STRANGER IN THE CITY:

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF LOCAL IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION POLICIES OF BARCELONA 2010-2020

Dissertation submitted by

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Abstract

Human Migration is a natural phenomenon that has been happening for centuries. However different countries have different attitudes and perceptions about the newcomers and their integration. It has been observed that migrant integration is no longer only a national responsibility but rather a local process as well. It is at the local level that the implementation of these policies takes place. Spain's Quasi Federal form of government along with decentralized institutional and financial setting intrigues us to explore. Barcelona's increasing migrant population and interesting municipal based projects demands to be studied for their immigrant integration policies and attitudes of local Government. This exploratory study is inductive, used Qualitative data collection method and borrowed the host-stranger theoretical framework from Michael Alexander to study different policy approaches at Legal -Political, Socio-Economic and Religious -cultural domain Level. The study compared different policy types namely Transient, Guestworker, Assimilationist and Pluralist against these domains. It is noted that local policies in Barcelona do reflect the Local government's perception of migrants and although a single domain might present a certain type of policy attitude, but they might differ within the domain's issue areas. Under the Socioeconomic domain, Healthcare and housing fell under Guestworker and Transient policy respectively while all other issue areas were found to be Assimilationist. Similarly, in case of cultural diversity, cultural religious issue is had a rather Pluralistic approach. A refined theoretical framework was developed to be used in future research.

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Chapter 1 Introduction and background

1.1 Background of the study

Persistent migration has driven many European cities' authorities to develop policies and practices to deal with the newcomers' presence. Immigrants' national integration policies may be abstract and evolving; it is actually at the local level that the integration process occurs.

1.2 Research Gap

There have been various studies on immigrant integration policies at the national level, but there are very few studies on the role of local immigrant policies. Although Alexander (2003) developed a comprehensive framework for the host stranger relationship and its various dimensions, it was only applied to Amsterdam, Paris, Rome, Tel Aviv.

1.3 Research Problem

The research problem is to study the local immigrant policies according to the host-stranger framework given by Alexander (2003) to determine whether the local authorities have oh transient, guest worker, assimilationist, or a pluralistic attitude towards the newcomers. The aim is to study the policy shaped in different domains and issue areas and determine which phase of policy development Barcelona is currently situated.

The research questions are:

RQ1: *How do local policies in Barcelona reflect the authorities' perceptions of migration?*

RQ2: *How does immigrants' perception is reflected in the local policies in different domains and issue areas?*

Alexander provides a unique theoretical framework which focuses on the city's reactions to labour migrant's (strangers) arrival and settlement in the city. Interestingly this framework will provide us with an understanding of how the local authorities' perception of the migrants can influence the integration policies of Barcelona. The research aims to not only explore how this framework applies to Barcelona but also develop a post-analysis refined framework which can further simplify future studies.

1.4 Why Barcelona?

Spain is a reasonably new immigration country in Europe, and until the last few decades, it was known as a country of emigration. In the 1990s, Spain began to receive a lot of Labour migrants from non-European countries and filled in the gaps in low skilled labour (Garcés-Mascareñas 2014).Over the years Barcelona has become a popular country for migrants from all over the

world. The unique form of decentralized government in Catalonia and particularly Barcelona offers a very interesting case study. It provides a good case for how migrant's perceptions can be reflected upon the local migrant integrational policies.

1.5 Methodology

This qualitative research is inductive and borrows Michael Alexander's (2003) framework of the host-stranger relationship and its reflection upon Barcelona's local immigrant policies. The data is collected through a survey of literature policy documents and reports.

Chapter 2 A literature review

2.1 Migration

Europe's population is 44.7 million (Eurostat 2020), but this population includes migrants worldwide as one out of ten Europeans is foreign-born. Many European countries, such as Spain, Ireland, Portugal, Greece, and Italy, have been transformed into transit and receiving countries as they attract hundreds and thousands of migrants. In addition to that, refugees and asylum seekers find themselves at the doorsteps of Europe in hopes of a haven as they escape war and poverty. Today professionals from around the world are moving to Europe's knowledge economies. The expats include both the present-day guest workers and students who have enrolled in Europe's universities and educational facilities. What used to be 'spontaneous guest worker' is now termed undocumented or irregular migrants (Martiniello and Rath 2014). Various factors can provide a push and pull factors such as seeking employment, religious and cultural freedom, fleeing war and poverty, and education. When migrants arrive in a country, they begin their upward mobility journey as they seek employment and access social and educational resources. Simultaneously the host society does not remain unaffected as they also learn how to deal with the newcomers so that social order and social cohesion remain intact, and the society runs smoothly. Neither the host society nor the immigrants are fixed entities as both can experience internal tensions and transformations, which can influence the local processes (Martiniello and Rath 2014).

2.2 Migrant Incorporation

The migrant incorporation process can be described and analysed by several terms, depending on where in the world we are, such as 'inclusion,' 'absorption,' 'adjustment,' 'integration,' and 'assimilation.' In United States 'assimilation' is popular while in Europe's integration' is widely used in academia. Both of these concepts are ambiguous and can be interpreted in different ways. Firstly, they may be implied to describe the state of the art concerning the migrants and society's makeup. Secondly, they may be interpreted as mirroring a broad-spectrum vision of how society and government should position itself and thus a preferred end-situation. Finally, they may be referred to as a set of policy tools and support mechanisms for accommodating migrants' needs and their incorporation (Martiniello and Rath 2014).

In the United States, the process of immigrant incorporation is primarily described and analysed in terms of 'assimilation.' The concept of 'assimilation' or 'new assimilation' does not push for the absorption into the mainstream but is instead emphasizes on becoming similar, making

similar or treating similar to the existing (Brubaker 2001; Alba and Nee 1997). In Europe, however, the concept of integration is prevalent in the political and policy discourses as the debate is related to social and political concerns, discomfort with international migration, and the presence of migrant and migrant origin populations in urban Europe. Immigrants' arrival is still perceived as a disruption of the nation's daily routines and social relations instead of a prerequisite for its unceasing vitality (Martiniello and Rath 2014).

Many European welfare states, governments have stepped in to address immigrant-related concerns and build mechanisms to enhance the immigrant integration process.

2.3 Approaches to Migrant Integration

Integration can be denoted as the process of resettlement, interaction with the host society, and social change that comes after immigration. After migrants arrive at a host society, they must immediately secure a place for themselves, which involves several crucial tasks such as finding shelter, seeking employment, education for the children, and access to health facilities. These migrants have to establish themselves socially and culturally in the host society and build cooperation and interaction with individuals and groups and understand institutions' functioning and accessibility within the host society. This is a two-way process since the host society itself does not remain unaffected as the size and composition of the population change, there is a need for a new institutional arrangement to accommodate the political, social, and cultural needs of the migrants (Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016).

The resettlement process of newcomers had extensively been scientifically studied for a very long time, and it had been approached through various perspectives and concepts. The first point of differentiation is with the object of the study. For some researchers, the primary focus is the newcomers and the changes that occur in their ideas and behaviours, while others emphasized more on the receiving society and their reactions to the newly arrived migrants. The second area of distinction lies in the dimensions that are considered in the process of resettlement. Some researchers analyzed the legal and political dimensions of becoming part of the host society (e.g., legal residence, citizenship, and voting rights) while others examined the socio-economic dimension (e.g., immigrant's access to health care call my education, housing, and the labour market) or cultural-religious aspects. Finally, the analysis level is different from that of individual newcomers and collective groups of newcomers and civil society to the institution level. The focus here is to assess whether immigrant collectives have established

their own institutions in the new society and, on the other hand, how the institutions of the receiving society reacted to the newcomers (Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016).

Concepts of adaptation, acculturation, and assimilation have focused on the cultural dimension of immigrant settlement, while accommodation, incorporation, and inclusion/exclusion have moved the focus to the host society and fixated on legal-political and social-economic dimensions (Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016).

A significant critique of integration is that to be accepted, it is expected of immigrants to obey the norms and principles of the dominant majority. This option is particularly prominent in the cultural model both in the US and many European countries where they collectively claimed national language, culture, and tradition would stop this model dictates and normative standard towards which immigrants should aim and according to this, their deservingness of membership should be continuously judged. Here integration is not only a prerequisite but also presented as a straight-line process. Many migrant immigration studies perceive the integration process as a linear path in which the minority group is expected to change almost entirely, while the majority culture is thought to remain the same (Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016). Lindo (2005,11) stresses on the flaws of perceiving integration as an undeniable and inevitable process disregards the multifaceted interplay of acculturation, identification, social status, and concrete interaction patterns of individuals may lead to different outcomes, much more diverse in fact than a linear shift from "immigrant" to "host" conduct of performance.

Moreover, the mainstream into which the migrants are anticipated to blend is rarely clearly defined (Waldinger 2003). However, some scholars argue that the concept of integration follows a functionalist notion of society where immigrant success is still anticipated against a set of taken-for-granted mainstream norms circumscribed by the belief of a host society as a self-reliant unit of social processes (Gibney and Hansen 2005). Joppke and Morawaska (2003,3) note that the society is made up of local individuals and groups which are integrated normatively by consent and structurally by a state, but Schinkel (2010) argues that the conception of society is flawed as it assumes the presence of a homogeneous and unified social setting in which only the newcomers need to integrate.

Although a contested subject, Integration has attracted much attention from researchers and scholars exploring newcomers' settlement in host societies. The European authors have focused on building an open and analytical definition instead of the century-old normative definition.

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Esser (2004, 46) defines it as social actors' inclusion in a prevailing social structure. Heckmann (2006, 18) believes that integration is a process of inclusion and acceptance of migrants in the fundamental institutions, associations, and positions of the receiving society is a generations lasting process.

According to Bommes (2012,113), the major flaw with migrant assimilation is that it refers exclusively only to the conditions under which migrants succeed or failed to fulfil the conditions of participation in social systems. Every individual should know the means to work or how to behave in the host society, get jobs, or gain access to fundamental human rights such as education, social welfare, and even goods, and there is no alternative to this.

There has been a shift from a holistic approach that views integration into the 'core culture' and moves towards a more disaggregated methodology reflecting various reference populations and diverse processes occurring in different spheres simultaneously (Brubaker 2001). Esser (2001, 16 as cited in Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016, 13) further classifies it into four dimensions culturation (similar to socialization), placement (position in society), interaction (social relations and networks), and identification (belonging). Similarly, Heckmann and Schnapper (2016) set forward differentiation between structural integration, cultural integration (or acculturation), interactive integration, and identification integration. From this evaluation, integration dynamics are regarded as distinctive for each dimension, and structural marginalization and inequality processes turn out to be vital.

2.4 Integration Process

Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas (2016, 14) define integration as *"The process of becoming an accepted part of the society."* This definition was intentionally left open because not only does it emphasize the process character of integration as opposed to defining an end situation, but it also does not specify beforehand the degree or requirements of acceptance by the receiving society, unlike normative models developed by political theorists.

2.4.1 Dimensions

They further divided the integration process into three systematically distinctive dimensions through which newcomers may or may not be accepted as a part of the receiving society. These were i) the legal political, ii) the socio-economic, and the iii) the cultural-religious.

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The legal-political dimension refers to the residence and political rights and statuses. Here the political membership of the immigrants is analyzed in the community. The level of integration has two extreme poles. One deals with the position of irregular migrants that are not part of the host society in a legal and political sense but have integrated socio-economically or cultural-religiously. On the other pole are immigrants who have become national citizens. In between these two poles, various other categories have been highlighted in recent years due to Europe's attempt to regularize international migrants (Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016).

The socio-economic dimension includes the social and economic status of the residents regardless of their national citizenship. In this dimension, immigrants' status is evaluated by analyzing their access to and membership in spheres vital for any inhabitant. These may include access to institutional facilities for a job, shelter, education, and health care. Not only access but inequality and discrimination can also be evaluated. This study can be done independently without any cultural influence since the needs are universal, and the outcome can provide useful inputs for policies(Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016).

The cultural-religious dimension explorers the domain of views and practices of immigrants and the host society and their reciprocal response to disparity and diversity. Even in this dimension, there can be two extreme cases; one is that the new diversity maybe entirely rejected by the host society, and immigrants are bound by the compulsion to adapt and assimilate into a mono-cultural and mono-religious society while on the other hand, the new ethnic identity, culture, and worldviews may be fully embraced in an equal pluralistic societal system. Between these two extremes can be positions such as partial acceptance or selective acceptance, certain forms of diversity in private space, and partial or no acceptance in public space (Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016).

2.4.2 Actors

After establishing the integration process dimensions, it is essential to understand who the relevant actors involved are. The first important actor is the immigrants themselves, who vary in their characteristics, efforts, and degrees of adaptation (left side of figure

1). The second important actor is the receiving society, which also has characteristics and reactions to the newcomers (right side of figure 2). The interaction between these two actors dictates the direction and outcomes of the integration process. It is substantial to note that these two partners are not equal in terms of power and resources. The receiving society's institutional structure and reaction to immigrants play a more influential role in the integration process than the newcomers or immigrants (Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016).

Table 2.1 Integration, Actors, Dimension, and Levels
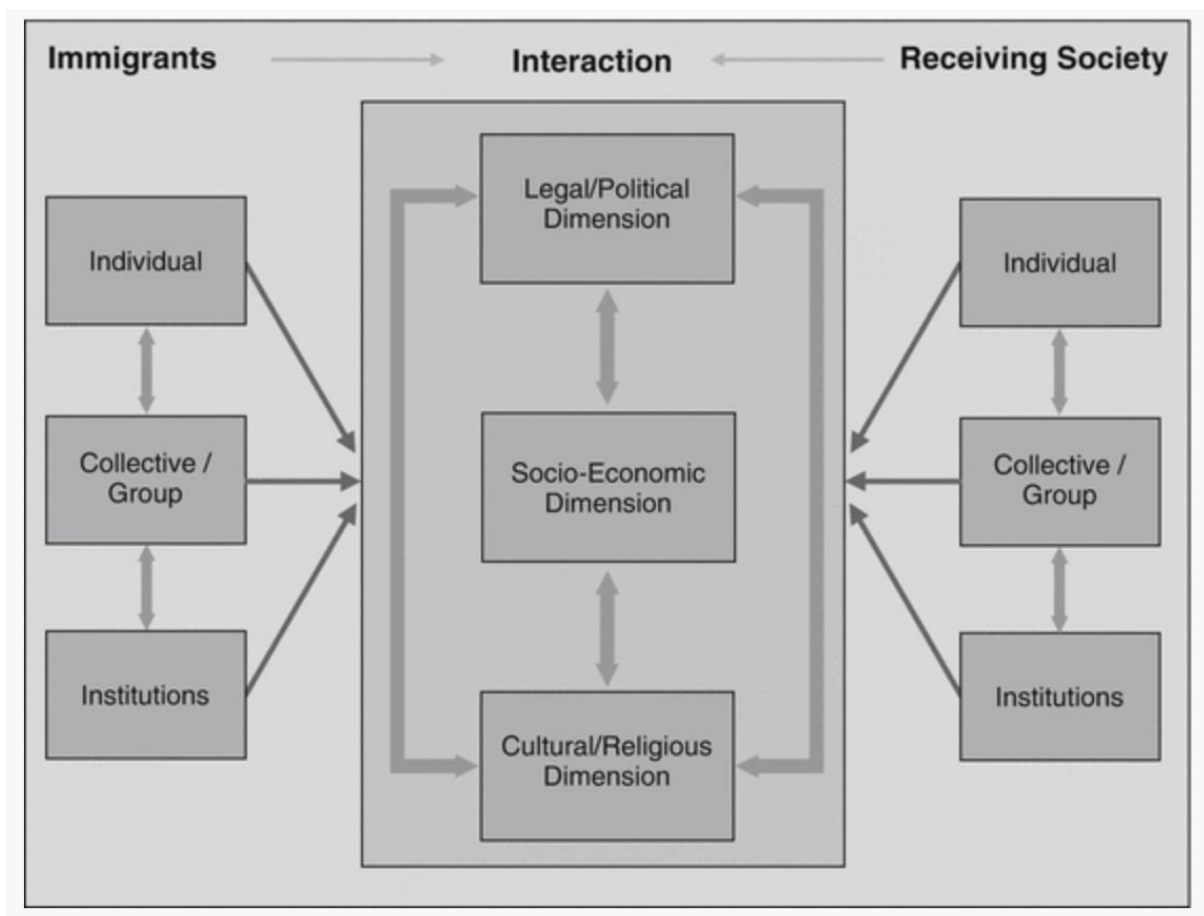
Source: (Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016)

2.4.3 Levels

The integration of immigrants takes place at different levels. At the first level are individuals who can be both migrants and locals of the receiving society. Immigrants' integration at the individual level is analyzed by their legal status and political participation in the first dimension. The second dimension is the socio-economic integration, and the immigrant's status regarding work, shelter, education, and health. The third dimension measures their identification with cultural-religious groups and the receiving society; this includes their cultural and religious practices and their

importance. It is to be noted that local individuals' attitudes and reactions towards newcomers and their consequences also play a vital role (Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016).

The second level includes organizations. These can be the immigrant organization that mobilizes the resources an aspiration of the group. These groups can be weak or strong, and they might be focused on a particular aspect of participation in the receiving society in any dimension (legal-political, socio-economic, cultural-religious). They may be accepted as a part of civil society or even become potential partners in integration policies, or they may be excluded by the host society or self-isolated. In addition, there are also organizations emerge but then the receiving society. Their acceptance towards the immigrants, their views, and reactions towards individual immigrants and their organizations play a decisive role in the integration of immigrants. Many times, in the absence of governmental integrational policies, the non-governmental organization plays a vital role in the integration process of immigrants(Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016).

The third level includes institutions with structured, standardized, and collective methods of performing in a socio-cultural setting. Two types of institutions are considered. a) The first type includes public institutions of the host society, which deals with three dimensions: institutional provisions of the political system, institutional provisions in the labour market, shelter, education, and public health and arrangement of cultural and religious diversity. These institutions are responsible for not only the laws, regulations, and executive organizations but also unwritten rules and practices. In theory, public institutions should serve all citizens equally, but they might delay access to public services, exclude immigrants formally, either wholly or partially. Even when the law guarantees access do all presidents institutions may hamper access to equitable outcomes. This can be done by not considering the immigrants' history; their cultural and religious backgrounds are their language abilities. b) The second type of institutions are those working exclusively for the immigrants, including religious and cultural institutions. Contrary to public institutions, any group-specific institutions' significance and legitimacy are restricted to those who voluntarily follow them. Although this is traditions exist in the private sphere with these groups, specific institutions may develop themselves as important civil society actors in the public space. An example of such

institutions can be churches, trade unions, cultural, leisure, and professional institutions in European cities and states. These migrant specific institutions can either become an accepted part of the society and have significance similar to local organizations, or they might remain unrecognized or even excluded from society (Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016).

2.5 Integrational Policies

Until now, we have discussed the integrational process, and it should be noted that integrational processes and integrational policies are not the same. Policies are intentional interventions to guide and steer processes in this society. In this case, we are explicitly studying the integrational policies for immigrants. In explicit integrational policies, integration is presented as a problem, the problem is framed in a normative manner, tangible policy measures are devised and implemented to achieve preferred results, and all this is part of the normative political process. However, general policies that are not directly linked to immigrants (such as education and healthcare systems, housing, the labour market, and the public regulation of religion) may directly or indirectly alter immigrants' integration processes for good or bad. This proves that the systematic analysis of integration policies should not only be limited to integration policies (Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016).

2.5.1 Framing of immigrant integration

While studying integrational policies, it is crucial to analyze immigrant integration's perception concerning policy frames and policy shifts by political and social actors. A frame is a re-establishment of policy issues' problem description, which includes the underlying assumptions of the problem's causes and possible solutions. The way the problem is defined and explained tells us that immigration is perceived as either a problem or an opportunity. This can further tell us about where the newcomers are seen as 'temporary guests' or permanent members of the society who will be accepted by the state as citizens and will be guaranteed the same rights and facilities as locals (Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016).

After the problem definition, the next step is to determine the course of action. Sometimes a state or city may not be willing to take special responsibility, which is the immigrants and choose to ignore their presence will stop this non-policy response or status quo is a policy in itself (Hammar 1985, 277-287). On the other hand, if the

government of a state or city is more accommodating of immigrants, they might formulate new policies to cater to certain immigrants' needs but under limited conditions keeping in view the temporary nature of their stay. This is a guest works approach under which immigrants' otherness is possibly tolerated and although they might be presented with limited citizen rights in the long run. If the immigrants are accepted as permanent residents, they might be offered inclusion as a primary response (Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016). The inclusion policies may take different forms. Entzinger (2000) proposed a model on integration policies that may defer significantly concerning the three dimensions of immigrants integration discussed earlier, i.e., the legal, political dimension, the socio-economic dimension, and the cultural-religious dimension. For the first-dimension legal recognition and political participation, policies may recognize immigrants as foreign citizens residence (aka denizens) and incorporate them socially with limited political rights, or immigrants may be accepted as full citizens, and all barriers might be removed, and naturalization might be promoted. The socio-economic dimension in policy measures may be designed to fight inequality, cater to immigrants' needs, or address all citizens' shared interests in general. In terms of the cultural-religious dimension, policies may be designed under two diverse domains. The first dictates that integration demands adaptation and learning of immigrants and requires significant changes in access to the working institutions and structure of the host society. The second is that the societal rules and structures, including norms, values, and traditions, should be viewed as an absolute, and immigrants should voluntarily adopt them (Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016).

Finally, the last step is to question the target audience of the integration policies. Migrant integration policies designed for a specific group of immigrants as target groups are distinctive from policies that focused on all immigrants. Those policies that focus on all individuals regardless of their origin or those that target locals established civil society and the public institutions in the host society. Political rights can be given to immigrants as individuals or as groups in the form of the formation of representative bodies. Policies can promote equality among all citizens by giving them equal access to housing, education, health care, and the labour market, or they may promote an equal share in access to these goods and services. Cultural diversity may also be promoted as an individual or group's right. In the case of groups right, it implies that state support to immigrant's own organization and institutions are encouraged. It is rather difficult to

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analyze frames directly, and therefore they need to be derived through policy documents and political discourse. When a policy is expressed, it generally includes a clear interpretation of the perceived problem and their desired outcomes of the policy's specific efforts (Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016).

Chapter 3 Theoretical Framework

3.1 The role of cities in immigrant integration

Although migrant integration is a national concern and policies are designed according to the national agenda and their perception of the immigrants. However, cities and local government's role cannot be denied as they are the first point of contact for immigrants and a bridge between the national government and the newcomers. Moreover, it is cities where integration measures and public services are provided to the vast majority of immigrants and refugees (Wolffhardt 2018). However, the local authorities' ability to deliver services depends heavily on the national government for legal liberty, coordination, and finances.

Since the cities are among the first points of contact for the immigrants, they provide essential services such as shelter, education, health care, work, elderly support, and policies to fight social exclusion, local economic development, that are crucial for the integration of migrants. They also help in communicating and fulfilling the leadership role among immigrants and the locals. They are also responsible for constructing a conducive setting which is receptive of integration. Historically cities have even introduced their own integration policies to compensate for the lack of national policies (Wolffhardt 2018). For the immigrants, the integration experience is essentially local, as have employment in the city, pay local taxes, are homeowners, tenants, or landlords in the city, their children attend local schools, local places of worship, and use the government services locally. For the immigrants, the city officials and agencies are more accessible than those at the national, state, or provincial level. The local leadership administer the programs and deliver services essential to immigrants in their daily lives and hence have more significant interaction with them (de Graauw and Vermeulen 2016).

3.1.1 The city's response to strangers

Over the centuries, European cities have attracted an enormous permanent presence of Labor migrants and their families, and that is changing the structure of urban Europe (White 1993, cited in Alexander 2003).

Alexander (2003, 411) explained the two facets of labour migration that embody these minorities. The first is the conversion that occurs from temporariness to permanence. The second is the ethnic and frequently religious otherness of the immigrants. Due to the increasing number of migrants, the once culturally homogeneous cities now contain migrant communities that are distinct from the receiving society concerning class, civil status, cultural/religious background, and ethnic origin. Here labour migrants are

referred to as 'guest workers,' their families, irregular labour migrants, and even refugee origin migrants (Alexander 2003). For this research, it is presumed that all newcomers are economic migrants in the local authority's view.

Slowly and gradually, European cities are accepting the permanent presence of the migrant population. The local policies can complement, contradict or preempt national immigrant integration policies, and it cannot be denied that local authorities are increasingly becoming autonomous in their response to the policy challenge of ethnic diversity (Ireland 1994). Local policies can include setting up migrant advisory councils to combat exclusion of migrant organizations, allocating extra resources in health, education, welfare services, strict policing, and distribution policies aimed at communities. Local migrant policies can be inclusionary or exclusionary, general or specific. Previously these municipal responses to the migrant settlement were only limited to 'veteran' immigration cities in Northern Europe. However, in the past decade, it has spread to the southern cities Of Europe, and the local migrant policies can now be considered a European wide urban phenomenon present in different cities in different phases of policy development (Alexander 2003).

With decentralization, migrant policies' responsibility has shifted from national to local authorities (Lahav 1998). The city has emerged as a distinctive unit of study in the field of public policy and immigrant integration (Brenner 1999). Despite the increasing importance of cities and the role of local government in immigrant integration, most scholars and their theories on immigrant integration policies have been focused on the national level (Neymark 1998). Most of the models compared and explained policies towards migrants that have been at the national-state or supra-national level, e.g., national citizenship regime (Brubaker 1992; Castles 1995), welfare regimes, and incorporation (Soysal 1994).

The national-level analyses are still excessively abstract, as they are based more on ideas than actual policy comparison, overlooking the variances between policy spheres and disparities within countries (Alexander 2003). Favell (2001) argues that more research is required on looking at the nation-state as one among several potential structuring variables, proposing that cities are a far better element for analysis of migrant policies.

Alexander (2003) proposed adapting the concept of host-stranger relationship as a theoretical framework understanding local migrant policy reactions two migrant settlements. He also proposes a typology of potential migrant policies classified according to the local authority's attitude towards these strangers. The typology was developed by applying host Ranger relationship theory to actual policies.

3.2 Host Stranger relationship approach

The arrival of immigrants cannot only be addressed as an urban problem for the local authorities. If we look past the practical concerns, the settlement of immigrants with a very different background from the local population, it brings different sentiments within the host city, fluctuating from fear to empathy. The locals' reactions towards the migrants may vary from acceptance to indifference towards what some residents might identify as "invasion of strangers." The moral panic may lead to 'white flight,' voting for anti-immigrant parties, and/ or acts of violence. On the other hand, the immigrants also respond and assert themselves as political actors with or without voting rights, as entrepreneurs, and sometimes in urban violence, usually in the second generation. This phenomenon of the migrant settlement, the local's reactions, and the counter-reaction often lead to positive or negative interactions, which can manifest into racial disturbances in extreme cases (such as Marseilles in 1973, Birmingham in 1981, Brussels in 1991, and Bradford 2001) (Alexander 2003).

In his theory development, Alexander depends on Zygmunt Bauman's (Bauman 1995a; 1995b) conceptualization of a "Stranger." He identifies several types of strangers, which includes marginal (indigenous), individuals or groups (Bochner 1982; Sibley 1995), urban subcultures (Lofland 1973), and ethnic minorities(Boal 1978). He also identifies the relationship between newcomers and the host society through literature, where the newcomers are often referred to immigrants or recent ethnic minorities whose origins are elsewhere. In Europe, the primary category of Strangers is Labor Migrants and their second-generation (Alexander 2003).

At the societal level, the dominant group has always defined what is expected and what is deviant, constructing its strangers through time-honouring exclusionary practices such as social disgrace, economic and political marginalization, and physical seclusion (Elias and Scotson 1994).

According to Bauman:

> *"Every society has its strangers, but each society has its own type of strangers unique to them"*(Bauman *1995b).*

According to Alexander (2003), the host stranger relationships are based on power dynamics (powerful/ powerlessness) between the host and stranger, articulated in the relative transience or permanence and the relative separateness or pervasiveness as perceived by the host. According to Bauman:

> *"The strangers were by definition an analogy to be rectified their presence was defined a priori as temporary..."*(1995b 2-3,8)

Initially, two strategies were used to fix the stranger and the strange. The Assimilationist strategy aims at 'making the different similar.' The Exclusionist strategy varies from social exclusion to physical segregation and, in extreme cases, to strangers' physical extermination. In both cases, 'strangeness' is ostracized until it is ultimately dissolved either through assimilation into or physical separation from the host society (Alexander 2003).

In today's world of globalization, the focus is no longer on dissolving the strangers' Strangeness but instead coming to terms with them as a permanent reality and Learning to live with them on a daily basis.

3.2.1 Local policies as a reaction to host-stranger perceptions

Local government represents the local host society, which makes up as its contingency, and hence their behaviour also signifies the reaction to migrants' settlement. The local authority may have different approaches towards the immigrants, depending on their perception of the newcomers. They might view them as a passing phenomenon best unheeded, as a threat to stability, as a positive potential for neighbourhood and city, etc. The host-strangers relations framework can help us distinguish between general assumptions made by the local authority towards the migrant population, which are the temporariness/permanence of the migrant presence and the spatial segregation /pervasiveness of this presence. These assumptions about the migrants are deeply connected to the migrant's otherness (will/should they be dissolved?) The answer to this not only depends on the size and character of the migrant's presence but also on the worldview of the host society regarding 'otherness.' The local authority may look at these strangers through a modernist lens (assume their otherness will disappear, either by physical distancing, or through assimilation), or through a post-modernist approach

(accept that they will remain, and their otherness will remain). These perspectives are reflected in seemingly incoherent policies such as housing and urban renewal, access to local services, policing). If the local authorities view migrants' presence as transient, it will adopt a non-policy of unacknowledging migrants' presence (and their otherness), and if they see them as or temporary phenomena, a 'guestworker' policy of tolerance for their otherness. Both these approaches follow the modernist perspective, which views strangers as temporary and accepts their marginality and segregation throughout their temporary stay. On The contrary, if the local authority accepts the migrant's presence as a permanent phenomenon, the policy towards migrants maybe assimilationist or pluralistic. The Assimilationist reaction follows the modernist view of strangers, which reduces and ultimately eliminates the otherness, and the Pluralist reaction engages a post-modernist approach that tolerates and possibly supports the otherness of strangers (Alexander 2003).

Table 3.1 Alexander's Host-Stranger relations and types of local Migrant policy

HOST-STRANGER RELATIONS	'MODERNIST' Stranger as temporary phenomenon, spatially separable			'POSTMODERNIST' Stranger as permanent and pervasive
Attitudes/assumptions of local authority re:	'TRANSIENT'	'GUESTWORKER'	'ASSIMILATIONIST'	'PLURALIST'
• presence of labour migrants	Migrants as transient (a passing phenomenon)	Migrants as 'guestworkers' (to be accommodated temporarily)	Migrants as permanent, but their Otherness is temporary	Migrants as permanent, and their Otherness will remain
• spatial segregation of labour migrants	Segregation ignored	Segregation tolerated or formalised	Assimilation will lead to spatial integration ('melting pot')	Some degree of segregation acceptable in multicultural city ('salad bowl')
• Otherness of labour migrants	Otherness ignored	Otherness tolerated	Otherness ignored or discouraged (assimilate or remain marginalised)	Otherness accepted and supported
LOCAL MIGRANT POLICIES	'NON-POLICY'	'GUESTWORKER POLICY'	'ASSIMILATIONIST POLICY'	'PLURALIST POLICY'
Policy aims	*De facto:* ignore migrants	Meet basic needs of guest-workers; ignore undocumented migrants	Long-term integration into host society through assimilation	Integration within a multicultural city: support diversity
Policy mechanisms	Avoiding responsibility (rely on employers, NGOs)	Division of responsibility between state, city, employers and NGOs (city has specific, limited tasks)	General policies (non-ethnic criteria, individual-based)	Ethnically-targeted policies community approach)
	Ad-hoc reaction to crisis situations		Equal opportunity/anti-discrimination mechanisms	Pro-active mechanisms (minority empowerment). Affirmative action

Note: The sequence of the four types in the table does not necessarily imply a scale from exclusion to inclusion, nor does development from one phase to another necessarily follow the order shown here.

Source : (Alexander 2003)

3.3 Local Migrant Policies and Host Stranger Relationships

Local migrants' policies are formulated and implemented by the local authority, which drastically affects the labour migrant population. The municipality may view labour migrants as a passing phenomenon, as guest-workers temporarily inhabiting the city, as a permanent populace to be assimilated into the local host society, or as permanent ethnic minorities that will preserve their variances within a multicultural city (Alexander 2003).

Before Alexander (2003) developed host stranger relationship typology, this concept was only limited to the national level, and there were not many studies done at the local level. He believed that by looking at only national-level policies only gives us an overview of citizenship and integration, overlooking the progressively local variants in the policy. He labelled the institutional attitudes/assumptions regarding the migrant population as *Transient*, *Guestworker*, *Assimilationist,* and *Pluralist*.

We can analyze the attitude and assumption of a city through their Non-policy, guestworker policies, Assimilationist policies, and Pluralistic policies, which can be observed through different phases in developing local migrant policy.

3.3.1 Host-stranger attitude of the local government

The Transient attitude is traditional among local authorities in the first phase of Labor immigration when the immigrants' population is small and often undocumented. The local authority may be unaware or even ignore acknowledge their presence in the city. Since the municipality regards the migrant workers as a transient phenomenon, they expect them to return back to their home country or move to other countries. If this movement does not happen voluntarily, the municipality assumes that the authorities at the national level should come in action and deal with the migrants according to national policies. The main characteristics of the transient attitude are lack of responsibility. There may be a difference in reaction regarding migrants at the lower level and higher level of the municipality in the transient phase.

The Guestworker attitude distinguishes from the transient type in the municipality's acknowledgement of the presence of Labor migrant populace within the city and accepts that they will only stay for a limited period and return

or move to another country. This recognition usually is a consequence of a national guestworker policy based on the assumption often mutual to the host and migrants that the newcomers' stay is only for a few years. Regulated temporariness is a critical characteristic at this phase of host stranger relations at the local and national levels. The municipality is tolerant of immigrants' otherness because of the temporary nature of their stay. They are accepting of segregated conditions and even provide them with guestworker housing.

The Assimilationist attitude acknowledges did the migrant residence it is going to be permanent. Even in the case of undocumented migrants, there is an expectation of regularizing them into the host society. However, there is an expectation or assumption that the migrant's otherness would eventually disappear, and they will eventually become similar to those in the host society. The local policies are meant to facilitate the process of one-dimensional integration into the dominant culture. At least in the public dimension, the migrant's otherness is considered problematic, and its many manifestations (e.g., ethnic-based organization) ignored my local authority or discouraged.

Pluralistic attitudes use migrant's presence as an irreversible phenomenon. The migrants are not just physically accepted, but their otherness is also celebrated. Furthermore, the integration of ethnic minorities is viewed as a two-way process affecting not only the immigrants but also the host society. The multicultural-minded municipality understands and has an awareness of the particular needs and problems arising from migrants' otherness. The migrants' positive potential to the city is also recognized, and their otherness is viewed as enriching the local host culture and economy. Here the modernist melting pot perception is replaced by a salad bowl image in which labour migrants add colour.

3.3.2 Host-stranger policy phases

The institutional attitudes discussed earlier can be associated with four general phases of policy reaction to migrants. These reactions can be illustrated by the policies aim and the mechanisms used to implement these aims.

The Transient attitude believes in non-policy, where the municipality turns a blind eye towards the migrants 'welfare and puts the responsibility of others.

This attitude may be due to ignorance or policy prioritization that leaves them with little to no resources for dealing bit immigrants' problems. The local authority may react to specific problems that cannot be ignored (e.g., migrant squatting). Hence non-policy can also be seen as putting out fires.

In Guestworker policy, labour migrants' essential needs during their stay in the city are met under the assumption that this stay is only for a limited period, the migrants are mostly single males, and their needs are minimal. The municipality accepts limited responsibilities, such as providing health care services during the national guest-worker regime. The assumption is that the other needs are state agencies, employers, and NGOs' responsibility. This division of responsibility may be expressed explicitly in the national guest worker policy. Within this division of responsibilities, local policies oscillate between minimalistic and generous, yet the guestworker category of policies is short- or medium-term solutions. Here, the focus is more on preventing crisis arising from migrants' presence, which is both problematic and necessary. Irregular migrants do not fall under the guestworker system, and hence they are ignored by the local government; their responsibility is diverted towards the NGOs, and their regulation/ deportation is left on the national government.

The assimilation policy aims to assist individual migrant integration into the host society while curtailing the ethnic dimension simultaneously. Services such as public housing, welfare, neighbourhood renewal are provided fitting the general socio-economic criteria, and the migrant's "otherness' is not accommodated in any way. Since the main character of assimilationist policy is to ignore the ethnic factor, therefore it is difficult to identify the policies directed towards migrants. The absence of an ethnic-based definition of the population is the primary mechanism of assimilationist policy. However, general policies can be seen as de facto 'migrant policies' because they have a selective effect on migrants.

Pluralist Policy (including multicultural and intercultural policies) aims to integrate migrants without changing their otherness. In this case, the otherness is seen as an asset rather than a problematic differentiation. The migrant's unique qualities are used in the integration policies. The pharmacies may, from

accommodating specific cultural needs, do proactive empowerment of minority communities. As opposed to the assimilationist policies, the pluralist policies often engage in a community-based approach. Even when an individual market migrant is targeted, the ethnic element is still taken into deliberation (e.g., the use of cultural mediators in vocational training). Although these policies celebrate the migrants' otherness, they tend to put together people in the same ethnic categories often fail to see individual differences like educational background. Since the pluralist approach understands that immigrant integration is a two-way process, the Pluralist policies also target the host society, promoting acceptance of the differences.

Chapter 4 Methodology

4.1 Philosophy and Methodology

The research aims to explore the various policies in Barcelona in different domains and issue areas to understand how 'strangers' are viewed by local authorities and what policy approach is applied in each domain and issue area. There is a curiosity to see if this perception of migrants is reflected differently in each domain or issue area.

This research follows *Social Constructivism* philosophy and the logic being that individuals derive meaning and understanding of the world they live in. How people view others is not only a construction of the "strangers' or their otherness but also how they reflect upon themselves. The research is highly inductive, and research epistemology is Subjectivism. This is an Exploratory study which is inductive in nature. This study follows a Qualitative Research Method, which allowed me to make knowledge claims based on constructive perspectives.

Data is collected through a survey of literature mainly reports from OECD (2018), PICUM (2016; 2017) , Ajuntament de Barcelona (2008; 2016) and scholarly work from various authors like Garcés-Mascareñas (2014).

4.2 Case Study Justification

Spain was once a country of emigration has within a few decades, become one of the most welcoming countries in the EU (Oliveau et al. 2019). Barcelona is one of the most prominent cities in Spain. From 2000 to 2009, the city received a rapid influx of foreigners so much so that it developed into a migration hub of Spain. The foreign population represented 3.5% of Barcelona's population in 2000; they extended 18.1% in 2009. In 2017, 17.5% of the population was foreign, 23% foreign-born, and around 30% had a foreign background (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2016; OECD 2018). Spain has a very decentralized institutional and financial setting, and thus it is interesting to see how Barcelona implemented the immigrant integration policies at different policy domains (OECD 2018). Furthermore, according to OECD's (2018) report, Barcelona designed integration measures originating from an intercultural approach based on four crucial strategic principles (1) fast reception and integrated support of immigrants; (2) equal access to rights and responsibilities to all residents ; (3) Diversity seen as an asset for the city; (4) encouragement of interaction residents to preserve social cohesion. Barcelona offers an interesting case study because of the presence of a rich and diverse immigrant community and the ever-evolving local immigrant policies.

4.2.1 Spain's decentralized government

Spain has an interesting multi-level government with three tiers of subnational governments, each one responsible for specific competence dictated the constitution and positions of autonomy. Besides the National government, there are i) Autonomous Communities ii) Provinces and iii) Municipalities that have specific administrative as well as decisive and managerial powers (Table 4.1). The government delegates representatives of the autonomous regions, and within them, there are representatives of the central government in the provinces (OECD 2018).

Table 4.1 Spanish Government and Decentralization
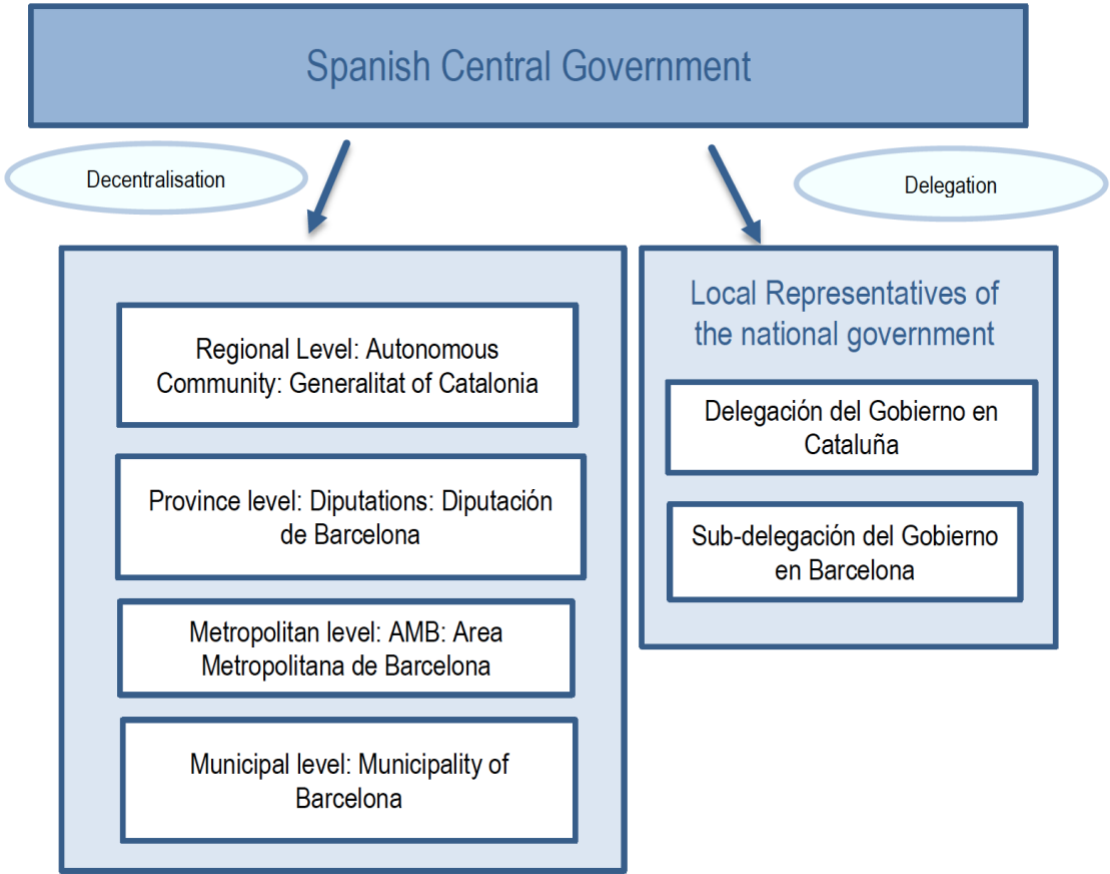
Source (OECD 2018)

Although the central government and their representatives manage migrant regulation, crucial integration domains are under subnational governments (OECD 2018) (Figure 4.2)

Table 4.2 Levels of Government in Barcelona

National level – The Central Government
Ministry of Employment and Social Security Defines national policy for migration and migrant integration Regulation of migration flows and administers migration permits Implements asylum seekers social protection programme and accommodation facilities in collaboration with partner NGOs Employment policy and unemployment allowances
Ministry of Interior Administers right to asylum
Sub-delegation of the national government in Catalonia- Foreigns Office Migrant admissions
Ministry of Health National guide lines for health policy
Ministry of Justice Nationality procedures

Autonomous Community – The Generalitat of Catalonia
Competences over health, education, social services, transport and communication, culture, local economic development, agriculture and energy, urban planning and civil protection, employment, Language Learning and Unaccompanied Minors
Metropolitan Area of Barcelona – AMB
Competences over mobility and transport, urban planning and environment
Municipality of Barcelona
Competences over urban planning, public transport, social services (including shelter for homeless and social issues in the public space), education, health, social housing and culture, Local register (*Padrón*), language learning, Welcoming policies for migrants
Associations
Accommodation facilities for asylum seeker; Language courses; reception support; Social Action; Intercultural programs, civic engagement .

Source: (OECD 2018)

Furthermore the migrants policies are national responsibility, while integration and implementation is at the regional level (Zuber 2014).

4.3 Limitations

Due to the researcher's limitations and lack of knowledge of Catalan and Spanish Language, the research remained heavily dependent on secondary data. The data is collected through surveying literature and reports on the relevant research area available in English.

Chapter 5 Data Analysis and Findings

5.1 Barcelona's policies in the three domains

5.1.1 Legal-Political

5.1.1.1 Empadronamiento / Municipal census

According to the national law establishing the norms that should regulate the local regime (Law 7/1985), *"every person living in Spain is obliged to register in the municipal census of the municipality of residence."* (cited in Garcés-Mascareñas 2014) Furthermore, the National aliens' law (Law 4/2000) (UNHCR 2000) has provided access for every individual to fundamental entitlements such as healthcare, shelter, and free legal advice on the condition of being listed in a municipal census (*padron*). The registration is independent of a residence permit; this implies that avail certain privileges and essential social services to irregular migrants is also possible (Garcés-Mascareñas 2014). The National Alien Law (Law 8/2020) (*Organic Law 8 / 2000*) has limited certain rights, yet education and health services are still contingent on registration in the municipal census. Furthermore, several other municipal services, such as access to public libraries, sports centres, and schools, and communal welfares such as subsidies for food in public schools, are linked to listing in the municipal census (Garcés-Mascareñas, 2014). According to the Municipal plan on immigration 2008-2011, The *padron* can be a type of proof authenticating de facto permanence when seeking a residence permit through *arraigo* social. It gives foreigners the right of local residents according to local regulations and also provides partners in an irregular situation certain rights such as health or housing services in case of a social emergency. It also provides irregular migrants informal education services in adult education centres(Ajuntament de Barcelona 2008). So, in a way, the municipal census is not only just a doorway to reception services but the commencement of the process of integration fostered by the local government. Any person registered in the municipal regardless of his /her legal status is entitled to have access to services like legal aid, services, informative sessions about local surroundings, and training on employment and language skills. The Barcelona City Council allows people with no fixed address to

register in the municipal census. A person who has no fixed address can register with the City Council social services Department; this practice aims to include all inhabitants in Barcelona, irrespective of his or her economic, social, economic status. In comparison, other councils apply the law more strictly and even require additional documents specified by law, such as a fixed address, residence permit, or occupancy certificate in a property complying with health and safety measurements (Garcés-Mascareñas 2014).

5.1.1.2 Barcelona's reports for legalization and family reunification

According to the Alien law 2004, the city councils are also responsible for producing social inclusion reports that are essential for attaining legal status through arraigo social and housing reports for family reunification. Like the padron, different councils have their own administrative procedures, which implies that the council policy can affect the immigrant's legal status and family reunification. With regards to the social inclusion report for the regulation of immigrants through arriago social, the alien's regulation states that the certificated published by the council must specify *"the time of residence of the applicant at the home address, source of revenue, level of languages used, engagement with social networks in the locality, programmes run by public or private institutions for inclusion in the social and employment spheres in which the applicant has participated, and the extent to which this might be used to establish his or her level of rootedness"* (Art. 46.2 cited in Garcés-Mascareñas 2014). The primary legal requirements are continuous residence in Spain for three years, integration in communal networks suggest public libraries, and command over the official languages, yet some councils required immigrants to submit supplementary requirements such as a minimum period of listing in the municipal census or membership in certain communal bodies. After the 2010 Reception law in (Catalonia 2010), Participation in reception programs the Catalan language course, consists of 45 hours, has also become an indispensable factor if a positive report is to be issued. The Barcelona city council appeared to be flexible here as well. According to their "rootedness" report 2013, out of 4400 only 571 were turned down temporarily, when they did not fill the essential requirement and asked to come back when they had all the required documents, only 136, which is only 3%, were turned down negatively. In most cases, the reason for turning down is insufficient knowledge of Catalan or Spanish. In this case, their file is

remains open, and they are recommended to come back again in a few months after acquiring the language skills (Garcés-Mascareñas 2014). This shows that the Barcelona city council has a flexible and pragmatic approach towards the immigrants and do not want to discourage their integration.

According to the 2004 regulations, the town and city councils must appraise the applicant's housing and create a housing report for the purpose of family reunification. They visually inspect the accommodation for housing conditions, total of rooms, use of individual space and number of individuals living on the location. Some councils necessitate documents like certificate of living or document of proprietorship or rent contract of the house. Barcelona has shown much more leniency, which leads to a positive effect on the family reunification decisions. The Barcelona city council also delivers migrants with a family reunification program that gives advice and personalized public help to families. They offer legal advice concerning necessary paperwork, orientation and guidance for minors and youth to have access to education and engagement facilities in Barcelona. There is also collective support in activities designed for newly integrated family members and collective assistance to guarantee a smooth family reunion and simplify the process of incorporation in the city (Garcés-Mascareñas 2014).

5.1.1.3 Legal advice to immigrants

In 2007, the Barcelona Council's Department for the Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue Programme launched the Legal Advice for Foreigners Social Entities Network. The program aimed to share information regarding legal advice among people in Barcelona. This network encouraged the publishing n and circulating information that concerns the alterations in law and rules affectioning immigrants (Garcés-Mascareñas 2014).

Legal advice is presented public bodies and sponsored by the Barcelona city council through various projects. The free legal advice is primarily focused with procedures for obtaining legal status through arriago or rootedness, renewal of the residence permit, family reunification, expatriation, naturalization through matrimonial, help with shelter etc. Since the Royal Decree-Law 16/2012, excludes the irregular immigrants from the use of free public health services, a number of requests with with how to achieve a health care card through the procedure established by the Generalitat of Catalonia, the

regional government. A report on the Reception Plan produced by the public bodies identified a series of features that make legal aid a necessary yet laborious process. In a nutshell, the legal help delivered by the city council through public bodies fulfils the need for informing the migrants but also mediates with the administration (Garcés-Mascareñas 2014).

5.1.1.4 Political Participation of the migrants in the city

Those from countries that have mutuality treaties with Spain and Europeans, have access to vote in municipal elections, but there are others who do not fit in this category are excluded. While the right to vote is limited, there are other informal avenues available to the immigrants such as membership in the Council's advisory boards, plebiscites and referendums. The only pre-requisite for participation is the registration in the padron.

The Barcelona Municipal Immigration Council involves of immigrant organisations as well as public bodies from the Reception Network. The Immigration Council includes representatives of the political parties constructing the City Council and municipal workers in the field (who can't vote but speak).

The Immigration Council has a twin role .From the City Council's perspective, opens up direct contact with the stakeholders and for the immigrants' organisations, it acts as an avenue of information and management of their requests as well as negotiation and assessment of the policies that concerns them (Álvarez Enríquez cited in (Garcés-Mascareñas 2014).

5.1.2 Socio-economic

5.1.2.1 Labour market access

Along with legal advice and language learning, the coaching and guidance for joining the job market is part of the significant part of Barcelona's reception policies. The reception program's objective is to guide newcomers to develop their skills and empower them to make use of the primary guidance services, however in practice; these services are not only the gateway of entering the job market new immigrants but also assisting those who are unemployed for a long time (Garcés-Mascareñas 2014).

Legal authorisation to work in Spain is the precondition for economic migrants and refugees to have full access to the labour market and economic integration services provided in the city by the local and national government. Although the permit to work and recognition of competences comes under the national government's jurisdiction, yet the municipalities can play a vital role in connecting the migrants to local businesses. Although access to employment is not the competence of a municipality, it has involved developing local employment programs. Generally, Barcelona's employment programs have not focused on dedicated policies for integrating migrants in the labour market but instead encouraged migrant integration through indiscrimination policies for the unemployed and vulnerable population. Recently the municipality has worked upon developing programs for irregular migrants (OECD 2018).

SAIER is a municipal service for migrants that provides information and advice (Creu Roja n.d.). Similarly, UGT-AMIC is a non-profit organization for migrants (UGT-AMIC n.d.). SAIER through outsourcing to a partner trade union- UGT-AMIC assists migrants in their integration in the labour market. The UGT-AMIC assists in diploma recognition, search for employment and vocational training (SAIER 2016 in OECD 2018). It has to be noted that these services are not explicitly designed for migrants but rather the vulnerable community as a whole, which may include the long term unemployed or women working in domestic care services. Barcelona's 2016-2020 employment strategy emphasises 'diversity', and its priority is to fight against discrimination of vulnerable groups such as LGTBI, immigrants, and the disabled mentally challenged. These programs also engage with irregular migrants working in informal job conditions and female migrants who work as domestic help (OECD 2018).

Migrants with valid work permits are not discriminated and have access to the employment activation programs if they register to be unemployed. In Barcelona, the regional government offers these programs through the Occupation Offices of the Generalitat and the municipality through Barcelona Activa. Migrants who have work permit can register and benefit from labour market orientation programs, vocational training and entrepreneurship workshops designed by the occupational offices. Barcelona Activa does not provide financial allowance to unemployed but instead help with job hunting, labour intermediation, guidance and training for entrepreneurs. They provide specific sector-related vocational training, business incubators and business lending services. Barcelona Activa is funded by municipal and EU funds (OECD 2018).

5.1.2.2 Healthcare for migrants

Healthcare falls under the authority of the Generalitat of Catalonia. The Barcelona city council promotes 'health and wellbeing' of all residents as one of their main goals (plan 2012-15,42 cited in Garcés-Mascareñas 2014) as a prerequisite for achieving equality, which is also an important goal in the Barcelona immigration policy.

Spain adopted the Royal Decree-Law 16/2012 in an attempt to improve the quality and sustainability of the national health system. This law hinders the undocumented migrants from accessing the healthcare system. Before adopting this law, irregular migrants had easy and free access to the Spanish national health system (NHS). The only requirements were individual healthcare card, based on residency, ID proof and the padron (PICUM 2016). Currently, undocumented migrants are required to have an income lower than the (minimum integration Income) and a recorded padron of minimum three months primary and emergency care and a atleast one year to receive specialist medical assistance (Garcés-Mascareñas 2014). The Royal Decree, however, allows emergency, primary and secondary healthcare access to children under the age of 18 and undocumented pregnant women yet this is not guaranteed as Medecins du Monte (2015) reported that pregnant women were still denied health care in different public health centres either because of lack of knowledge about the law or the will for assistance. Similarly, for children in irregular situations, it is challenging to acquire the health card, and the health centres don't have the required knowledge about how to deal with them, resulting in denial of healthcare and even access to vaccination for children (Macherey 2015). The municipality's role is limited to disseminating information through its municipal staff in hopes that it will simplify the bureaucratical process to the immigrants to understand how to follow the protocols to gain access to the limited services available. Barcelona municipality regularly prints informative material, including maps, in numerous languages which are then distributed through municipal social services (OECD 2018).

5.1.2.3 Education for young migrants

Among all the policy domain, it is education through which the Barcelona city council administration has taken tangible steps in making educational opportunities accessible for all children disregarding their legal status. Since 2004-2005, the young immigrants have been provided with welcome classrooms, which is a corresponding educational facility carefully designed to assist the unique needs of the 'new' students in their emotional and academic adjustment, along with a particular focus on the language used in school (Garcés-Mascareñas 2014).

Barcelona has been declared a child-friendly city due to its several initiatives to promote children's participation through schools, local institutions, and community associations such as the Municipal Programme for Childhood and Adolescence of Barcelona 2013-2016 (Clark 2015). The city council also promotes guidance for family reunification and promotes the incorporation of student arriving through family reunification. Barcelona Welcomes You in Summer, was a program through which the Department of Immigration arranged several activities during summers to promote socialising among students, learning the Catalan language, familiarising with the local environment, the receiving society, and accessing libraries as one of the spaces to socialise with other adolescents and young students (Ramon Sanahuja interviewed in Garcés-Mascareñas 2014). Another crucial program is known as Get Ready, was aimed at young competitive and brilliant achievers, between age 18 and 20) who excelled at their country of origins and assist them to continue their education in Barcelona. This program helped them get recognition for the qualification and prepared university studies by preparing them for the university entrance exams (interview in Garcés-Mascareñas 2014).

Similar important projects to encourage the inclusion of immigrant parents and their children into the school environment were initiated by the public bodies or the schools and funded by the department of immigration. The project Barcelona School was one such example aimed to encourage the educational growth of Chinese youth in Barcelona schools. The project 'Everyone in the Parents' Association, intends to encourage the engagement of parents of the immigrant in parents' associations. Similarly, Nou Barris Neighbourhood are designed for schools in a specific part of Barcelona (Garcés-Mascareñas 2014).

Other small projects are financed through intercultural initiatives or participation and voluntary workers' programme and run by public bodies or by municipal districts of every neighbourhood. The Nightingales Project was designed by the Faculty of Education and Psychology at the University of Girona but was also adopted in Barcelona. This mentorship programme assigns a university student to an immigrant family and shows them the city's cultural and leisure spaces in order to catalyse processes of integration (interview in Garcés-Mascareñas 2014).

In terms of education for adults, the municipality of Barcelona gears courses for migrants through two essential means. Firstly, by providing language courses with the assistance of Generalitat of Catalonia through the municipal Secretariat of Welcome Policies for Migrants. Secondly, through allocating subsidies allocated by the municipal Secretariat of Citizen's Rights and Diversity to NGOs and migrant associations for language and literacy classes for migrants (OECD 2018).

The Department of Immigration of the Barcelona City Council spends around 100,000 euros per year on educational integration projects. The projects may be small, yet they are impactful (interview in Garcés-Mascareñas 2014).

5.1.2.4 Housing for immigrants

The housing policy is regulated by the national government, which includes rent regulation and social housing. However, the responsibility of implementing social housing is shared between the municipality and the region by the housing Consortium and the Municipal Housing Institute (formerly BagurSa and Patronat de l'Habitatge) which regulates social housing, offers rent subsidies, legal assistance and manages the social housing stock. There is a shortage of housing in Barcelona and hence no dedicated policy measures for migrants' access to housing. Building new public housing is problematic in Barcelona as natural obstructions limit the city's enlargement, and there is practically no suitable land available (OECD 2018).

Barcelona only provides social services to the general population but is currently supervising the situation of immigrants. The supervision is done through the process of family reunification that requires a accommodation report formed by the Council reporting housing situations, the amount of rooms, use of space, and total individuals residing at the family reunification candidate's address. If the Department of Immigration identifies irregularities such as overloading, poor living or illegal economic

actions, it reports the Housing Department, the neighbourhood institutions, the Municipal Police and other municipal agents to intervene in administrative, legal and social domains. If the conditions are not feasible, it can create complications and lead to denial of family reunification (Garcés-Mascareñas 2014).

The undocumented migrants are not included in the state-subsidized housing and support system due to their legal status, but they can avail this service after achieving long term residence. However, they are entitled to emergency accommodation for only a limited period (PICUM 2016).

5.1.3 Cultural-Religious

5.1.3.1 Cultural inclusion

Along with several cultural integration programs already mentioned in the educational domain, there are many intercultural initiatives by the Barcelona city council. The Barcelona city council has a particular emphasis on highlighting Barcelona's history and cultural heritage through exhibitions and incorporating this content in language courses and reception programs for the immigrants. The city council is also considerate the culture and festivals of the immigrants and try to incorporate that into the city's calendar of festivals (Pla Barcelona Interculturalitat 2011:35-6 cited in Garcés-Mascareñas 2014). There are various intercultural projects and activities encouraged by the Barcelona city council with the help of civil society organization at the neighbourhood level. An exciting project is the Festival "Soups of the World" arranged by civil society in Nou Barris, a district in Barcelona which has a large number of immigrants. The activity involves people from various from different cultures cook a tradition soup. During this activity, people interact during the cooking process, and the sharing of food is symbolic of cultural harmony and welcoming of newcomers (OECD 2018). This activity not only offers an opportunity for interaction between different people but also encourages sharing, which is symbolic of coexistence.

The public libraries in the network of the neighbourhood also played a vital role in the municipal promotion of intercultural promotion. An example is the public library in Ciutat Meridiana neighbourhood constructed in 2009, aimed to develop the quality of

public spaces in a high migrant concentration poor neighbourhood. This library holds books in various languages and offers various educational classes for women only (such as IT classes as per the request of Moroccan women of the neighbourhood). There are also activities organized for the neighbourhood children and senior citizens (OECD 2018).

There have been various conscious initiatives to promote interaction between local and migrant storekeepers to create cultural harmony, interaction and trust. One such initiative in 2007, was "Retail and social cohesion" and, in 2015 project XEIX in l'Eixample district, a Council of Europe distinction award-winning district. XEIX was encouraged partnership between the municipality and Chinese and Spanish business associations to encourage integration through retail-oriented activities. A commercial association for Chinese shop-owners was created, and events were organized, along with joint workshops for both local and immigrant shop-owners. Furthermore, the municipality built an intercultural centre: Espai Avinyó that cultural events including exhibitions, concerts, conferences and meetings in the Barcelona city (OECD 2018).

5.1.3.2 Religious Harmony

Barcelona created its first inter-religious centre (Centro Abraham) to facilitate the requirements of habitants from various religious faith during the Olympic games the same year. The centre was closed, but in 1998 of the Barcelona Inter-religious Centre was created which later became the Office for Religious Affairs. It was given to Department of Civil Rights of the Barcelona City Council, but it was managed by the Catalan UNESCO Interfaith Association in 2004 and the Bayt-al-Thaqafa Foundation in 2013 (Garcés-Mascareñas 2014). Griera (2012), believes that Barcelona was the first Catalan or even Spanish city council that fostered a positive attitude to religious minorities.

In 2009, the Catalan law on Centres of Religious Worship (16/2009 cited in Garcés-Mascareñas 2014), assigned local governments a prominent responsibility in the management of religious diversity, following its objective to ensure the right to liberty of worship, support of municipal councils in ensuring this right, and facilitating in the

proper environments of safekeeping and sanitation in places of worship. This Law obligated the municipal council to reserve urban land dedicated to religious activities and gave them licence for opening and using the centres of religious worship. This encouraged city councils to design policies for managing religious diversity (Garcés-Mascareñas 2014).

According to Griera (2012), the city council's office of religious affairs aims to create a database with necessary information about religious groups in the city. Since 2005 it has published an electronic periodical to make people aware of Barcelona's religious traditions and practices. It also aims to defend religious minority rights by promoting a transversal policy receptive to the needs and issues of religious minorities (Griera 2012 , 582). However, there seems to be a disconnect between the policy and practice as Cristina Monteys (interview in Garcés-Mascareñas 2014), highlights the people in charge of the municipal facilities hinders the use of the council facilities by saying that it is only for non-religious use and religious activity is not allowed. There are times when these officials are aware of rules, but they try to avoid responsibility.

5.1.3.3 Anti-discriminatory initiatives

In 2010, Barcelona's City Council launched the Barcelona Anti Rumour Campaign (PICUM 2017). The "anti-rumours program" aims to shape a counter-narrative to rumours concerning migrants dismissing the myths regarding immigrants and building a positive dialogue about diversity. The municipality organizes awareness and interaction campaigns to prevent the misperceptions about immigrants, present evidence, negate fake rumours, and offer counterarguments. The municipality also organizes capacity-building workshops to facilitate observes of discriminatory attitudes towards immigrants to intervene. In 2017, following the terrorist attacks in Barcelona, the municipality launched a plan to fight Islamophobia intending to portray Islamophobia as a type of discrimination, neutralize the spread of negative images about Islam, normalize religious diversity and strengthen mechanisms against this form of discrimination. The plan consisted measures of several terms; namely, the short term containing awareness campaigns, the inclusion of Islamophobia as a form of discrimination in the directive of the Municipal Police, the middle term containing school workshops on stereotypical views of Islam and religious diversity, support for Muslim organizations in creating the "Day Against Islamophobia" and long-term

measures included an establishment of an observatory for hate crimes, a guide for municipal workers, etc. (OECD 2018).

Table 5.1 Theoretical Framework for host-stranger relationship in Barcelona

Local authority's attitude	Transient	Guestworker	Assimilationist	Pluralist
Policy types	**Non-Policy**	**Guestworker policy**	**Assimilationist policy**	**Pluralist Policy**
Domains/area issues				
Legal political				
Municipal census			Census registration allows access to limited public services. Facilitates the naturalization process.	
Reports for Legalization/Family reunification			Facilitate the naturalization/ resident permit process where possible. Some flexibility is shown migrant's limitations.	
Legal Advice			Facilitate the Arriago process and mediate. Free advice is only for basic information and not legal services.	
Political Participation			Inclusion of migrant organizations only at the council level. No voting rights are given.	
Socio-Economic				
Labor Market			Migrant's otherness/ethnic background not taken into account. Generic policies for 'vulnerable group' which includes the migrants.	

			Equal access to vocational/job-related facilities.	
Healthcare		Undocumented migrant not a part of the free healthcare service. Service is connected to legal status and contribution to social security by the Migrant.		
Education			Support for National language as opposed to multilingual classes. Various initiatives for newcomers to learn about the host country's language and culture. Programs facilitating the newcomers to learn about Barcelona and its neighbourhoods Barcelona's culture and history part of the curriculum for migrants and no regard to the 'otherness' or home culture of migrants.	
Housing	Almost no concrete policy for the migrants			
Cultural Religious				
Cultural Diversity				Support for diversity. Multicultural and ethnic backgrounds celebrated
Religious Diversity			A disconnect between policy and practice	
Anti-discrimination			Limited to only anti-racism campaigns. No other concrete policies to stop discrimination	

Chapter 6 Conclusion

6.1 Research outcomes

The study analysed how Barcelona's local government's perception of the "strangers' and their 'otherness' is reflected upon different integration policies the four main domains, i.e. Legal-Political, Socio-economic and Cultural-Religious. Furthermore, major issue areas under each domain such as for Legal-Political- *Municipal consensus, Reports on family reunification, Legal advice* and *Political Participation*, for Socio-economic- *Labour Market, Healthcare, Education* and *Housing* and for Cultural-Religious *Cultural integration, Religious integration and Anti-discrimination policies* were studied in depth. It was noticed that although local government's attitude and policy can differ from domain to domain, but they can also be different within one domain's issue area. Such as in the case of Socio-economic Healthcare and housing, stood out to be distinct policies falling under the Guestworker and Transient category as opposed to the rest being Assimilationist. Similar was the case with Cultural diversity under the Cultural-religious domain, which followed a relatively Pluralistic approach.

The research adopted Alexander's (2003) theoretical framework of "Host-stranger' relationships and studied how it applied to Barcelona's local government policies. Furthermore, a post-analysis, a refined theoretical framework, was suggested to simplify the study.

The research aim was achieved by a critical and extensive review of literature on relevant research area, in order to understand the theoretical framework of 'host-stranger' relationships and its impact on policy domains. The knowledge gaps were identified to be researched further in the empirical study. Relevant Data was collected to analyse the findings while evaluating the proposed theoretical framework through various domain and issue area policies. A refined theoretical framework was designed to be used for future research.

6.2 Limitations

This research was conducted during 2020 when the global pandemic erupted. Spain and particularly Barcelona was one of the epicentres of the global pandemic due to the spread of the COVID19 virus. A strict lockdown began as early as March 2020, and it altered the way this research was initially planned to be conducted. I initially planned to collect data through interviews with not only government officials from the Barcelona city council and Barcelona

Activa but also reach out to immigrant organizations and irregular immigrants residing in the different neighbourhoods of Barcelona. However, despite several efforts that could not happen, and I was forced to rely heavily on secondary data and literature.

Another major obstacle in the data collection was the language barrier as the I did not know Catalan or Spanish. This meant that the data available on the research was shrunk and the researcher depended on secondary data collection through surveying literature and reports available in English as I lacked time and resources to get Catalan/Spanish documents translated into English.

Due to the resource limitations of the research, the study only reflects on the local policies in Barcelona in different domains and issue areas. It does not study the disconnect between the policy and practice in Barcelona.

6.3 Future Research

The post analysis theoretical framework can be applied to various future studies. Future researchers can do a comparative analysis of different cities, each having a unique 'Guestworker', 'Transient', 'Assimilationist', and 'Pluralist' approach and study how each of the cities differs in their policy domains. There can be a study of how the perception of the negative "otherness of migrants" by local officials affects the implementation of policies even in the presence of pluralistic policies. Another interesting study would be a study longitudinal of how a city can move within phases in the development of local policies and how throughout the years due to external and internal factors a city can move from 'Guestworker' to 'Transient' etc.

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Thesis report

Central European University/ Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals

The role of Vocational Training and Schools in Integration of Young Irregular Immigrants: A case study of Spain

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Declaration of Authorship

I, the undersigned **Sarah Khan** hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis report. To the best of my knowledge this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgement has been made. This thesis report contains no material which has been accepted as part of the requirements of any other academic degree or non-degree program, in English or in any other language.

This is a true copy of the thesis report, including final revisions.

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Introduction

During the past few decades migration inflow in Europe has increased substantially and even the countries which had very low influx of migration has experienced massive increase. According to UN 11.1% (43.9 million) of EU-15 country residents were naturalized nationals who were born outside of EU. This large influx of immigrants has been concentrated in the South European countries like Spain and Italy, where immigrant population has increased from 7 and 5.5 percent points to 12% and 9% respectively (Frattini and Meschi 2017).

Many of the immigrants that make their way towards the European Union come from lower socioeconomic status and thus they might not only have gaps in their academic learning but also lack advance employable skills that are required in the host countries market. Many of them also lack any kind of knowledge of the Host country's language and find themselves in a frustrating situation where they might find themselves alienated from the host society and struggle finding employment and thus end up in isolation and fail to integrate into the host society. Third country nationals are continuously at the disadvantaged place in regards to employment, education and even social inclusion despite the efforts of EU member states (OECD 2015).

While irregular immigrants have a very negative connotation to them, most irregular immigrants crossed the country legally and even struggled to acquire the refugee or asylum status but failed to earn their right to stay legally. Despite the continuous efforts of Border Control at EU, it could not stop large influx of immigrants in EU and it's inevitable that these immigrants will stay in host country and will face hardships.

For migrant's education and building up to date skill sets is a crucial prerequisite to find work, earn a living and connect with the host society's culture and values. Although educating migrants might have increased cost as compared to natives in short term but if we consider the long term impact, it will contribute greatly to the social capital (Bonin 2017). Unemployment among youth is the biggest challenge in today's age and it is an even bigger challenge if one is

displaced or migrates to another country where they are naturally disadvantaged due to the lack of language and host country specific skills. Furthermore, most immigrants are from a lower economic background and it makes acquiring tertiary education a very expensive option. So it can be derived that these immigrants from disadvantaged background seek alternatives to not only expensive tertiary education but skill sets that can guarantee employability.

Technical/Vocational education not plays a vital role in the development of human capital but also is essential for the achievement of sustainable development (UN n.d.).Vocational training is one of the least competitive educational option as most young people who are academically disadvantaged and are at high risk of drop out choose to enroll in the vocational track. Furthermore, vocational training provides direct access to young people into the labor market. In the wake of immigrant crisis in Europe it is crucial to find solutions for not only the integration of refugees into society but also help them become self-sustainable, so that they not become a burden but contribute to the economic system of the host country. While there are a few vocational/ technical colleges that cater to the needs of young adults that are keen to be part of the economic system, there needs to be study on how affective these institutes are in the integration of the refugees into the economic and social structure of the country.

Spain is not only one of the most vibrant country in EU, but also one of the most welcoming for refugees and asylum seekers, according to recent study 86% Spaniards support refugees (Sánchez 2018), it serves as an interesting case study because recent event shows that Spain is willing to find humanitarian solutions to the refugees and migrant crisis. Most importantly Spain is very flexible with minors in providing enrollment in schools as they do not strictly check the legal status of the student but rather only require a registration Spanish residence address. There is even flexibility with acceptance of foreign certificates and diplomas.

Migration

Human migration has been part of human survival since the dawn of time. Primitive human beings have always travelled in search of either food, water or survival. In Modern age, the man travels for economic opportunities or to escape conflict, war or persecution (Castles, Miller, and Haas 2014).

Migration is a catalysing the fundamental social, economic and political transformation that shape today's world. Millions of people are migrating in order to seek work, better opportunities or simply a haven outside their country of birth. For the peripheral countries, emigration is an aspect of social crisis and an escape to the world of modernization and blooming market(Castles, Miller, and Haas 2014).

While history has seen economic migrants in large numbers, there is abundance of forced migrations and refugee seeking and thus many migrants have also crossed the borders illegally and became irregular. Violence, oppressive governments and violation of human rights are major contributors to forced immigrations across the states (Castles, Miller, and Haas 2014).

As mobility of people increased, an emerging concern that has surfaced is the challenge of "transnationalism", as people foster social and economic relationships with more than one society simultaneously. Many scholars believe that such phenomenon can undermine the undivided loyalty and patriotism which is important for sovereign nation states (Castles, Miller, and Haas 2014) .

On the contrary increase in diversity and transnationalism is viewed as beneficial process that can counter violence and destructiveness that are fundamental part of jingoistic nationalism and right wing extremism (Castles, Miller, and Haas 2014), which can help build sentiments of inclusion and harmony in a society.

Irregular migration

Irregular migration became prominent in the western society since World War II (Sassen 1999) but it should be noted that irregular is not always synonymous to illegal, in fact most irregular migrants cross borders legally and due to various reasons can become irregular over the time. A good example can be the family immigration status in which if a minor becomes an adult, he/she is no longer included in the immigrant status and has to apply through a separate application and failing to do so can make him/her irregular.

The incapacity of Northern European countries to solve issues of denial of refugee status or residence permit has given birth to irregular migrants in Northern European countries (Van Meeteren 2014). The way of tacking with this problem, governments have devised policies to prevent irregular immigration (Albrecht 2002). Initially these policies only were relevant to border control of the European Union but recently border control has been proved ineffective in preventing irregular migration (Brochmann 1999b).

Exclusion can make living and working conditions complicated for irregular migrants which are failed to be deterred from crossing the border (Broeders 2007). Despite the EU's repeated policies, the irregular migrants have failed to be deterred and they always find loopholes in these policies and still manage to not only arrive in EU and even find work. The European Union finger print database keeps records of people when they enter European Union through a border and therefore when the asylum seeker floats the application for asylum, the shared database alerts the officials about their first entry in a particular member state (Langford 2013).

For this mechanism to work efficiently it is also important that the refugee is registered correctly into the system, otherwise it would be near to impossible to verify through which member state border the refugee entered, and which state is responsible for the asylum for that individual. Furthermore has been various cases where the refugees have deliberated induced self-harm and mutilate the fingers in order to become undetectable by the system so that they are not transferred to the state they have entered the European Union (BBC 2004).

One of the reasons that irregular migrants manage to survive in EU is because they provide cheap and informal labor, for which there is a very big demand in the market (Van Meeteren 2014). In Western Europe, Employees are tempted to hire informal workers as they enable them to dodge the set minimum wage and social insurance that they would have to pay for regular labor (Jordan and Duvell 2002). Social Myths and Stereotypes attach to the irregular immigrants have created the perception that these individuals are criminals (Coutin 2005), and they take advantage of the social welfare of the state and create unnecessary job competition for the natives (Brochmann 1999a).

On the contrary research has proven that very few irregular migrants engage in illegal activities (Leekers 2009) and even fewer take advantage of the welfare system (Cyrus and Vogel 2006).Furthermore irregular are not considered as a substantial labor but rather complementary to the existing labor (Jordan and Duvell 2002).

There is a lot of negative connotations attached to irregular migrants which feed negatively to the existing stereotypes. Irregular migrants are also called undocumented, unauthorized or illegal migration (Van Meeteren 2014). While illegal is the word using used widespread, social scientist prefer to avoid it and use undocumented to avoid criminal connotations attached to the word (Duvell 2006). Some argue that illegal should not be use with the state of being (Schinkel 2005), as one cannot be illegal rather his employment or stay can be illegal (Van Meeteren 2014). Many irregular immigrants might not have proper documentations for their stay but they entered the country lawfully at the point of crossing the border and furthermore many can prove their struggle to become legal using fair means (Chauvin and Garcés-Mascareñas 2012).

Since irregular migrants are an inevitable part of the society and isolating them from the host country can further cause

Traditionally integration has three important components economic advancement, educational attainment and cultural acceptability (Van Meeteren 2014). In order to achieve integration of immigrants, economic stability is crucial in order to earn a living and in order to find work, they need to have some form of skill sets and education and, only after achieving financial stability, they can achieve cultural stability.

Integration

Integration has always been viewed as a two-way process in the past which was relevant not only to migrants and the receiving society but it has now been recognized that the home countries also play an important role in the integration of immigrants (Garcés-Mascareñas 2015).

There has been various definitions of what integration means on different levels but to simplify we follow the European Commission, which developed a comprehensive perspective and definition of integration based on the simultaneous fulfilment of rights and obligations and focused on the policy dimensions such as economic ,social, political rights and cultural and religious diversity and citizen participation (European Commission 2003).

The Council of European Union agreed upon Common Basic Principles for migrant integration and defined integration as a dynamic two way process cooperation by immigrants and nationals of member states (Council of EU 2004). The involvement of all stakeholders including migrant organizations, human rights organizations and social partners is crucial for successful integrational policies (European Commission 2005).

Garcés-Mascareñas defines integration as a process of settlement as migrants try to make the host country their new home through the process of finding accommodation, jobs, health facilities and even access to education. During this process, they have interactions with other individuals, groups and institutions and since it is a two way process the host society has gets affected in the process of adaptation (Garcés-Mascareñas 2015).

Garcés-Mascareñas (2015 cited Esser 2004) and explained Integration as the inclusion of social actors in an already existing social system. Every individual should have some knowledge of the means to work or how to behave in the host society, in order to get jobs or to gain access to basic human rights such as education, social welfare and even goods and there is no alternative to this (Bommes, Boswell, and D'Amato 2012).

An irregular migrant is the one who does not have a legal position in the host society but has integrated through the other two dimensions while on the other hand, an immigrant is a person who has become a legal citizen (Garcés-Mascareñas 2015).

Integration includes three dimensions, which are legal-political, socioeconomic and cultural-religious (Entzinger 2000).For this study the researches focuses only on socioeconomic dimension. The socio-economic dimension includes the social and economic status of the residents regardless of their national status or citizenship. Another way of looking at this dimension is analyzing the immigrants' access basic rights of a resident such as institutional

facilities for finding jobs, housing ,education and healthcare in comparison to those of the resident's (Garcés-Mascareñas 2015).

According to Garcés-Mascareñas (2015), the process of integration is divided into parties, the immigrants and the receiving society and their interactions with each other. Furthermore, there are levels of integration, at first level there are individuals such as migrants and citizens of host country. The socioeconomic dimension can be measured by jobs, accommodation and educational and health facilities. The Institutions can be two types, first is the standard institutions which help with provision of education, housing, public health and labor market services and second type is migrant specific organizations which aim at the wellbeing of migrants.

Figure 1 **Integration, Actors and its dimensions**
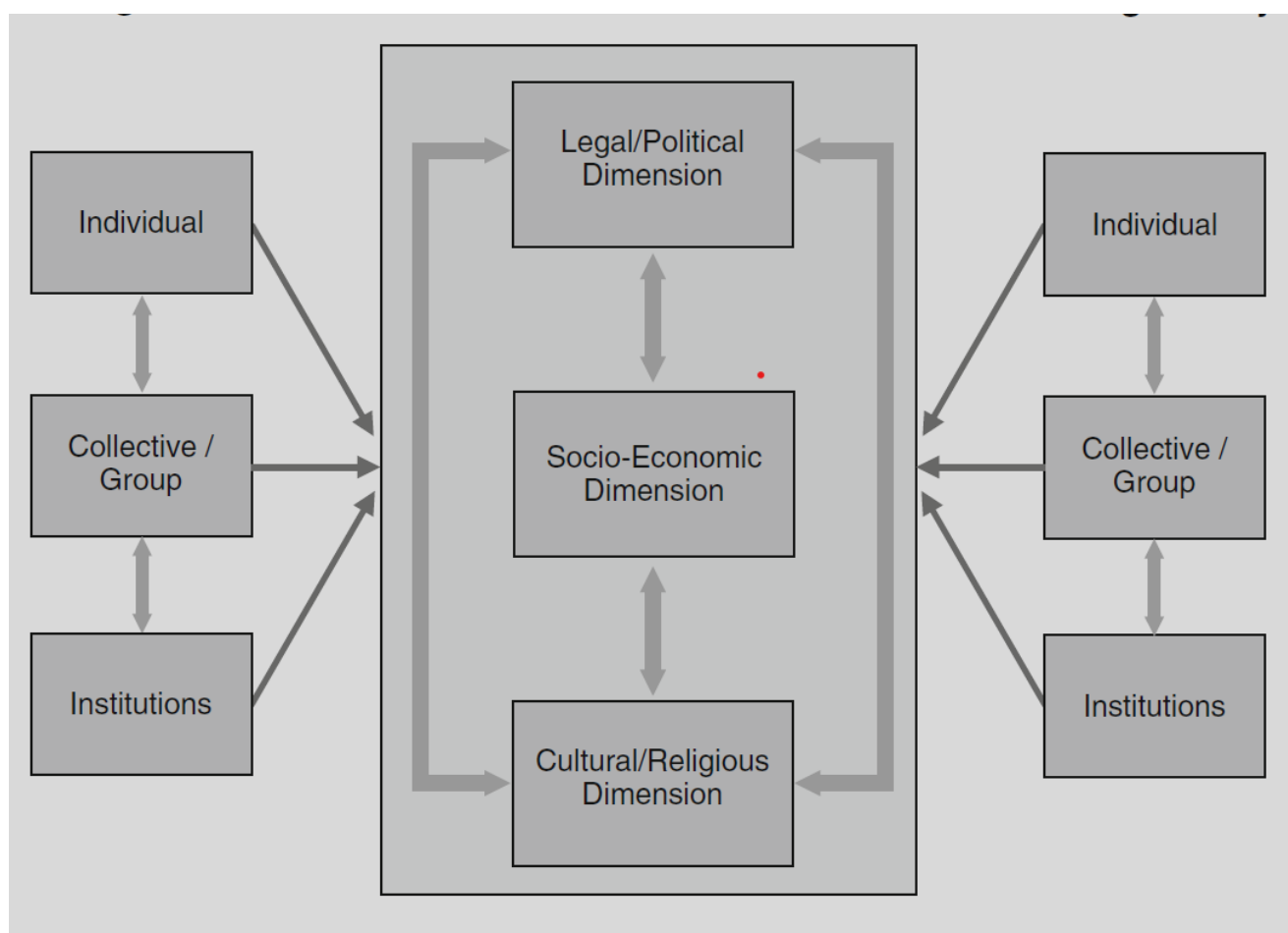
Source : (Garcés-Mascareñas 2015)

For this study the focus is on institutions and the socioeconomic dimension and its affects on individuals as well as collective/ groups.

Spain

The 1987 Spanish constitution sets rights for education and vocational training for foreign population. The minister of Education, Culture and sport has the authority of making Vocational Educational Training Policy. Vocational Educational Training focuses to empower students in professional fields, helping individuals adapt to changes in labor market, prepare individuals to be 8Pgood citizens while providing personal development and help them with continuation of education and learning (Gonzalo and Dewar 2016).

*Figure 2 Population of Spain 2011-2016*

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016(*)
Total	46 667 175	46 818 216	46 727 890	46 512 199	46 449 565	46 438 422
Spaniards	41 354 734	41 582 186	41 655 210	41 835 140	41 995 211	42 019 525
Foreigners	5 312 441	5 236 030	5 072 680	4 677 059	4 454 353	4 418 898

*Provincial Data

Source : Gonzalo and Dewar (2016 cited INE 2016)

We can see that there was a 0.02% decline in total population in 2016 due to net migration but around 114207 foreigners attained Spanish nationality 2015 and rescued from further decline in Spanish population(Gonzalo and Dewar 2016).

Figure 3 **Population by age and sex in EU%**
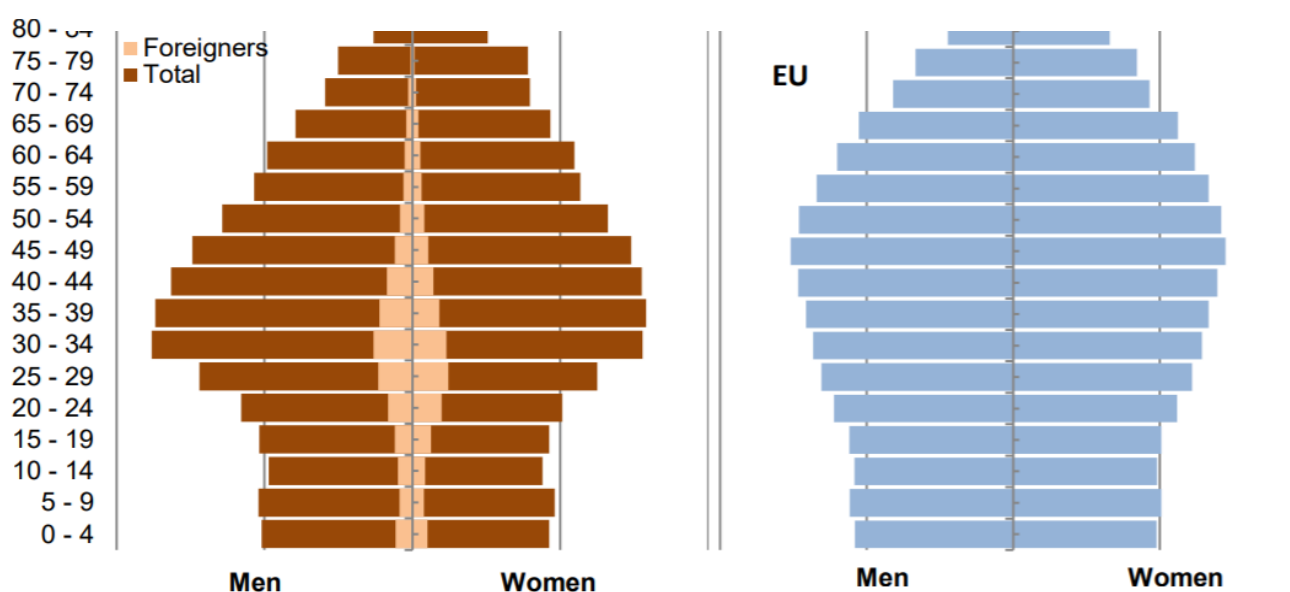
Source: (Eurostat data cited in Gonzalo and Dewar 2016)

In 2015 there was a clear decline in 0-10,20-39 and 65-69 age groups. The current trend shows that Spain could lose around one million population in next fifteen years and roughly around 5.6 million in the next 50 years. The biggest population decrease is expected to be in 30-49 age group (Gonzalo and Dewar 2016).

Foreigners make up to 9.5% of the total population of Spain and of this population 12% are young people of age 0-24, mostly school going age (Gonzalo and Dewar 2016).

Unemployment still is very high in Spain, mainly with youth and risks of long-term unemployment are also very high which can ultimately lead to poverty and social exclusion.

Inequality grew in Spain during economic crisis, but social benefits helped the situation from escalating even more and although the impact of social transfers is not as desirable as other European countries, the situation could have been even worse if they were not provided in the first place. Unemployed, foreigners and single parents have a very high risk of social exclusion (Gonzalo and Dewar 2016).

*Figure 4* **Rates of employment and unemployment of young people in Spain and the EU, 2007-15**

Rates	2007	2013	2015
Employment rate, 15-24 years			
EU-28	37.2	32.1	33.1
ES	39.2	16.8	17.9
Unemployment rate, 15-24 years			
EU-28	15.9	23.7	20.3
ES	18.1	55.5	48.3
Employment rate, 15-64 years			
EU-28	65.2	64.1	65.6
ES	65.8	54.8	57.8
Unemployment rate, 15-64 years			
EU-28	7.2	10.9	9.4
ES	8.2	26.1	22.1

Source : (Gonzalo and Dewar 2016)

Interestingly in 2015, young people have had higher employment rates in Spain compared EU-28 (1.2 Vs 0.6 points) while the decrease in unemployment is much more prominent by (-4.9Vs -1.9 points). In 2013-2015 the employment rate of individuals under 25 years rises by 1.1% points in Spain and 1% points in EU-28 and the unemployment rate is seen to be decreased by 7.2 and 3.4% respectively. While this appears as a good improvement, its still insufficient as during the economic crisis there was high increase in unemployment rate and high decrease in employment rate among youth. Unemployment among youth was 27.5 points higher than 2007 and it was second most highest in EU alongside Greece with over 45% while the total EU-28 was 20.3% (Gonzalo and Dewar 2016).

Figure 5 **Population aged 25-64 by qualification level, 2015**
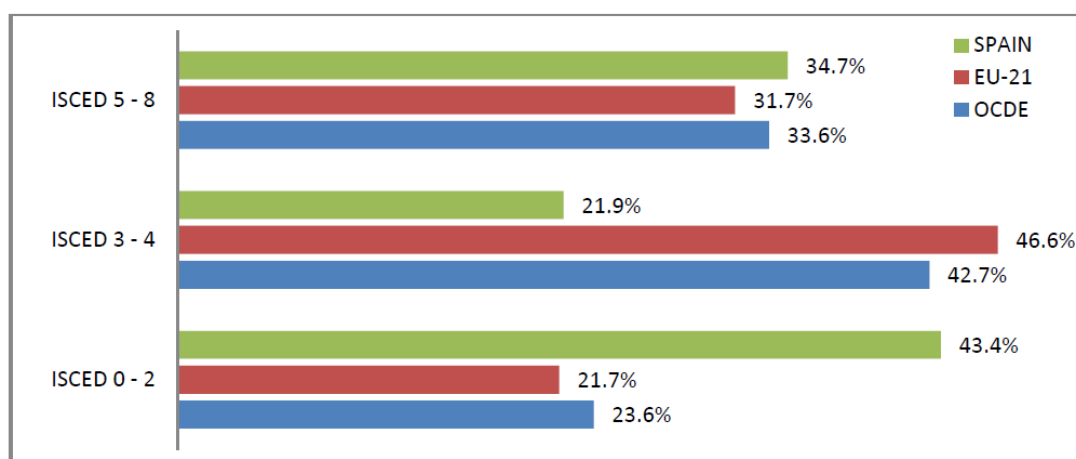
Source:(OECD 2015)

The percentage of individuals with low or no education (ISCED 0-2) is much higher than the EU average and the percentage of people with intermediate education (ISCED 3-4) is much lower than EU average and the OECD but tertiary education (ISCED 5-8) is slightly increased. Spain is now receiving twice as much refugees as Greece and six times the number received by Italy (Benavides 2018). This large influx can be predicted in two ways, they can either be a burden on the tax payer's money if there is no long-term integration or they can prove to be a great asset if they are integrated into the economic system of the country. Spain has drawn help from European Support Fund to finance a large scale program which includes assessment, recognition and validation of refugee skills, guidance and vocational education training provision in coordination with the Director General for Migration (European Center for the Development of Vocational Training 2017)

Role of Vocational Schools in integration

According to Organization for Economic CO-operation and Development (OECD), has risen almost above 50% in Spain (Eichhorst 2014). Youth unemployment is a great challenge faced due to global recession, but this also highlighted the need for young people to not only acquire updated skills but also the importance of institutions that help these young people transition from academia to job market. Vocational training combines vocational training with on job learning which appears to be the best solution for youth unemployment (Eichhorst 2014).

In Spain the vocational training is an important component of the higher secondary education system. The Spanish schooling is divided into distinct tracks, one is the general education track and the other one vocational track. The general education track is the basic academic training which prepares students for university education and on the other hand vocational training provides young students with skills that can be transferred into the job market. Vocational training is integrated into compulsory schooling as an alternate to pure academic schooling (Eichhorst 2014).

Vocational training is basically viewed as a safe for students who do not excel at academic performance and are at very high risk of drop out due to their poor performance (Eichhorst 2014).

*Figure 6* **Structure of Spain's Education System**
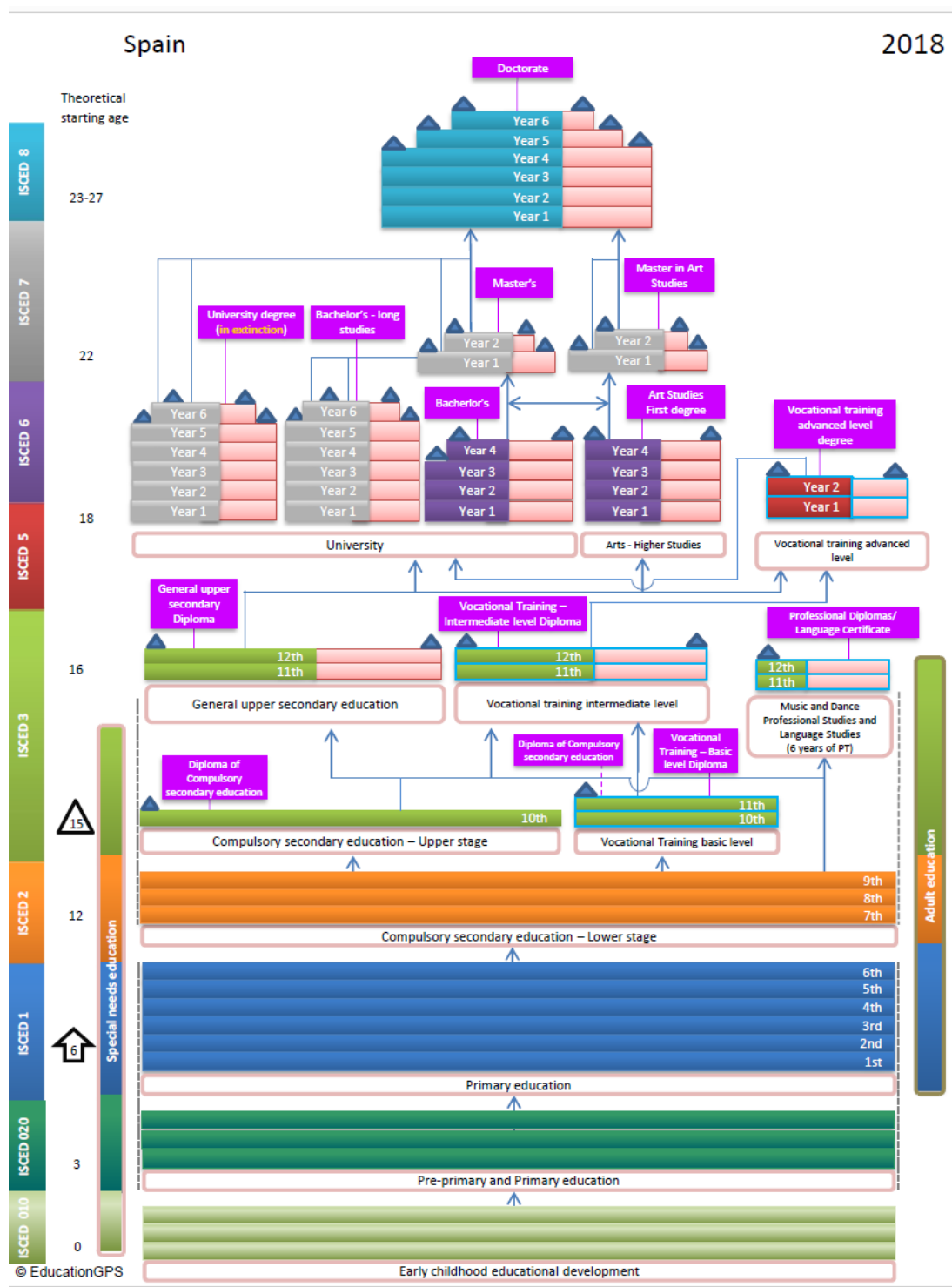
Source: OECD 2018

Considering the current situation of irregular migrants in Spain and the economic crisis, it is crucial for young immigrants to learn the host country specific skill set, that is demanded in the host country.

Furthermore, vocational institutes provide the much-needed social interactions between immigrant community and natives in such a way that both communities form relationships with each other and form better understanding of each other's cultures.

Figure 7 **Relationship between VET and employment**
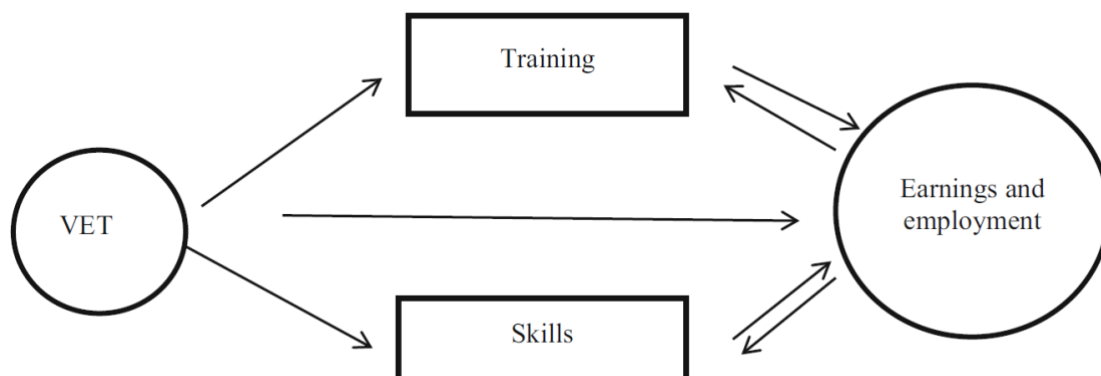
Source : (Brunello and Rocco 2017)

Social integration

No Human can live in isolation and survive without any interaction with social networks. The human society is intervened in social networks and these networks have a great impact on their lives. A social Network can also be considered a form of social resource which can provide benefits to individuals and improve their living conditions. In other words Social capital can produce social capital (Lancee 2012b).

Social Capital is defined as

"*The aggregate of the actual and potential resources which are linked to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word*" *(Pierre Bourdieu 1986).*

Social capital is then further divided into two components Structural and Cognitive (Van Deth, 2008).*For this study Structural component is the focus. Structural component further consists of collection of relationship ties people share when connected and the role of institutions in these ties* (Lancee 2012b).

Bridging Social capital refers to ties that consists of structural holes and thin trust. It further has two levels, individual level and collective level. On individual level this may refer to the collective resources present in the individual's widespread social network, which can be

accessible to the individual due to his/her relationship to the network. On collective level it refers to the resources that is not available to an ethnic group or its members but can be accessible through social networks (Lancee 2012b).

Interethnic relationships are very important especially for migrants because it gives them a chance to explore resources and job opportunities outside their own ethnic community (Granovetter 1995).

Bridging institutions are those institutions which assist span structural holes and facilitate develop ties between different groups (Van Deth, 2008).

Figure 8 **Bonding and bridging for resource rich and resource poor groups**
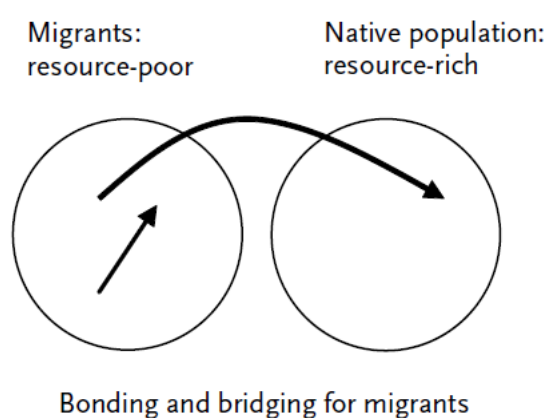
Source : (Lancee 2012a)

Resource argument states that bridging social capital can help immigrants build host country specific social capital and it also provides them with direct access to jobs through networking (Lancee 2012a).

Methodology

The research uses two methods, desk research and field study. The initial method of data collection will through in-depth semi structure interviews with refugees who received vocational trainings, refugees who have not received any training, related staff and experts from vocational institutes. The researcher will study curriculum of the vocation schools, observe the teaching methodology and practical exposure provided by the school. In addition to this, the researcher will observe the social inclusion avenues that school provides such as exposure to the host countries' culture, language, social interaction which can lead to friendship buildings and cultural adaptivity. This study will largely remain qualitative, but the researcher is open to mixed methods as well.

Hypothesis

- Vocation training assists irregular immigrants earn a more stable livelihood as compared to untrained immigrants.
- Vocation institutions provide a platform to immigrants for building social relationships with natives and bridge across interethnic groups to access social capital.

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