of self-employed immigrants in the BAC is above the Spanish average. Taking into account that the percentage of self-employment among the total population is also higher in the BAC than it is in Spain, we might conclude that the higher entrepreneurial activity of immigrants in the BAC corresponds to the existence of better entrepreneurial conditions in this geographical area.

Even though the same decreasing pattern in self-employment features is observed among both the total and the immigrant population, the decline experienced by immigrants has been much more significant in all the geographical areas. This fact leads us to think that the economic crisis suffered in Spain during the 1980s and the early 1990s, and the resulting high unemployment rates have had a stronger effect on the entrepreneurial activity of the immigrant population than on the activity of the general population. Therefore, we may conclude that immigrants are more vulnerable to environmental changes than local people are. A possible explanation to this finding is that the social support an immigrant person may have in the host country will probably be much lower than the social support a local person may find in his or her own country, and, thus, the likelihood of failure in weak times will be higher for immigrant entrepreneurs than it may be for local entrepreneurs.

2. **Immigration policies in Spain**

The Organic Law 8/2000, a modification of the previous legislation (4/2000), establishes three main ways of obtaining a wage-labour work and a residence permit[1] in Spain: the general regime, an annual quota and extraordinary regularization processes. According to the general regime, immigrants can have access to the Spanish labor market if they meet the following conditions: (i) The immigrant, older than 16 years old and not from the EU, has to be in the country of origin when the permit is being processed; (ii) Wage-workers will be able to get a job when there is no other worker in Spain, either Spanish or an immigrant

[1] The other two ways, apart from getting a work permit, of obtaining a temporary residence permit, which allows stays in Spain between 90 days and 5 years are (i) being worthy of family reunification programs and (ii) being able to prove that the immigrant has the means to make his/her living.

with a work permit, qualified to carry out the job offered by a company[2]. The government also previews an annual quota of the labour it considers will not be met by the Spanish population and offers it, not to immigrants who are already in Spain, but to people who live outside of Spain. It establishes the number and characteristics of the job offers. The annual quota represents less than 30% of the work permits given annually (Villena, 2004). Besides, in order to tackle situations in which there are a large number of *irregular* immigrants, the government establishes extraordinary regularization processes, without any other conditions to obtain a residence permit than proof of having lived in Spain for a certain period. There have been six amnesty processes in the years 1986, 1991, 1996, two in 2000 and the last one in 2005. From the 691,000 requested processed during the last amnesty, which took place between February and May 2005, 572,000 were granted.

The law does not establish specific requirements for those immigrants who wish to start a business. The only two principal conditions set up by this law in article 37 are the following: (i) to fulfill the same requirements both for starting-up and running a business the law requires of Spanish-born entrepreneurs and (ii) to obtain the previous respective work permits[3].

In sum, obtaining a self-employment work permit is one of the requirements asked of those immigrants who wish to start-up a firm in Spain. Nevertheless, the law does not mention which conditions are required to get an initial self-employed work permit. In any case, unlike they do in other countries with a large immigration history such as Australia or Canada[4], the Spanish immigration policies do not establish any

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[2] The national employment situation will not be taken into account in the case of those immigrants coming from countries exempted from this requirement via international agreements, of legal immigrants who live in Spain as well as for those with visa exemption.

[3] There are three types of self-employment work permits for immigrants who wish to run a business in Spain. (1) The initial "D" work permit: It allows running a business either in a particular activity or in a certain geographical area and it is valid for a year. (2) The renewed "D" work permit: Immigrants who whish to continue their activity after that period are able to ask for this permit, which allows running a business in the whole of Spain for a maximum of two years. (3) The "E" work permit: it is addressed to those immigrants who wish to continue their activity after the renewed "D" permit is expired and has the same characteristics as the previous one.

[4] Canada has a Business Immigration Program which seeks to attract experienced business people to the country by establishing three classes of business immigrants: investors, entrepreneurs and self-employed persons. *The Entrepreneur Program* seeks to attract experienced business people who will own and actively manage businesses in Canada that contribute to the economy and create jobs. Entrepreneurs must demon-

selection procedures neither for wage-workers nor for those who wish to start-up a business in Spain.

3. Conclusions of PART I: Immigration policies and Labour Market Development of Immigrants in Spain and the BAC

In the first part of the chapter we analyzed immigration policies and labour market development of immigrants in Spain and the BAC between the years 1993 and 2003. We saw that as a result of the growth of the immigrant population in Spain and the Basque Country, the percentage of immigrants registered with the department of Social Security has also increased in both territories. On the contrary, the patterns of self-employment among the total population both in the Basque Country and the whole of Spain have slightly decreased over the last few years. The same tendency has been observed in the self-employment patterns among the immigrant population. The fact that the percentage of self-employed people among immigrants is lower than that registered among the total population both in the BAC and in Spain suggests that the entrepreneurial alternative among immigrants is not as widespread as in other European countries. The self-employment percentages registered among both the total and the immigrant population in the BAC are higher than those registered in the whole of Spain. This fact could suggest the existence of better entrepreneurial conditions in the BAC compared to the Spanish average.

We argued that environmental factors such as macroeconomic conditions and policies may have an influence on patterns of self-employment. After having reached its highest point in 1994, the percentage of unemployment in the BAC was decreasing until 2002. This pattern coincides with the also decreasing pattern of self-employment in the BAC between 1999 and 2003. Thus, we concluded that in periods of high unemployment and therefore, of low job opportunities, the choice of self-employment increases. Due to the lack of the implementation of an efficient and comprehensive policy, Spanish im-

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strate business experience and a minimum legally obtained net worth of CAN $300,000, and are subject to conditions upon arrival in Canada. *The Self-Employed Persons Program* seeks to attract applicants who have the intention and ability to become self-employed in Canada. Self-employed persons are required to have either (a) relevant experience that will enable them to make a significant contribution to the cultural or athletic life of Canada, or (b) experience in farm management and the intention and ability to purchase and manage a farm in Canada. (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/business/index.html).

migration policies do not seem to have any influence on self-employment patterns of immigrants. Finally, since the decreasing tendency in self-employment patterns has been much more significant in the case of immigrants than among the total populations both in Spain and the BAC, we concluded that immigrants are more vulnerable to environmental changes than local people are. The weaker social support of immigrants in a foreign country has been suggested as a possible explanation for this reality.

In the second part of the chapter we will analyze the survival of firms created by immigrants compared to local entrepreneurs in the BAC between 1993 and 2003, trying to relate this to the environmental changes such as the development of the immigrant population, its participation in the labour market and the changes in macroeconomic conditions described in the first part.

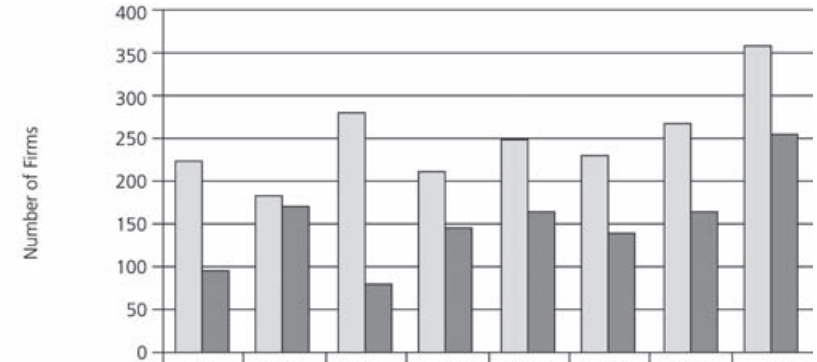
PART II. FIRM SURVIVAL OF LOCAL VERSUS IMMIGRANT ENTREPRENEURS IN THE BAC

As the number of immigrants has increasingly grown during the decade of the 1990s, entrepreneurial activity has also seen a considerable increase among the immigrant population. Graph 5 shows the increasing pattern of both annual firm entries and closures registered in the BAC for ventures created between 1995 and 2002. With a few slight fluctuations, a rising tendency is observed in new entries. The annual number of new firms created by immigrants has increased from 133 in 1993 to 342 in 2003. The highest number of entries was registered in 2002, the year in which 361 firms were created. The same increasing tendency is observed in annual firm closures among the immigrant population. Ninety-five firms created from year 1993 onwards ceased their activity in 1995, whereas by 2002 this number reached 257 companies.

Both immigration and thus the entrepreneurial activity of immigrants are recent phenomena in the BAC. The creation of a company requires a pre-period of learning in which the entrepreneur acquires the knowledge and skills necessary to run a business. In the case of immigrants, this period of learning is even more significant, since they will operate in a foreign country and thus, usually, in a non-familiar market. Additionally, immigrants, who usually do not have savings or guarantors, have to face greater difficulties in obtaining the initial financial capital. Therefore, they will need some time between arrival in the host country and the moment when they meet the conditions to start a business. The increasing tendency of

Graph 5

Market entry and exit of immigrant entrepreneurs by year (1995-2002)



	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Entries	226	183	281	213	251	230	270	361
Exits	95	170	80	147	166	139	164	257

Source: Made by the authors using data from the Basque Statistical Institute (EUSTAT)

both firm entries and closures registered between the years 1995 and 2002 would confirm this idea and would indicate that the self-employment activity of the immigrant population of the BAC was at an early stage.

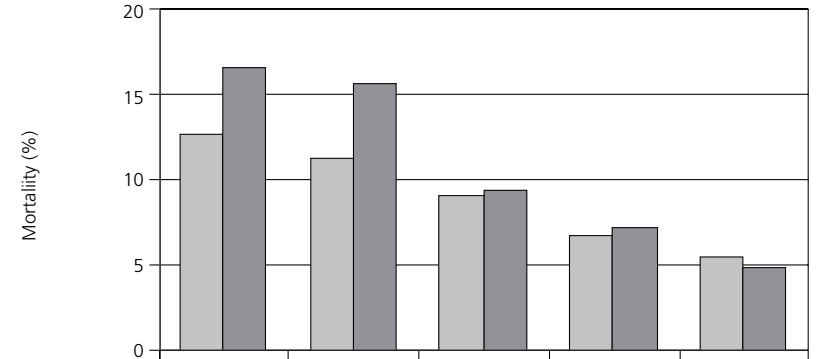
The factors affecting venture performance can be grouped in various ways. We propose a conceptual framework following the line of thinking developed in past studies by Schutjens and Wever (1999), Gimeno *et al.* (1997) and Peña (2004). This framework includes both internal and external characteristics of the new venture. On the one hand, we include the entrepreneur's human capital endowment and the organizational resource-strategy factors such as *firm-internal* factors to explain venture survival. On the other hand, *firm-external* factors related to agglomeration economies are expected to influence new business endurance.

1. **Firm Internal Characteristics**

The origin, gender and age of the entrepreneur as well as the initial size of the firm are firm internal characteristics which can have an effect on venture survival. Fertala (2004) found that companies created by

Graph 6

Average annual mortality of firms created by immigrants and locals in the BAC between 1993 and 1999



	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Period 4	Period 5
Locals	12.64	11.19	9.09	6.76	5.5
Inmigrants	16.53	15.59	9.38	7.22	4.79

Source: Made by the authors from data of the Basque Statistical Institute (EUSTAT)

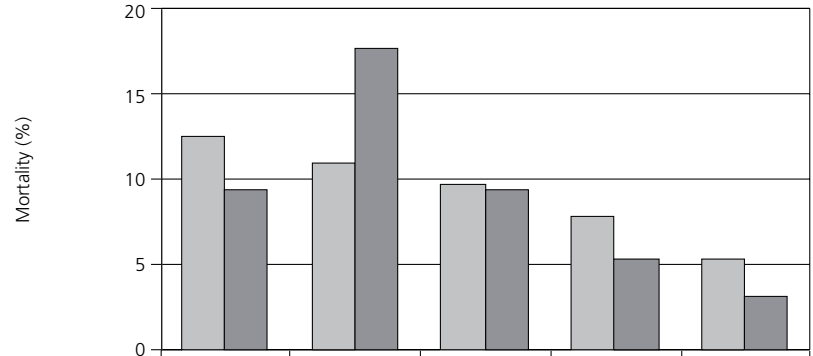
native entrepreneurs survive longer than those started by immigrants in Upper Bavaria. In this section a series of graphs relating venture survival of firms created in the BAC between 1993 and 1999 with firm internal characteristics will be shown. The selection of firms started within this particular period is due to the following reason: our data involves all companies created in the BAC from 1991 to 2004. We are interested in analyzing venture mortality during the critical period of firm infancy[5]. If we want to study the average mortality of firms operating in the BAC within the decade 1993-2003 during the period of firm infancy, the last year of creation for a firm to be analyzable for five periods would be 1999.

Graph 6 shows the average annual mortality of firms created in the BAC between years 1993-1999 by origin. The mortality of firms created by immigrants prevails in periods 1 and 2, in which the average percentage reaches 16%. In the next two periods the mortality of companies created by immigrants decreases significantly and thus, the gap in firm

[5] We will consider the first five years from firm inception as the period of firm infancy.

Graph 7

Average annual mortality of firms created by immigrants in the BAC by gender (1993-1999)



	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Period 4	Period 5
Men	12.57	10.99	9.69	7.85	5.24
Women	9.38	17.71	9.38	5.21	3.13

Source: Made by the authors using data from the Basque Statistical Institute (EUSTAT)

mortality between immigrants and locals almost disappears. In period 5, the mortality of companies started by local entrepreneurs is slightly higher than that of immigrant entrepreneurs. The accumulative percentage of venture mortality in period 5 is 45% for locals and 54% for immigrants. Hence, the hypothesis of Fertala that firms started by local entrepreneurs survive longer than those created by immigrants, would be confirmed for companies which operated in the BAC between years 1993-2003.

Graph 7 illustrates the average annual mortality of firms created by immigrants between 1993 and 1999 by gender. A decreasing tendency is observed in the mortality of firms created by men. In the case of women entrepreneurs, the mortality of companies started by them in period 2, which reaches 18%, stands out from the rest. In period 3 this percentage decreases substantially and the same tendency is observed in periods 4 and 5. With the exception of period 2, where the venture mortality of women entrepreneurs is 7 points higher than that experienced by men, the average mortality of firms started by men prevails over the mortality of companies created by women. Thus, the hypothesis sustained in the literature by Boden and Nucci (2000) and Carvajal (2004), which states that due to their disadvantage position in terms of previ-

ous lower average wage earnings and thus, higher initial financial capital constraints, and less managerial experience, women entrepreneurs build-up less successful companies than men would not be confirmed in the first five periods firms created by immigrants in the BAC between years 1993 and 1999.

Most studies show that older entrepreneurs, who are expected to accumulate more experience and human capital attributes, perform better than their younger counterparts (Stuart and Abetti, 1990; Cooper et al., 1989; Constant and Zimmermann, 2004; Peña, 2004). Table 5 and Graph 8 show the average cumulative mortality of firms created by immigrant entrepreneurs in the BAC between years 1993 and 1999 by age cohorts. Table 5 and Graph 8 show that mortality of firms created by immigrants decreases from one age cohort to the next one in all periods. In the case of entrepreneurs from 26 to 35 years old, the average venture mortality increases substantially within the first three periods, but it maintains constant during periods 4 and 5. The same pattern is observed in periods 3 and 4, in the case of firms started by entrepreneurs of 36-45 years old as well as in periods 2 and 3, in the case of entrepreneurs of 56-65 years old. A possible explanation of this unusual fact is the low number of firms created by immigrant entrepreneurs between 1993 and 1999; which diminishes even more when it is divided by age cohorts. However, the decreasing tendency of firm mortality from one age cohort to the next one confirms the hypothesis sustained in the literature, i.e., firms created by older entrepreneurs survive longer than those started by younger entrepreneurs, for immigrants who created a business between 1993 and 1999 in the BAC.

Empirical studies (Mata *et al*., 1995; Geroski, 1995; Audretsch and Mahmood, 1995; Sutton, 1997; Zhang, 1999; Segarra and Callejón, 2002) show that the initial size of the firm is positively related to venture survival. Graph 9 illustrates the cumulative percentage of mortality of firms created by immigrants with 0, 1, or 2 employees versus those which have more than two employees and operated in the BAC between 1993 and 1999. We make this distinction since the majority of firms (82%) created by immigrants in the BAC between 1993 and 2003 employed 0, 1 or 2 workers. The graph shows that the cumulative mortality of smaller firms is higher in all periods. However, the difference in survival between small and larger companies presents a decreasing pattern (the gap in mortality from period to period 5 decreases 6 points). In sum, our data seems to support previous empirical studies since the average mortality of smaller firms created by immigrants in the BAC between 1993 and 1999 is higher than the mortality of firms started by larger companies.

Table 5

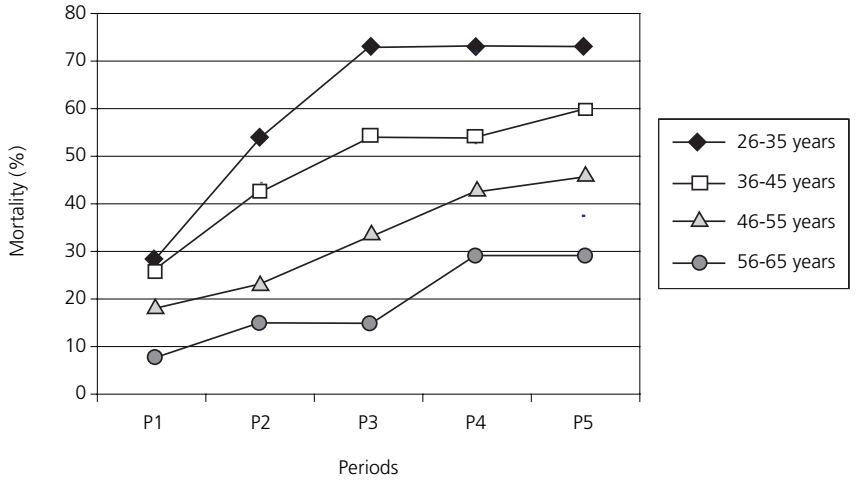
Cumulative mortality of firms created by immigrants in the BAC between 1993 and 1999 by age cohorts (%)

	26-35 years	36-45 years	46-55 years	56-65 years
Period 1	27.27	26.00	17.31	7.14
Period 2	54.55	42.00	23.08	14.29
Period 3	72.73	54.00	32.69	14.29
Period 4	72.73	54.00	42.31	28.58
Period 5	72.73	60.00	46.15	28.58

Source: Made by the authors using data from the Basque Statistical Institute (EUSTAT)

Graph 8

Cumulative mortality of firms created by immigrants in the BAC between 1993 and 1999 by age cohorts (%)

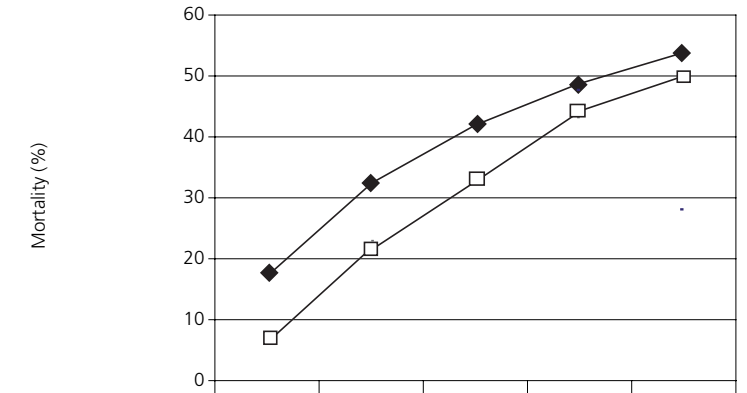


2. **Firm External Characteristics**

With the human capital endowment of the entrepreneur and the characteristics of the firm, the environmental conditions are also crucial to explain the success or failure of the firm. Following the same criterion

Graph 9

Cumulative mortality of firms created by immigrants in the BAC by size (1993-1999)



	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Period 4	Period 5
0-2 employees	17.32	32.97	42.18	49.12	53.80
2 < employees	7.02	21.93	33.33	43.86	50.00

Source: Made by the authors using data from the Basque Statistical Institute (EUSTAT)

applied in the previous sector, we will analyze the mortality of firms created between 1993 and 1999, trying to relate this to firm external variables such as the industry sector and macroeconomic conditions measured by the development of unemployment in the BAC.

The industry sector in which the company operates and the macroeconomic conditions such as the economic cycle and unemployment rates are firm external characteristics which can influence venture survival. Table 6 illustrates the average annual percentage of mortality of companies started in the BAC between 1993 and 1999 by origin and industry sector. By origin, the accumulative percentage of mortality of firms operated by immigrant entrepreneurs in period 5 in the retail, hotel and catering and transport industry sector as well as in banking, insurance and business services is higher than the mortality of companies created by locals. In the case of construction, the survival of companies started by immigrants is higher in the first five periods than the endurance of companies created by locals. We can highlight the difference observed in the retail, hotel and catering and transport industry sector, where the cumulative gap in mortality in period 5 reaches 10 points, firms created by locals surviving longer than those started by immigrants. In all cases,

firms created by the highest percentages of mortality are experienced in period 1 and they decrease from one year to the next.

Many differences can be observed in the survival of firms created by immigrants in the construction; in retail, hotel and catering, and transport; and in banking, insurance and business services industry sectors. The construction industry presents the highest mortality rates in the case of companies created by locals, whereas in the case of immigrants firms operating in construction survive longer than those which operate in the remaining sectors. Nevertheless, the difference observed between the two groups is not significant. The retail, hotel and catering and transport sector presents the highest mortality rate, 10 points above that experienced by locals, in the case of immigrants (see Graph 10). The disadvantage situation which immigrant shopkeepers often suffer may be an explanation for this high percentage of mortality presented by firms of immigrants in the retail, hotel and catering and transport industry sector. Solé and Parella (2005) define the additional constraints immigrant entrepreneurs have to face as they start businesses in the Spanish region of Catalonia as follows: initial financial difficulties due to the lack of personal savings as well as barriers to the access to formal credit institutions; difficulties in obtaining a business permit as well as securing adequate premises given the extant racism and rejection by local shopkeepers; and the outrageous rents which are often charged to immigrants due to the generalized idea existing among the local population which relates immigration to criminality.

Table 6

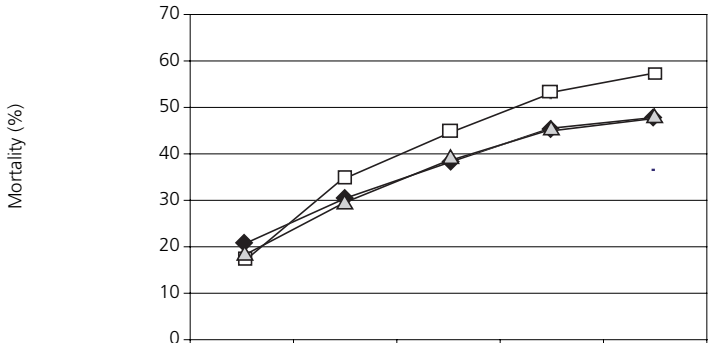
Annual mortality of firms operating in the BAC between 1993 and 2003 by origin and industry sector

	Immigrants			Locals		
	Construction	Retail	Banking	Construction	Retail	Banking
Period 1	20.25	17.28	18.14	17.18	12.02	13.87
Period 2	10.43	17.67	10.29	11.72	11.92	11.60
Period 3	7.36	10.08	9.80	8.69	9.71	10.21
Period 4	7.36	7.85	6.86	6.73	7.50	6.15
Period 5	2.45	4.84	2.94	5.14	5.96	5.30
Total P1-P5	47.85	57.72	48.04	49.46	47.11	47.12

Source: Made by the authors using data from the Basque Statistical Institute (EUSTAT)

Graph 10

Cumulative mortality of firms created by immigrants in the BAC between 1993 and 1999 by industry sector



	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Period 4	Period 5
Construction	20.25	30.67	38.04	45.40	47.85
Retail	17.28	34.95	45.03	52.88	57.72
Banking	18.14	28.43	38.24	45.10	48.04

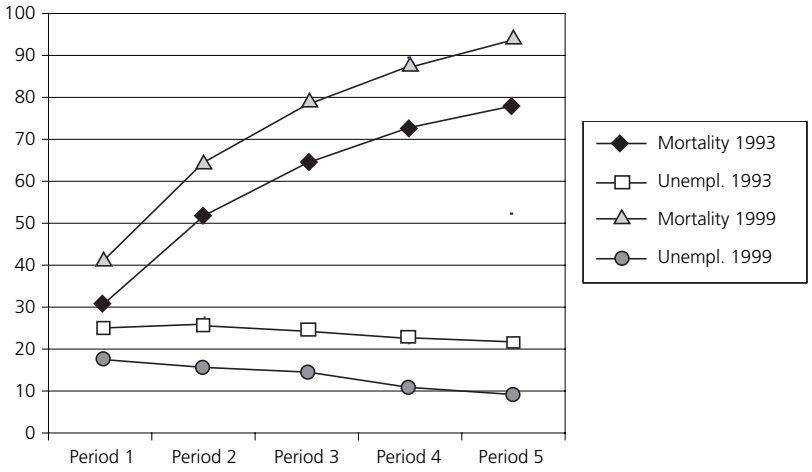
Source: Made by the authors using data from the Basque Statistical Institute (EUSTAT)

Graph 10 shows the cumulative mortality of firms created by immigrants in the BAC between 1993 and 1999 by industry sector. Firms operating in the construction industry present the highest mortality rate in period 1. However, the percentage of firms which die in the retail, hotel and catering and transport industry sector is higher by period 2. The difference in mortality between firms operating in this industry sector and the others increases from period 2 onwards. Although the survival of firms created in banking, insurance and business services is slightly higher than the survival of companies operating in construction, between period 1 and 3, from this period onwards the difference in venture mortality observed in these two industry sectors is not significant.

A possible way of assessing the effect of environmental factors on firm survival is by looking at the average mortality of ventures at different points in time. Table 6 shows the annual percentages of mortality of companies started in the BAC by both immigrants and locals for a period of five years since firm inception. We have selected firms created in 1993, 1994, 1998 and 1999 since we aim to assess the effect of firm external factors such as the economic cycle on firm survival by

Graph 11

Cumulative mortality of firms created by immigrants in years 1993 and 1999 and unemployment registered in the BAC from years 1993 and 1999 onwards (%)



Source: Made by the authors using data from the Basque Statistical Institute (EUSTAT)

comparing the first five risky years of existence for firms created during the first two years of our database (1993 and 1994) to the last years (1998 and 1999) which allow us to count five years before the last year of our database (2003).

Table 7 shows that firms started by immigrants present higher percentages of mortality in all periods. However, the gap in average mortality between firms created by local and immigrants is much more significant in years 1993 and 1994 than it is in 1998 and 1999. The accumulative average of mortality of companies operated by both immigrants and locals in period 5 is higher in 1998 and 1999 than in 1993 and 1994. If we look at the annual percentages of unemployment of the decade 1993-2003 presented in Graph 3, we find that the lowest average of firm mortality for 1993 and 1994 coincides with the highest percentages of unemployment registered in that period. The average of annual unemployment of 1999, the year with the highest firm mortality rates, was 9 points lower than that experienced in 1993 (see Graph 11).

A possible explanation for this inverse relationship, shown in Graph 11, could be that in periods of low unemployment there are more job opportunities and thus, people may choose to cease their own business

Table 7

Annual mortality of firms created in the BAC in 1993, 1994, 1998 and 1999 by origin

	1993	
	Locals	Immigrants
P1	20.12	30.14
P2	16.47	20.55
P3	13.35	13.08
P4	10.12	8.42
P5	8.12	6.08
Total P1-P5	68.18	78.27

	1994	
	Locals	Immigrants
P1	21.03	31.36
P2	16.76	21.36
P3	13.40	12.83
P4	10.37	8.16
P5	8.37	6.12
Total P1-P5	69.93	79.83

	1998	
	Locals	Immigrants
P1	26.17	38.67
P2	20.23	22.61
P3	16.24	14.30
P4	12.35	8.59
P5	9.80	6.36
Total P1-P5	84.79	90.53

	1999	
	Locals	Immigrants
P1	27.75	40.19
P2	21.47	23.13
P3	17.35	14.84
P4	13.22	9.07
P5	10.56	6.39
Total P1-P5	90.35	93.62

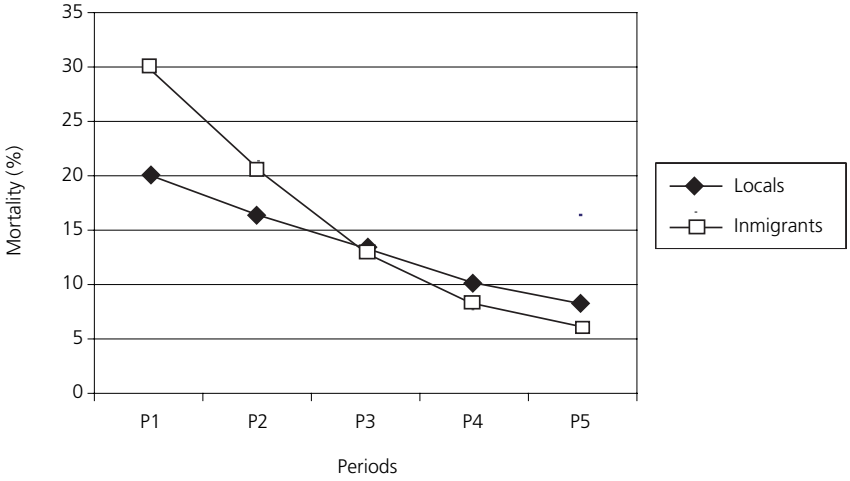
Source: Made by the authors using data from the Basque Statistical Institute (EUSTAT)

activity for a better job in the wage labour market. In this case, the cease in activity could not be considered a failure but a shift towards a job which is expected to offer more satisfying conditions.

Graphs 11 and 12 show the average annual mortality of firms created in years 1993 and 1999 by immigrants and locals. Thirty and twenty percent of firms started by immigrants and locals, respectively, in 1993 die in period 1; in the case of firms created in 1999 these numbers increase to 40%

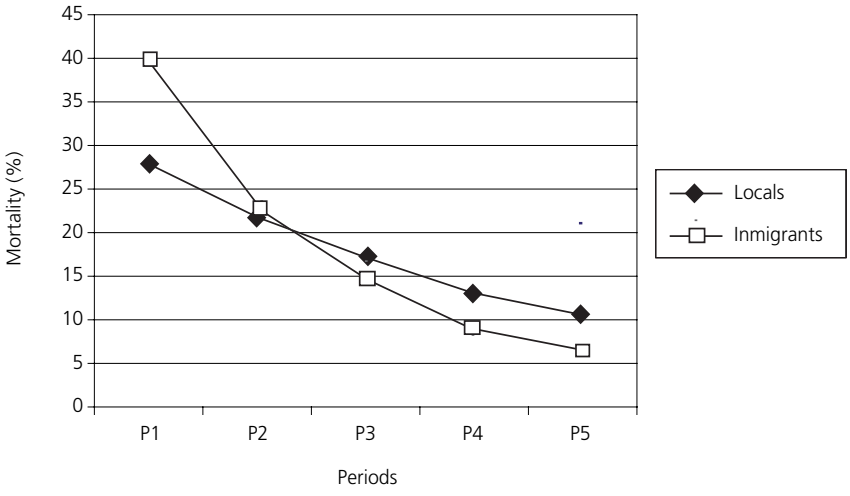
Graph 12

Average annual firm mortality for firms created in 1993 by origin



Graph 13

Average annual firm mortality for firms created in 1999 by origin



for immigrants and 23% for local entrepreneurs. The mortality of companies created in both periods by locals and immigrants shows a decreasing pattern. Nevertheless, this tendency is more significant in the case of firms operated by immigrant entrepreneurs than that experienced by firms of locals, in which case the slope is not so steep. Finally, the slope of average mortality of firms created by locals and immigrants in year 1993 crosses in period 3, whereas in the case of companies started in 1998 it crosses between period 2 and 3.

3. **Conclusions of PART II: Firm Survival of Local versus Immigrant Entrepreneurs in the BAC**

In the second part of the chapter we looked at the survival of firms created by immigrants compared to local entrepreneurs in the BAC between 1993 and 1999. We did that by relating the patterns of venture survival to firm internal and external characteristics. We saw that, as the number of immigrants increasingly grew during the decade of the 1990s, the number of new firms also saw a considerable increase among the immigrant population. Along with the origin of the entrepreneur, we suggested the gender and age of the entrepreneur as well as the initial size of the company as firm internal characteristics which can have an effect on venture survival. We found that firms created by local entrepreneurs, by men and by older people as well as firms with larger initial size survive longer than those started by immigrants, women and younger entrepreneurs as well as firms with smaller initial size operating in the BAC between years 1993 and 2003. These findings support previous empirical studies.

We stated that the industry sector in which the company operates and the macroeconomic conditions such as the economic cycle and unemployment rates are firm external characteristics which can influence venture survival. We saw that the retail, hotel and catering and transport industry sector presents the highest mortality rates in the case of immigrant entrepreneurs and construction industry in the case of local entrepreneurs. We argued that the disadvantaged situation which immigrant shopkeepers often suffer may be an explanation for this high percentage of mortality presented by firms of immigrants in this industry sector. Additionally, in order to assess the effect of environmental factors on firm survival, we looked at the average mortality of ventures at different points in time, namely 1993, 1994, 1998 and 1999. We found that the gap in average mortality between firms created by locals and immigrants is much more significant in 1993 and 1994 than it is

in 1998 and 1999. We noticed that this lowest average of mortality in 1993 and 1994 coincides with the highest percentages of unemployment registered in that period, and suggest that in periods of low unemployment there are more job opportunities and thus, people may choose to cease their own business activity in exchange for a better job in the wage labour market.

Conclusions

In this chapter we analyzed the entrepreneurial activity of immigrants in the BAC between 1993 and 2003. We looked at the firm survival of immigrant versus local entrepreneurs and related it to firm internal (namely the origin, gender and age of the entrepreneur and the initial size of the firm) and firm external factors such as the development of the immigrant population, its participation in the labour market as well as to the development of Spanish immigration policies and unemployment in the BAC. We found that firms started by immigrants, women and young people do not survive as long as those created by locals, men and older people. On the contrary, companies started with a larger initial size, those which do not operate in the construction industry sector and firms created in 1993 and 1994 survived longer than ventures started with a smaller initial size, those which operate in the construction industry sector and firms created in the years 1998 and 1999.

We stated that the extraordinary growth of immigration flows to Spain and the BAC has had an increasing effect on the percentage of immigrants affiliated with the Social Security department but not on the percentage of self employed immigrants. We explained this pattern with the decreasing self-employment patterns of the total population and the inverse effect of a decreasing unemployment registered between 1993 and 2003. Nevertheless, we found that the decreasing tendency in self-employment patterns has been much more significant in the case of immigrants than among the total populations and concluded that, due to the weaker social support of immigrants, who are operating in a foreign country, they are more vulnerable to environmental changes than local people are. In this respect, we claimed that appropriate immigration policies would facilitate the improvement of entrepreneurial conditions of the immigrant community.

We argued that there is a lack of a comprehensive immigration policy in Spain. Despite the current differences on the socio-demographic composition and immigration history of self-employed immigrants to other countries such as Australia and Canada, and Spain, we see that these

countries could be taken as an example of an active and a comprehensive immigration policy. In the case of Spain, due to the lack of selection procedures, both the human and financial capital of immigrant entrepreneurs and thus the probability of survival of firms created by them are expected to be lower than the endowment and venture survival of locals. We claim that the implementation of an efficient immigration policy would contribute to solve the gap in self-employment patterns and firm survival between immigrants versus local entrepreneurs in the BAC. In any case, the design of a general business program designed to promote entrepreneurship and support existing firms in times of low unemployment would be an alternative to the fluctuating self-employment patterns which depend, to a large extent, on macroeconomic conditions. In future work it would be interesting to assess and compare the effect of regional immigration and self-employment policies, macroeconomic conditions as well as the influence of the origin of the immigrant entrepreneur on regional market entry patterns and firm survival of immigrants in Spain.

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