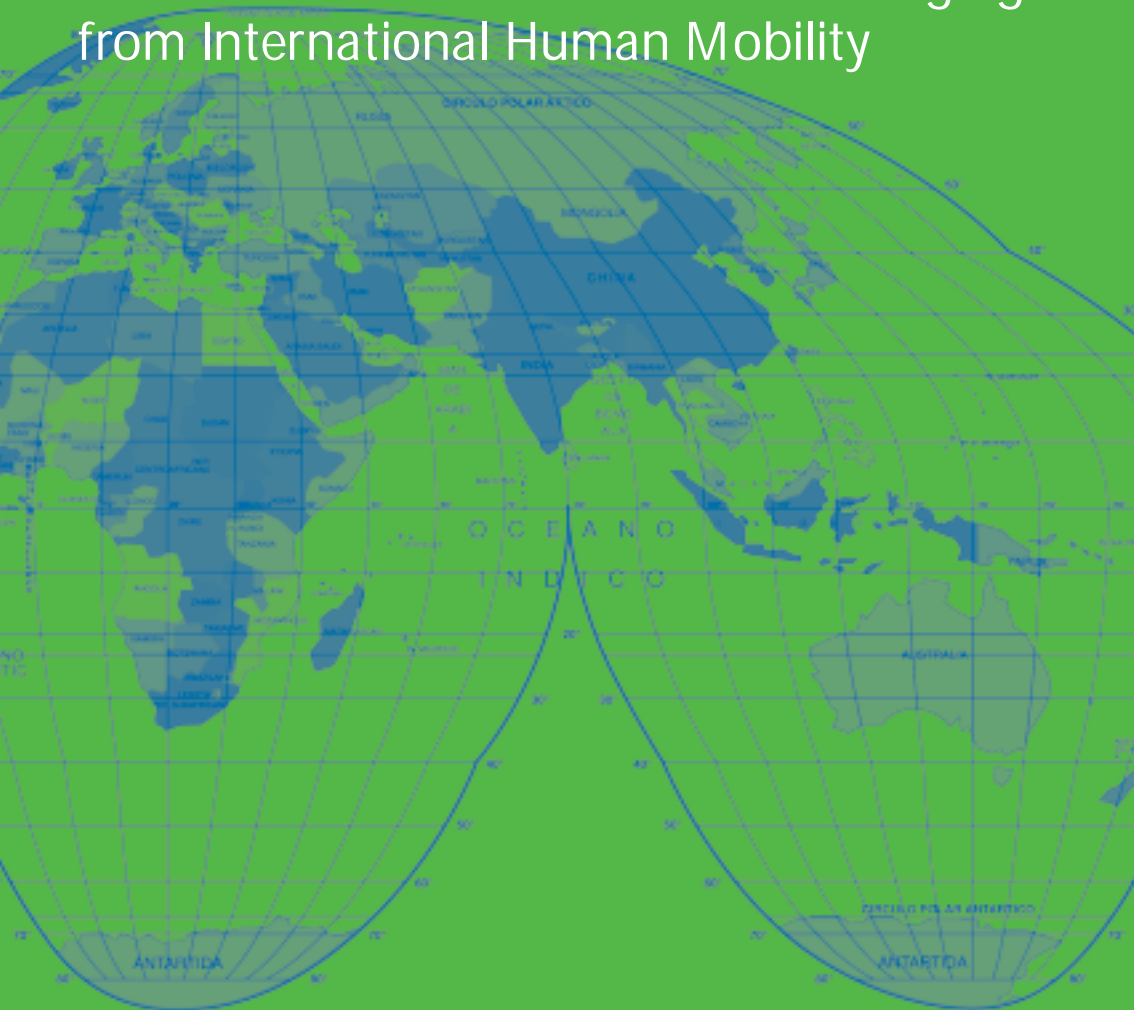Claire H. Firth and Aitor Ibarrola-Armendariz (eds.)

Migrations in a Global Context

Transitions and Transformations Emerging from International Human Mobility

Deusto

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International Migrations, no. 6

UD Research Unit
on International Migrations

Contents

Introduction

Claire H. Firth
Aitor Ibarrola-Armendariz

Editors

Most people spend their lives in their country of birth, rarely considering even the possibility of travelling and settling elsewhere. Voluntarily moving abroad or being forced to migrate for economic, social or political reasons is the exception, not the rule. Yet from the mid-1970s onward, international population movements have become one of the staple components of globalisation—together with other cross-border flows such as trade, investment, information, technology, ideas, and cultural products. According to Appadurai, "Globalization has shrunk the distance between elites, shifted key relations between producers and consumers, broken many links between labor and family life, obscured the lines between temporary locales and imaginary national attachments."[1] Mass migrations and the establishment of all forms of transnational networks have played a central role in these socio-economic and cultural transformations. Of course, those who migrate do so due to very diverse motivations: as refugees, asylum seekers, manual workers, highly-skilled experts, researchers, students, sojourners, relatives of previous migrants, etc.; but what is undeniable is that their decision will affect not only their own life trajectories and identities, but also the sending and receiving societies as a whole. Thus, the demographic, economic, and social structures of the countries at both ends are inevitably reshaped by this global phenomenon. It should not surprise us then that some specialists

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[1] Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization.* Minneapolis and London: U of Minnesota P, pp. 10-11.

have been referring to this historical juncture for some time now as "the age of migration."[2]

Traditional approaches to the study of migratory processes have tended to highlight the economic motivations that, allegedly, trigger off all population movements. According to what is often known as "push-pull" theories, migrants will generally move from lower-to higher-income areas, from densely populated to more scarcely populated countries, and they will seek economic opportunities and political freedom. Although still used by some economists and geographers, this model has been refuted by several empirical studies and contemporary analysts cast a great deal of doubt on its value to explain migration systems in today's world. There are at least two main problems with these neo-classical economic frameworks: migrants are understood as individual market-players enjoying the advantage of all the information and freedom they need to make the right choice, and the "push" (expulsion) forces seem to have gained much more momentum in the post-industrial/colonial period than the pulling forces.[3] Portes and other scholars have been arguing for two decades that family and community dynamics, and the historical experiences of a group carry a great deal of weight in the migrant decision-making. Perhaps the historical-structural model developed in the late 1970s was a significant step towards amending the view that migrants functioned as individuals acting on their own volition since it based its hypotheses on the unequal distribution of capital and political power around the globe. However, in thinking of the interests of capital as the all-determining factor, this approach also failed to explain such processes as the unexpected change from temporary labour migration to permanent settlement in some countries. The framework of analysis favoured by most specialists nowadays is the "migration systems theory" which tries to embrace most of the dimensions present in the migratory process and uses the methods of a wide variety of disciplines. This approach looks into both ends of the flow and investigates the many linkages established between the two: "state-to-state relations and comparisons, mass culture connections and family and social networks."[4] As we will observe in the following pages, because contributors to this book

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[2] Castles, S. and M.J. Miller (2003). *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*. 3rd edition. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

[3] Massey, D.S. et al., eds. (1998). *Worlds in Motion : Understanding International Migration at the end of the Millenium*. Oxford: Clarendon P, p. 13.

[4] Fawcett, J.T. and B.V. Cariño, eds. (1987). *Pacific Bridges: The New Immigration from Asia and the Pacific Islands*. New York: Center for Migration Studies, pp. 456-457.

come from disciplines ranging from economics and the social sciences to pedagogy and cultural studies, and because they are just as likely to consider macro-structures—world-market political economy, state legislations or interstate relations—as the micro-structures—family and social networks, inter-group perceptions and informal community ties—of migration systems, it is this approach, together possibly with transnational theory, that seems most productive in their analyses. Most of them give great importance to both the "cultural capital" that migrants bring from their country of origin (information related to job opportunities, social environment, legal policies, etc. in the receiving countries) and the "social capital" with which they will count upon arrival (help in employment and social matters, friendships and community ties or family relations). In the opinion of Glick Schiller et al.,

> These social relations take on meaning within the flow and fabric of daily life, as linkages between different societies are maintained, renewed, and reconstituted in the context of families, of institutions, of economic investments, business, and finance and of political organizations and structures including nation-states.[5]

There is no denying that both the informal social networks created by the migrants themselves in order to make the process of settling and adapting easier, and the formal relations of production and exchange between sending and receiving countries are crucial to understanding why migration decisions are taken and how particular groups fare in the new contexts. However, in the case of new migration countries, such as Spain, the investigation of some meso-structures, which play a key role as mediators between the newly-arrived and the economic and political institutions in the receiving country, seems just as important as the study of these micro- and macro-phenomena. As a number of analysts have pointed out:

> The continuing demand for immigrants, combined with high native unemployment and growing unease with ethnic diversity, yields a contradiction that governments seek to manage through restrictive policies that confine migrants to the labour market, limit the entry of dependants, discourage long-term settlement, and repatriate those who enter outside authorized channels. Compared to the earlier industrial era, contemporary patterns and processes of international migration are far more complex.[6]

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[5] Glick Schiller, N., L. Basch, and C. Blanc-Szanton, eds. (1992). *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered*. New York: The New York Academy of Sciences, p. 11.

[6] Massey, D.S. et al. *Op.cit.*, p. 7.

In order to overcome the various hurdles placed in their way by governments and receiving societies, migrants frequently get together in groups and associations that, in principle, are established to assist them—especially if their situation is irregular—in the process of settlement and community formation. Some of the articles in this collection refer to the mediating function fulfilled by intermediaries such as recruitment agents, immigrant associations and lawyers specialized in migration issues. Although these organizations have, in general, a positive effect on the integration process of the newly-arrived into the host society, there are also cases in which migrants—particularly if they are illegal, again—become subjects of exploitative practices of the so-called "migration industry."[7] Likewise, on the receiving end of the flows a number of mediators are likely to intervene in an attempt to buffer the shock of the obstacles—cultural, linguistic, economic, social, and so forth—that migrants run into upon arrival. In this regard the role played by NGOs, professional collectives or religious organizations should not be minimized for, at least in the Iberian peninsula, they have been instrumental in smoothing the way of migrants into the receiving society. In short, in between the (inter)national and the family circle levels of aggregation, there are several other meso-levels that need to be considered in order to present an accurate understanding of contemporary migration flows. This is not to say that, contrary to traditional theories, individual motivation and transformations should be left completely out of the picture; it is on the interplay of these variegated factors present in the subject and the environment that our analyses should focus.

The migratory journey is always an on-going process of transition between two contexts and transformation into a new selfhood. It is a journey not only of geographical displacement, but it also involves social and psychological dislocation as well. In Sowell's words, "Among the heaviest costs of all [in moving] are the severing of personal ties in familiar surroundings to face new economic and social uncertainties in a strange land."[8] From the moment of departure from the homeland to the enormously difficult process of resettlement in the new land, people in the process of migration will undergo numerous "translations" in their lives. There will be nostalgia and grief for the family left behind, often the loss of language and cultural heritage, and almost certainly there will be a difficult process of learning to adapt to new norms and unfamiliar social structures in the receiving country. Ideals and life-styles that have been

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[7] Harris, N. (1996). *The New Untouchables: Immigration and the New World Worker*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, pp. 134-136.
[8] Sowell, T. (1996) *Migrations and Cultures: A World View*. New York: Basic Books, p. 2.

maintained for a long time are shaken up and transformed in the process of migration and settlement. This should not be necessarily understood as a loss, though, for in their stead new social, cultural, and identity formations will emerge. Migrating is a continual process, entailing unending transitions and profound transformations from one state to another, and migrants are forced to come to terms with all these new conditions in their lives. Sometimes these transitions and transformations enrich or enhance the lives of these people involved in the process of migration. Other times they may generate sentiments of irrevocable loss, uncertainty and insecurity. As a matter of fact, there is usually a clear gradation in how successive waves of migrants feel and how far they manage to integrate in the host country. While those in the early waves of migration tend to cluster together with their compatriots, those arriving later will be more likely to take part in—and even fully assimilate with—the receiving society. There is, of course, much diversity in this regard depending on the regions of origin, reasons for migrating, "cultural capital" of the group, migration policies in receiving nations, etc.; however, the fact that we have historically witnessed several instances of intensive "chain migrations" seems to give significant weight to this hypothesis.

One of the recurrent topics in recent research in migration studies has been the way socio-cultural institutions have been compelled to transform and reinvent themselves as a result of globalisation processes. In fact, patterns of change and transformation are frequently far more deep-seated than they may appear and, as Steven Vertovec suggests, these patterns have much to do with the way migrants have become increasingly "bi-focal" in their outlook.[9] Their lives are precariously balanced between the new country and the old, between the here and there, between the present and the past. Dual and multiple citizenships are not uncommon today, and this sense of bi-focality or dual orientation influences greatly the way transnational families and communities are constituted and structured. Dual orientation may also have a considerable impact on the way identities are formed, exerting an influence that will even extend to post-migration generations. According to Hannerz, this influence is sometimes celebrated as emancipatory and full of opportunities but, still, other scholars see it plagued with risks and uncertainties we cannot truly gauge yet.[10] These dual relationships

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[9] Vertovec, S. (2004). "Migrant Transnationalism and Modes of Transformation." *International Migration Review,* 38, no. 3 (Fall 2004): 970-1001.

[10] Hannerz, U. (1999) "Epilogue: On some Reports from a Free Space." In *Globalization and Identity: Dialectics of Flow and Closure*, ed. by B. Meyer and P. Geschiere. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, pp. 325-329.

and doubled loyalties not only determine the way migrants fit into the social structures in the receiving society, but they also condition the way the host country will respond to this "bi-focality" and to an increasingly diverse and multicultural constituency. Traditional immigration countries, such as Canada or Australia, for instance, which were very sparsely populated, have usually seen immigrants as permanent settlers who would eventually adopt the social practices of the receiving country and assimilate to the dominant culture. Hence, their preference during some historical periods for European migrants who were thought more easily "integrable" than those coming from other parts of the world. On the other hand, several countries in Western Europe felt after World War II the necessity to attract foreign labour to sustain their fast-growing economies. Here, however, immigrants were recruited on a temporary basis and often dissuaded from bringing their families over or asking for the rights automatically granted to permanent residents. More recent countries of immigration, such as Spain, are still debating where they want to stand in between these two extreme models. What is unquestionable, though, is that while migration policies are essential to understand the kind of adaptation processes undergone by migrant minorities, these also depend crucially on those "bi-focal" worldviews that newcomers already come with. If the historical examples provided above have revealed anything, it is that despite policies, plans, and projections human mobility can rarely be designed and predicted. As Arango has noted, "Migrants clearly do not respond mechanically to wage and employment differentials, if they ever did; they are not homogeneous with respect to tastes and motivations; and the contexts within which they make their decisions are not the same."[11] Some of the articles in this collection seem particularly useful precisely because they show how disrespectful and cruel history and reality can be to both all our theories and the policy-makers' praxis.

This new volume (no. 6) of the *International Migrations* series includes eight essays by members and collaborators of the research team on this topic from the University of Deusto. Some of the contributors belong to the European Network of Excellence IMISCOE (*International Migration, Social Integration and Cohesion in Europe*) and their work has been regularly presented in this forum. As mentioned above, one of the strengths of this research team derives from the fact that its members come from very different disciplines and their research interests range from Literature to Economics, from Education to Political Science. The contributions in this

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[11] Arango, J. (1998). "New Migrations, New Theories." In *Worlds in Motion*, ed. by Douglas S. Massey. Oxford: Clarendon Press, p. 15.

particular volume of *International Migrations* explore the transitions and transformations which take place in individuals and whole societies as a result of migratory processes. Some of the articles dwell upon issues that occupy a prominent place on the agendas of many European governments today, such as the need to revise traditional teaching methods in education or the possibility of devising alternative forms of citizenship to better attend the demands of our multicultural communities. Others study phenomena that have only recently attracted the attention of scholars in Spain and other new immigration countries, such as ethnic minority entrepreneurship or mixed marriages. Although a majority of the contributions focus on the transformations—social, economic, educational, and so forth—taking place in Spain, most of the authors compare them to similar earlier experiences in other countries. In a few cases, too, we are transported across the Atlantic to see how questions of origin, gender, social background or network formation condition processes of settlement and adaptation a great deal, as well as the relationship that migrants keep with their homeland. All things considered, this book offers a panoramic view of the new approaches and methodologies being used today to explain why migration plays such a key part in most contemporary social transformations.

The book has been divided into three parts, according to the different types of transitions and transformations considered in each of them. The first section explores the transitions and metamorphoses undergone by migrant individuals and collectives when they seek to integrate in the receiving society. A great deal of emphasis is given in this first section to the role played by immigrant associations in the process of settlement and integration. If they are given the opportunity to develop their initiatives in the social, institutional and even political spheres of the host country, these organizations will contribute decisively to the migrants' integration at several levels and to their general well-being. Quite often, however, both associations and individual immigrants find that bureaucratic requirements and administrative paperwork are so taxing that they simply give up. This might be the reason for the mostly failed attempts of migrant entrepreneurs to carry out their business in the Basque region. Without any long-established social networks and little social capital many of these business ventures seem to be doomed from the start.[12] Much more hopeful is the picture offered by the transitions into the receiving society of those who have married a Spanish na-

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[12] Cf. Bommes, M. and H. Kolb (2006). "Migrant's Work, Entrepreneurship and Economic Integration." In *The Dynamics of International Migration and Settlement in Europe*, ed. R. Penninx, M. Berger and K. Kraal. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press (Imiscoe Joint Studies Series), p. 116.

tional. As several experts have shown, marriage has historically been one of the most convenient ways for foreigners—especially women—to find a safe social niche in distant lands.[13] This first part of the book shows that while changes and adaptations in the cultural and identity domains do not encounter excessive restrictions from the host society, other areas like employment and political participation become much more thorny matters. Like other nations around Europe, Spain has decided to treat migrants as individuals rather than as minority groups. This implies that they are not different from the native—except, of course, for the fact that they do not enjoy the same rights, freedoms, and benefits.

Part two of the volume centres on the transitions and transformations that have been taking place in the area of education. This area seems particularly important for at least two reasons: 1) the right to get an education is considered one of the main pillars to achieve the complete integration of all citizens and to enable them to participate in social activities, and 2) it is one of the key instruments with which the State counts to raise the levels of social justice and to promote equal treatment and fair distribution. As Muniategi explained in an earlier volume of this series:

> We realise that, besides a recognition of identities, that is a type of symbolic recognition, there is another dimension no less important regarding the egalitarian incorporation of these populations, which is material and economic recognition; from the union of these to types of recognition would emerge what I consider appropriate to call real recognition.[14]

The two articles in this section of the book look into two aspects of intercultural education that are bound to have a paramount influence on the outcome when the youngest members of the migrant community become integrated. On the one hand, much of the success of any educational system depends on how proficiently its instructors have been trained in the necessary skills and competences. There is little question that in our world abilities related to the management of diversity and the promotion of intercultural dialogues are of the foremost importance. So is the ability to think of the culturally-mixed classroom as an opportunity and a testing ground to check whether the younger generations are really taking in the principles and values of democratic and egalitar-

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[13] Hoerder, D. and H. Rössler (1993). "Introduction" to *s*. (Ellis Island Series) New York and London: Holmes & Meier, p. 5.

[14] Muniategi, E. (2006). "On the Inclusion of the Children of Immigrants in European Societies." In *Immigration: Views and Reflections*, ed. by R. Santibáñez and C. Maiztegui. Bilbao: Univ. of Deusto, p. 82.

ian societies. A remarkable point about both of these contributions is that they recognise how difficult the challenged posed by multicultural schools is and they admit that neither the most comprehensive theoretical approaches nor the brainiest policy decisions are going to solve all the problems that most educators must face daily in the classroom.

The third and last part of the book looks into the processes and changes that take place in the migrant self just before s/he embarks on her/his journey to the "relatively unknown," and once s/he has already settled in her/his new "home." Trying to find some common patterns of change that would be applicable to everybody who decides to move to foreign lands would seem quite pointless. Sowell has found a number of parallels in the kind of transformations undergone by people who departed from the same country or region, or those who migrated for similar purposes.[15] Still, even in the cases in which the immigrants travelled with one of the huge waves of population that periodically formed during these last two centuries, a little investigation into the personal histories of particular migrants will reveal that all of them followed their own distinct trajectories. Despite this fact, it is only fair to admit that, given the right conditions, immigrants who come from the same country, those who work in the same profession or those who share similar goals are likely to get together and to begin to carve their own collective history. This is very much the case of Cape Verdeans on the coast of New England or Greeks and Italians in some of the big urban centres in Canada. Some of them hang on fiercely to certain cultural and identity features whose very survival is in dire straits both because of the influence of the dominant culture but also due to a lack of continuity among the younger generations. Other immigrants, however, prefer to sever all their ties with their homeland and the past, and begin a completely new life elsewhere. Neither of these two options is *per se* to be condemned, as long as the migrants are completely free to choose their own path.

In the following paragraphs, we will review in a more detailed manner the contents of each of the contributions and suggest what they have got to offer to the reader. We hope to be able to "glean" from each of them those ideas and viewpoints that seem most useful and productive.

In his article "Immigrant Organizations as a Factor of Social Integration," Álvarez examines how far and in what way immigrant associations contribute to the integration of immigrants in the host society

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[15] Sowell, T. (1996). "Migration Patterns". In Migrations and Cultures: A World View. New York: Basic Books, pp. 1-49.

and, more specifically, in Spain. He analyses this issue within the context of the cultural diversity and multiplicity of life options in present-day societies. As he sees it, individuals are no longer the result of historical determinism and a single cultural heritage but have the capacity of "projecting" their futures and themselves according to the social, economic, religious, cultural, etc. choices they make. These choices, however, are not completely free since they also want to be part of a society in which they feel fully accepted and integrated. Álvarez distinguishes several levels at which integration takes place: identity, cultural, social, employment, public institutional and political. His argument is that immigrant associations do not only help the newcomers to overcome their initial loneliness, dislocation, and homesickness but also offer invaluable assistance to integrate in the host society at those different levels. After discussing at some length the diverse types of associations and defining which groups of migrants are more likely to get together in these organizations, Álvarez moves on to describe the activities and incidence of immigrant associations in each level of integration. While there are levels like the cultural and that of identity in which "the associations play a major role," there are others like the institutional and the political in which their effectiveness is quite limited since they are only allowed to implement policies previously approved by others. One of Álvarez's foremost conclusions is that although immigrants need to take responsibility for the improvement of their integration at those different levels—and their associations can be an effective instrument in this regard, if they become stable enough—, the receiving societies also need to create opportunities and public spaces in which their own initiatives may be brought to their fruition.

Irastorza and Peña depart from the classical premise that migratory flows respond fundamentally to a desire to improve one's socio-economic condition. In this sense, and going back to Álvarez's levels of integration, employment would constitute the first priority for most migrants. This article delves into the reduced incidence that ethnic entrepreneurship has had in the Basque region so far by looking into the reasons that moved these migrants to open their businesses and into the socio-economic consequences that resulted from this important decision. Irastorza and Peña offer revealing figures about the rapid increase in the number of companies created annually by foreigners in the region. However, the entrepreneurial activity of immigrants in mostly restricted to post-industrial, marginal, and segmented sectors (e.g., retail or construction) and, moreover, their business ventures are seen to cease much sooner than those created by the native population. The authors carry out a thorough review of the literature on ethnic minority entrepreneurship, con-

sidering the hypotheses proposed by theorists such as Light, Karageorgis or Aldrich and Waldinger. By the end of their analysis of the collected data, it is clear that the experience of their informants refutes the thesis of socio-economic improvement since most of them have faced enormous difficulties frequently due to issues of bureaucratic requirements, ignorance of the language, lack of social networks, difficulties for recognition of qualifications, problems obtaining initial financial assistance or discrimination. Irastorza and Peña explain that although choosing to start their own business may seem like a good strategy for self-employment for migrants, the fact is that the social costs are still too high and they mostly decide to close down after a short period. Their conclusions broadly coincide then with Hjerm's, who has maintained that the excessive number of working hours and other obstacles would prevent the entrepreneur from participating in social, cultural, and leisure activities, thus decreasing his/her chances of social integration.[16] Despite its dispiriting conclusions, this article offers valuable information about some of the motives that lead entrepreneurs to migrate and to create business enterprises, about their strategies and the socio-economic consequences that opening a business has had for them.

As Castells and others have recently explained, modern communications and means of transportation allow migrants to use their social connections and multiple identities, created from moving across several social locations, both to adapt to and to resist the dominant ideologies and difficulties that they come across in their physical and virtual journeys.[17] Goñalons in highly aware of these new resources in "Transnationalism and Citizenship without Borders?" and considers the impact of these transnational practices of migration on the citizenship model. In her opinion, citizenship in receiving countries should be one of the social structures that both influences but is also influenced, in its turn, by these practices. She claims that several components of transnationalism clearly defy the citizenship model based on the Nation-State.[18] In particular, she focuses on the centrality and transnational potential of associations of migrants in Spain to influence their country of origin or other third countries in which their community has settled, thus go-

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[16] Hjerm, M. (2004). "Immigrant Entrepreneurship in the Swedish Welfare State." *Sociology* 38, no. 4: 739-756.

[17] Castells, M. (1996). "Introduction." In *The Rise of the Network Society*. Oxford: Blackwell.

[18] Cf. Castles, S. (2000). "Citizenship and the Other in the Age of Migration." In *Ethnicity and Globalization: From Migrant Worker to Transnational Citizen*. London: Sage Publications, p. 200.

ing beyond the classic scope of citizen action delimited by the borders
of the Nation-States. According to Goñalons, the Political Opportunity
Structure of a destination country radically conditions the transnational
practices of migrants and determines the (lack of) effectiveness of their
associations. Following Soysal, she describes three different modes of
incorporation of migrant associations to the public sphere of the re-
ceiving country: the corporativist, the liberal, and the state regime.[19]
While the first of these regimes treats migrants as ethnic minorities
and devotes funding and services to incorporate their associations, the
third views newcomers as mere individuals who are treated as everyone
else—i.e., highly bureaucratically. Unfortunately, concludes Goñalons,
the *Political Opportunity Structure* of Spain seems closer to the latter—
which she associates with France—, and it constrains both the form and
the volume of national and international activities and actions carried
out by immigrant associations in the country. Although these kinds of
associations are permitted by the law, their participation in the public
life of the nation is rarely encouraged.

As a result of unprecedented growth in the migrant population in
Spain these last two decades, the increased number of foreigners has
also led to an increase in interaction with the native population. This,
in turn, has caused the formation of couples of different national origin
and to more mixed marriages. As yet, little research has been done on
the question of mixed marriages in Spain. Setién and Vicente pose the
hypothesis that the existence of mixed marriages is one of the indica-
tors of social integration of immigrants in host societies. Firstly, they
observe that Spanish authorities require "evidence" from these mixed
couples that their marriage is truly "for love" and, therefore, does not
conceal other interests. Then, they look at the number of mixed mar-
riages in Spain and ask if these types of marriages are growing at the
same rate as immigration. Interestingly, they are doing so faster, when
in fact marriage rates between natives in Spain are declining. They also
consider whether mixed marriage is more frequent among native men
or native women and what nationalities are the most frequent when
Spanish people choose a foreign partner. The main body of Setién and
Vicente's contribution studies in detail the results of some opinion sur-
veys regarding the kind of attitudes and behaviours shown around this
question of mixed marriages by both the native and immigrant popu-
lations. In both groups there is a generalised openness to the idea of
a relative marrying a foreign-born person, although two in every ten

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[19] Soysal, Y. (1994). *Limits of Citizenship, Migrants and Postnational Membership in
Europe.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

would be a bit reluctant—especially if he or she belongs to a different ethnic group—and one would not even hear about it. It is interesting to note that sex is a variable that influences attitudes among both natives and foreigners: a daughter will always have a more difficult time than a son persuading her parents to let her marry a non-national. Predictably, most mixed marriages in Spain bring together a Spaniard and a Latin American—most often a male the former and a female the latter. Setién and Vicente conclude their article stating that mixed marriages will see a constant growth in years to come, a fact which they interpret as a positive sign concerning the levels of integration of migrants in the Spanish society.

In the article "Intercultural Competence and Teacher Training," Santibáñez, Maiztegui and Fernández-Gorosabel maintain that in today's world being able to work across cultural boundaries has become one of the key factors to succeed. This is true, of course, in international relations and trade, business ventures, and the cultural and technological industries. Competence in other languages, other cultures, and other traditions of ideas is a valuable asset that is being increasingly required in many professions. The acquisition of an intercultural competence seems to be particularly urgent in the domain of education, in which the increase in the numbers of migrant children is clearly asking for a reformulation of the whole framework.[20] The authors remind us that this new framework should be sensitive to values such as equity, tolerance, respect to difference, and justice in its various forms. Their argument in this article is that teacher-training courses in such topics as intercultural relations, diversity management or alterity are essential for raising the awareness and improving the practice of instructors at all the levels of the education system. From a pedagogical perspective, the authors define intercultural competence as "a new way to relate to the students and the rest of the staff in the school context in order to improve the students' learning process." The article proposes three measures that should be urgently adopted if we wish instructors to be more responsive to the demands of our multicultural society, and it also considers the steps already taken by the Administrations—national and autonomous—to better accommodate immigrant children and to prevent cases of prejudice and stigmatisation. In general, the authors consider that, in view of the laws passed, plans implemented and the actions taken, there is a clear intention on the part of policy-makers to give a significant push to intercultural education. Nevertheless, a close examination of

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[20] Cushner, K., ed. (1998). "Introduction" to *International Perspectives on Intercultural Education*. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum.

the teacher-training plans reveals that the topic of cultural diversity has been incorporated in a very heterogeneous manner across the different phases. Contrary to what one would think desirable, the presence of this topic is almost non-existent in the early stages of a child's education but it becomes much more "tangible" by the time s/he gets to secondary education. The authors' assessment, however, is mostly positive since they believe that principles such as equality, solidarity, mutual respect, tolerance, and justice are all being taken into consideration in the reformulation of the framework.

"Most educators do not intend to discriminate against students," writes Au, "but discrimination results when old patterns are perpetuated."[21] This fact becomes evident when, for instance, schools turn their backs on the important transformations occurring in our societies. One of these transformations is, of course, that they are becoming much more multicultural and diverse. Increasing numbers of pupils of immigrant origin in the educational systems of many countries of the European Union, observes Galioto, means that there is a need to search for a primary form of social integration among young people of different origin. His article explores the idea that the unit of investigation should not be, therefore, the school or the educational system as a whole, but rather the school classroom as a group of students who are related both with each other, with the teaching staff and with the school institution. The author believes that one can only get to know what happens inside a multicultural classroom by becoming a participant in it and looking closely into the kind of interactions that take place. He reviews the experiences of several scholars from different countries (Roussier-Fusco, Rapari, Martín Rojo) and offers a number of tools to deal with these multicultural contexts. Galiato believes that they give the instructor an invaluable opportunity to show what it really means to live in a democracy and to enjoy certain rights. As he sees it, students should be taught to handle their differences, showing always the due respect to others. Of course, there is no theory or magical formula that will give the instructor all the solutions to the problems that will come up in the classroom. They will be solved by paying close attention to how the students feel and live inside the classroom. A dialogue will result from these dynamics that will be helpful not only to the teacher and students but also to social scientists and policy-makers. As D. Goodman has explained, multicultural education should not be viewed as a new curriculum, but rather as the underlying

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[21] Au, K.H. (1993). *Literacy Instruction in Multicultural Settings*. Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, p. 11.

conversation and perspective that keeps developing toward learning, teaching, and curriculum.[22]

In "Creating Tools for Cultural Survival in a Transnational Context," Firth explores some of the ways contemporary Cape Verdean-Americans are seeking to assert their presence and to preserve their cultural identity in the southern coastal regions of New England. The fact that they have also needed to adapt and integrate in this radically different environment has caused their identity to be involved in constant processes of transition and transformation, of revision and revitalization. Firth considers the way in which a written testimony, "The Story Must be Told" (1999) by Querino Kenneth J. Semedo, and a documentary film *"Some Kind of Funny Porto Rican?": A Cape Verdean American Story* (2006), directed by Claire Andrade-Watkins contribute to the reconstruction of historical culture which is, in a sense, inseparable from and conducive to, the construction of or preservation of a cultural identity. The two artists are observed to recover little-known chapters of the history of the Cape Verdean community in New England in an attempt to combat the "double invisibility"—as blacks and migrants—they have traditionally experienced.[23] Both the testimony and the documentary film are powerful tools for advocacy and through them the lost voices and experiences of the Cape Verdean-American community have become deeply inscribed in historical memory. Firth offers a micro-history of the presence of Cape Verdean migration in New England, and explains that they have been a "transnational community," in the modern sense of the word, for many centuries. This is one of the reasons why Semedo and Andrade-Watkins think of keeping the past alive as a fundamental task; otherwise, it would be impossible for Cape Verdeans to understand themselves as part of a transnational field, and others would remain unaware of their culture. Firth concludes that cultural artifacts such as testimonies, newspaper clippings, original film footage and portraits of families and their surroundings are the tools that ensure that these experiences become deeply inscribed in historical memory, and therefore cannot be forgotten again.

In the contribution that closes the volume, Ibarrola studies how "immigrant double-consciousness" structures the narratives produced by ethnic writers—even when they are not first-generation migrants. In or-

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[22] Goodman, D. (2001). "Living (and Teaching) in an Unjust World." In *Living and Teaching in an Unjust World: New Perspectives on Multicultural Education*, ed. by W. Goodman. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, pp. 3-4.

[23] Halter, M. (1993). *Between Race and Ethnicity: Cape Verdean-American Immigrants, 1860-1965.* Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

der to demonstrate this thesis, the author discusses the key role played by Canada—the country of destination—in Nino Ricci's award-winning novel *The Book of Saints* (1990). Ibarrola argues that this book is representative of a whole trend in immigrant fiction in the sense that instead of showing a nostalgia for the native country, it displays a nostalgia for origins in a new home. Although most of the novel's plot takes place in Italy, its progress is very much conditioned by a sense of "pre-destination" since the protagonist-narrator is always aware of where his journey is going to end. The bulk of Ibarrola's analysis focuses on the functions that Ricci's hero fulfils in the narrative, all of which attest to the idea that "much of the momentum of the story derives from the reader's expectations of seeing Vittorio Innocente's yearning for a new home satisfied." Basing his argument on the theories about the interaction between plot and character in narrative developed by James Phelan,[24] the author claims that, regardless of which dimension of the hero we may choose to scrutinise—the synthetic, the thematic or the mimetic—, we will see that the plot Ricci builds relies on his protagonist-narrator's double-consciousness, a feature that derives from his being suspended from the start between two cultures: the Italian and the Canadian. Ibarrola also substantiates his hypothesis by making use of a number of narratological concepts such as "narrative distance" (between narrator and focaliser) or parallel structures (in terms of place, time or degree of development). Most of the examples included in this contribution point in the direction that, indeed, Vittorio Innocente's path in Ricci's well-known novel is invariably marked by his desire to find a new "home" elsewhere.

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[24] Phelan, J. (1989). *Reading People, Reading Plot: Character, Progression and the Interpretation of Narrative*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Part I

Transitions and Transformations of Social, Economic, and Political Networks in Migrant Communities

Immigrant Organizations as a Factor of Social Integration

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Introduction

It is a fact that immigrants create their own organizations on arriving in the host countries. In these organizations they find a space in which to preserve affective contact with their contexts of origin and a place in which to share their doubts and to compare perceptions and options. These immigrant organizations (IOs) have been studied in many countries other than Spain for decades. More recently, authors such as Moya (2005), Vermeulen (2005) and others, have been attempting to gather together information from this research concerning the diversity and possibilities that these immigrant organisations offer.

In Spain immigrant organisations began to grow significantly as of the 1990s. During the year 2006 the Third Sector Observatory studied the associative fabric of immigrants in Spain. Today we have a preliminary description of this phenomenon in our midst, its activities and limitations.

The aim of this present study is to ask the following questions: do immigrant organisations contribute to the integration of immigrants in the host society and, more specifically, in Spain? And if so, in what way is this done ? In order to respond to these questions we first present the context of pluralism of life-options in present-day societies. This context enables us to locate the horizon of integration discussed in this study.

Next, we introduce the definition of integration given by Penninx (2003), and this definition will permit us to adequately locate the subject matter in this study. His definition of integration distinguishes several levels at which integration takes place: identity, cultural, social, employment, general institutional and political. We then cover the existing literature on this subject in other countries with greater experience of immigrant organisations than in Spain, and include a brief description of the phenomenon in our country, emphasizing the activities that these organizations are carrying out at present. Finally, we present the potential incidence of immigrant organisations in the different levels of integration identified. We also look at the activities undertaken by immigrant organisations in Spain and examine to what extent these organizations favour the integration of immigrants.

1. **The cultural plurality of modern societies**

At present modern societies embody a remarkable cultural plurality within them (Martinez, 2007: 150). This is a verifiable fact, beyond our capacity for decision: diversity has come to stay (cf. UNDP, 2004). This characteristic is the result of a multiplicity of factors that have been operating for a long time and that have been superimposed in the course of our history:

— In freedom of conscience, we can find one of the deepest roots that legitimised the plurality of ways of life. This freedom was an achievement that ended the wars of religion of the 16th and 17th centuries, and permitted the coexistence of communities with different religious creeds under a single State. The allegiance to certain churches was no longer determined by the choice of the king—*cuius regal, eius religio*—, but was the result of a personal decision that States respected.

— Also, during recent centuries the conviction has been growing in the collective awareness of our societies that human beings construct their own future as a personal project of life. Traditional societies understood that each person had to develop their life story within the social expectations placed on them. Success in this enterprise implied a satisfactory integration in the social order; failure implied some degree of marginalisation. The valuation of honour was to maintain the body politic as a whole. But in a slow and prolonged process that includes the continuous development of modernity, we have gone from conceiving our identity as inherited, to understanding it as projective (Sennet, 1998: 10).

No longer are we predetermined by the destiny of our social and cultural circumstances of birth; instead, tradition and the past are an element—albeit an outstanding one—with which we shape our identity. The past forms a part, together with many other ways of life, of the choir of voices with which we engage in an inner dialogue, in order to construct our future. We are no longer historical predeterminations, but projective creations. This has allowed us to gain in autonomy, that is to say, this phenomenon constitutes a landmark in the process of emancipation of human beings (Torres Queiruga, 2000: 18).

What is more, perhaps this is too modern a vision. Postmodernity has submitted individuals to a fearful succession of sensations and demands to which they must respond and adapt at different moments of their life histories. The projective construction of one's own identity never stops, but it is remade at every crossroads of one's life trajectory (Mardones, 2003: 123).

Through these historical factors, the plurality of forms of life has been multiplied (Berger, 1979: 60ss). In fact, at present human beings are more or less unique and dynamic nodes of relations and belonging that are connected with a diversity of contexts in which we develop easily. We no longer constitute crystallizations of pure cultural identity, if this reality ever really existed.

We can therefore affirm that cultural plurality—that is, plurality of forms of life and coexistence—is, in the first place, a consequence of the social and cultural revolutions that have taken place in western modernity. As we have mentioned, it is freedom of conscience and the capacity to decide our own life in a context of a plurality of conceptions of what is good, that have opened the way to cultural diversity. We are faced with an endogenous consequence, rooted in our own historical development.

Just as the cultures of the present states are neither homogenous nor monolithic (Carrera, 2006: 52), but rather citizens are distinguished by their political traditions, by their feelings of class belonging, by the rationality belonging to their professions, by their beliefs, their personal interests... We can no longer say that a unique and shared culture exists.

To these two internal factors based on modernity, two other elements have been added, bringing with them a greater complexity and visibility of cultural diversity:

— The modern State sought to replace religious belonging with a new bond that justified and favoured internal solidarity. It found it in the national identity, which was promoted by means of education and bureaucracy. Thus present-day states are conceived

as Nation-States: a nation, or people, that by means of a social contract equips itself with a State that acts as guarantor of the rights of citizenship of the persons who belong to this nation.

For a long time there was a desire to believe that modern States were uni-national. Today we know that in the world exist more than 5,000 ethnic groups, living in about 200 countries. In more than two-thirds of States there is some ethnic minority that represents more than 10% of the whole population of citizens (UNDP, 2004: 2). Cultural diversity, therefore, is a fact of our planet, firmly supported on the existence of an infinity of *national minorities*.

— On the other hand, the mobility of people in the world has been multiplied and, with it, the displacement of migrant groups that lead their lives in a culture alien to the dominant one in the destination countries. Globalisation, because it has facilitated displacements of people and forced the necessity of a greater human contingent of cheap manual labour, has made migrations into a structural phenomenon.[1] Within modern States a multiplicity of *ethnic minorities* has now been established.

Therefore, cultural diversity is also a phenomenon to which certain factors, alien to the internal development of modernity, have contributed. In any case, there is no doubt that national and ethnic minorities multiply the cultural plurality of our societies. At the same time, they sharpen the complexity of this plurality, by increasing the range of languages, world views, values, attitudes and modes of relationship that coexist in a single territorial space.

This plurality of modern societies is making it more difficult to live in integrated societies, in which all people feel that we are "active subjects co-participating in the social construction" (Ruiz Olabuénaga, 1994: 357). For this we needed something that links us, because any social body needs some uniting link which, generating a sensation of belonging that is to a certain extent rewarding, backs up the necessary efforts for the development of internal solidarity. The Nation-State also needs some social bonding. As we have just indicated, modern States believed that it was the national bond that could provide that feeling of belonging.[2] But increasing cultural plurality is putting this basis in question.

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[1] Or "systemic" according to Martínez, 2007: 62.

[2] The States made an effort towards "national construction" through different means: in many cases (see France or the United States) they prevented the formation of administrative units (departments or states of the Union respectively) which could have a national minority that constituted a majority in them; they chose and promoted a national

Integrated societies are those in which the citizens can be humanly enriched, participate in a public common space and interchange the social goods that belong to them, jointly with other fellow citizens on some shared basis. Since cultural diversity is found throughout the social body, the challenge in the construction of an integrated society—one able to generate relations of mutual enrichment and to promote motives that justify the effort by internal solidarity—this is a challenge that affects all the individuals that belong to it. It is not exclusive to any group, but is a question that affects all the people, although it does so to each one differently, according to the condition and social space in which they are located. An integrated society that, in any case, is forced to respect some conditions:

— It must guarantee the citizenship rights that protect all citizens. For this reason it is so necessary that the people who live in the same State are recognized as citizens of it, because it will not be possible for them to be integrated into society if this does not protect them by giving them the same rights and even, on the contrary, discriminates against them.
— It must contribute, the more the better, to allowing its members to develop their legitimate life projects.[3] A society will be more integrated the more its members expand their capacities (Sen 1990). This means that the State is at the service of the development of the people in their desire for personal construction.

This point offers the following difficulty: while the modern State is—and must be—neutral from the religious point of view, it is not—nor can be—from the cultural point of view (Kymlicka, 2003: 37ss), since, necessarily, its administration and institutions of general interest operate on the basis of a certain culture. Just as it will have to offer compensations for those citizens who, because they do not share the majority culture, are harmed in their personal development, since they do not have the same opportunities.

— It must be open to possibility that the official culture in the public arena—which coincides with the dominant one—undergoes changes based on dialogue with the cultural plurality of those who comprise it, in order to allow a better unfolding of the capacities of all.

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language that was constituted as official; they generated national myths and an epic of the nation; they made use of education, mass media and administration as the privileged vehicles of transmission of this national culture.

    [3] Only those projects will be legitimate which respect the human rights of other individuals.

Once it has been clarified that the challenge of having integrated societies is a question that affects all citizens and that the State has a fundamental responsibility to attain this objective, we can go on to consider what this means and to what extent the integration has been attained of one of the groups that comprises the citizens: the immigrants.

2. **The integration of immigrants**

In this section we will propose a definition of integration that identifies some of its components or levels, so that further ahead we can study how the immigrant organisations affect each of them.

It is necessary to consider that the concept of integration has been considered from a variety of social and human sciences (Durkheim, 1987; Habermas, 1989; Luhmann, 1991; Turner, 1991...). In accordance with the point of view that is acquired, the nuances that it reflects are different. Furthermore, this is a seriously criticized term in the field of diversity policies, because there are authors who consider that dangerous pretensions towards assimilation are camouflaged under a word of worthy appearance. From here, the need, in the first place, is to confront these difficulties.[4]

2.1. *Is it possible to speak of "integration" of immigrants?*

In the common usage, it is often thought that integrating is a task that is depends exclusively on the immigrants, because natives must be happily adapted and integrated in their environment. The former are thought responsible for acquiring all the necessary cultural habits of the host society, casting off those with which they have arrived. This would be a process of acculturation by means of which the immigrants would be assimilated in the new society they have come into. The first criticism would indicate that, from an ethical point of view, this integration, if imposed, is unacceptable (Etxeberria, 2004: 48).

The second criticism alludes to its frequent unilateralism. Commonly, when speaking of integration of immigrants, it is understood that it is only they who have to make an effort to participate in the host society, ignoring the need for a reciprocal process in which natives, and society as a whole, must participate.

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[4] I base the summary of these difficulties on Martinez (2007): 158ss and Gualda (2007): 12ss, although I do not cover all the criticisms that they include exhaustively.

The third criticism emphasizes that integration seems rather a static condition—of the "integrated" subject—when in fact it is a dynamic process which undergoes a forwards and backwards motion. These swings depend on the attitudes of the person, the recognition that they receive from the groups in which they are integrated, and the policies that determine the margins for their social participation.

The fourth criticism that we mention here refers to the complexity of the term. It seems to include a multiplicity of social, legal, political, economic, anthropological, educational, religious, linguistic, and psychological aspects... that are hardly subject to hierarchization. Thus an excessive complexity would correspond to a progressive uselessness of the term "integration".

In fifth place, integration receives very different interpretations according to the political tradition we are located within. Thus, the French tradition tends to compare integration with assimilation, while the Anglo-Saxon rather identifies it with a plural coexistence in a framework of tolerance that does not necessarily facilitate cultural interchanges. There are also States—Sweden, the Netherlands, Australia—that historically have tended to understand integration within a framework of interculturalism. Such variability of contents also weakens the term, because its meaning is determined by the political framework within which it is used. What is more, as and when important political changes take place in a country, the same concept of integration can continue being spoken of, when in fact its content has been substantially modified. This seems to be the present situation of Holland (Doomernik, 2005).

Having mentioned these different views of what integration means, we could conclude, therefore, that integration in a full sense does not exist—because it is a process that is never finished and is in continuous evolution—and nor does a universal concept that allows us all to understand the same. Integration would rather be a phenomenon that is "multidimensional, dynamic and in a constant situation of construction and change, of extreme and multifactorial complexity" (Gualda, 2007: 15).

In spite of the consistency of the critiques, we considered it necessary to use this term, because it is the best that we have for now to refer to a phenomenon that includes three movements: the effort that immigrants make through time to integrate into the host society in order to be able to participate in it—culturally, socially, economically and politically—on equal terms with the natives; second, the policies that the States adopt with the intention of obtaining societies in which groups with a diversity of cultural properties coexist (Martinez, 2007: 162); finally, the adaptations that natives must make with respect to the new society that arises, as well as the exercise of recognition of the immigrants that arrive.

2.2. *A possible definition of integration*

We will take the definition of integration that Rinus Penninx defends, valuable in its simplicity, and one that that allows us to draw some considerations later. The definition says: "integration is a process through which, a person becomes an accepted part of society" (Penninx, 2004a: 11).

The first nuance that we must emphasize consists of the nature of integration as a process, which strictly we could say begins when the immigrant receives some form of legal recognition, that it develops with time—normally progressing, although it can also experience regression—and that ideally it never finishes, but it always has some margin for improvement. Penninx states that if immigrants are not considered as part of the political community of the country or city—or if their legal status is substantially different from native citizens—it would be necessary to speak of policies of exclusion, more than of some form of integration (Penninx, 2004a: 7). In this sense, we cannot say that the process of integration has even begun.

This is a definition that places the responsibility for integration as much on the migrant subject, as on national citizens and society as a whole. It is a two-way process. Acceptance is as much the result of the effort of adaptation that the immigrant makes, as of what the host society does to welcome them.

Also, the definition includes, as regards the migrant, a respect and assumption in the public arena, of the basic values of the society in which they are located. This does not mean in any way that they must give up the culture from which they come, nor its values, but refers to the knowledge and handling of the public game rules of the society to which they belong. As well, this integration also considers knowledge of the language of the host country and a certain basic knowledge of history and the institutions. These are basic concepts that the immigrants need to develop and to participate in the new society.

These nuances that we indicate here are also touched on by the *European Policy Centre* among the principles of integration (European..., 2005: 19ss).[5] Here, as fundamental parts of integration, we find included

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[5] We included these aspects indicated by the European Policy Centre because they represent a certain public consensus among the European legislations about the contents of integration, and later are reflected in the plans for integration which are developed. In our context, we can see how the Strategic Plan of Citizenship and Integration (2007-10) of the Ministry of Work and Social Affairs of the Spanish Government indicates that integration is a complex, bi-directional and multidimensional process. It emphasizes the necessity to involve social agents ("union and business organizations, NGOs, associations

employment, efforts in education—in relation, primarily, to the children of immigrants—relations and interaction with natives and participation in public and political concerns.

Alejandro Portes (Portes, 1993) prefers to speak of *segmented assimilation*, where "assimilation" would have a similar content to what we use here under the concept of integration. This author starts from the establishment of the social stratification of our societies. There are different social strata or segments: in some of these segments we find people who enjoy a comfortable position economically; in others, conversely, people are in a situation of precarity, or of actual exclusion. When the immigrants enter the host society, they are incorporated into certain of these social segments or strata, through the social relations that they establish. If they join a highly placed social segment, they will be integrated into an inclusive and successful society. But if they join a low social segment, their social integration will lead them to exclusion. This reality places at issue one of the conclusions taken as self-evident in the classic theory: that integration means rising in social consideration and scale (cf. Xie, 2005: 2). That is to say, an integration that leads to a state of exclusion would finally be possible, which questions the processes that incorporate immigrants into society, but which do so by installing them in inferior social segments.

Later, Portes himself, together with Rumbaut (Portes 2006), has introduced the term *selective acculturation*, contributing new characteristics of interest for the consideration of integration.[6] In this case, they consider the preservation of the culture and the language of origin, and even the strengthening of the same, together with learning the language of the host country, its culture and idiosyncrasy. That whole that contains such different elements is precisely what contributes to a better settling of the immigrants, because it favours, simultaneously, the support of their primary cultural identity and also their participation and incorporation in the new country. It implies social acceptance

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of immigrants, etc.") in this process (Ministry of Work and Social Affairs, 2007: 173ss). On the other hand, the II Basque Plan of Immigration (2007-09) approved by the Basque Parliament also mentions that integration is a bi-directional process and insists on the necessity of the "recognition of citizenship", as well as an interrelation between cultures (Basque Government, 2007: 79ss).

[6] As can be seen, the literature on integration does not permit a consensual use of the different terms. In the case of Portes, both segmented assimilation, and selective acculturation, indicate aspects of an intercultural integration, although, in the European context, assimilation and acculturation indeed suggest processes opposed to this type of integration. That is to say, the use of the concepts is not unequivocal, so it can give rise to confusion.

of the existence of spaces for the cultures from which the immigrant groups come, simultaneously with a common space of participation and interchange of all the residents. And at an individual level, it empowers double belonging and identification with both cultures, one of the tasks of intercultural societies.

2.3. *Actors of integration*

Fundamentally there are two actors involved in the integration process: on the one hand, the immigrants, with their characteristics and efforts to adapt; on the other, the host society, with its characteristics and reactions. From the interaction between the two come the direction and final results of this process. In any case, they are two actors who keep a relationship of asymmetry, since they do not have the same power, nor the same resources. Due to its capacities, it is the host society that more decisively determines the conditions in which this integration can take place.

To be precise, we must specify more. On the side of the immigrants, we have their informal networks and their formal organizations (fundamentally these are associations). On the part of the host society there are the specific people—with their attitudes, their understanding, or not, of the new reality and their capacity to incorporate changes—the organizations of civil society, such as NGOs, civic platforms, business institutions and the market in general. We also have the institutions of public interest that manage the administration, among which we include the educational and health system. Finally, there are the political institutions that participate in the definition of laws (parties, parliaments and governments). In this scope usually there also tend to be advisory councils which invite the participation of some form of representation of immigrants, typically through their associations or platforms and federations that unite them.

2.4. *Levels of integration*

An individual becomes an accepted part of society—that is to say, they become integrated—when their condition as a citizen is completely developed. Looking at integration from this perspective, we can deduce that the levels of integration are equivalent to the levels or dimensions of citizenship, which classically consist of the political level, the socio-economic level and the cultural level. Nevertheless, since this work tries to study what role the immigrant organisations play in their integration, we consider another structuring of the levels, which we hope is more useful to us:

— *Level of identity:* includes the aspects of identification with and belonging to the ethnic community or that of the host country. It occupies the whole spectrum from complete identification to complete disaffection. It includes the attitudes of the immigrant person towards the host culture, as well as those of the natives towards the immigrants. It is qualified by the sign and degree of these attitudes. It also includes the attitudes of the host society as a whole to the changes and adaptations implied in the derived intercultural relations.

— *Cultural level*: includes the interactive process in which elements coming from all the cultures engage in dialogue with each other, leading to modifications in each of them, in the form of adherences, detaching, changes of values... Given the asymmetry as regards the number of immigrants and the institutional endorsement, it is the foreign cultures that experience the greatest number of changes and adaptations. Learning the language of the host country, its values and culture, and some data connected with its history, are on this level.

— *Social level:* refers to the links that the immigrants establish with other immigrants—of the same or different origin—to their participation in formal or informal groups and associations of natives or immigrants, the relations established among the organizations to which they belong... The immigrants here extend their capacity to relate to other people and become incorporated as full members in the social space in which they participate.

— *Employment level*: here we find the different employment niches in which immigrants are hired. This involves their objective capacities, the perceptions of them on the part of the specific people who hire them, and the specific opportunities that this labour market offers them and those that it does not offer them. Fundamentally it is this labour market that decides in what social segment the immigrant will end up being located, although the education system and housing also play important roles.

— *Level of institutions of general interest*: here we find the systems of education, health, employment, justice, as well as all the systems derived from the welfare state in general. Also it includes transactions with the administration. These arenas play a key role in the integration of immigrants and in many cases decide the extent to which this process can develop. Without systems of positive compensation towards ethnic minority cultures, they can fall, without specifically meaning to, into cultural discriminations,

because they develop in a specific culture, the dominant one, being able, for that reason, to in fact prevent the equal access to opportunities for natives and immigrants.

— *Political level*: this level covers the more normative aspects which specify the legal conditions in which immigrants live, decide the laws of immigration and aspects of other laws that also affect them, shape the policies which immigrants have to deal with, access to housing, welfare systems and aid... Also here are located forums of broad social participation—also of immigrants—which act as spaces of consultation to prepare parliamentary decisions.

As it can be seen, the first two levels—that of identity and the cultural level—are located on the classic cultural level, the following two—the social and employment levels—on the socioeconomic level, and the last two—that of institutions of general interest and the political—on the political level. We consider that a more detailed division can help us in our aim of studying the role of immigrant organisations in integration.

The levels are not independent, but rather each one interacts with the others, in such a way that they collaborate with each other, and also harm each other when some of the levels are not incorporated in a satisfactory way.

3. **Organizations of immigrants**

We will begin by speaking, in general, about the organizations created by human beings. People have a tendency to associate, as a way of creating spaces in which we can meet, collaborate, help and receive support, engage in dialog, establish affective ties of friendship and interchange experiences. This is also one of the ways in which people express a desire for belonging, surpassing the sensation of isolation. Associationism, then, is a verifiable fact that is based on a human necessity (Morell, 2005: 113), constituting a response to an inclination that lives within people.

Through the associations formed by human beings, the latter can act collectively, finding in them valid referents for participation in society (Garreta, 2005: 3). It is these that make it possible for people not to act separately, but in a coordinated way, thus giving rise to social participation.

Equally, present-day democracies require, for their good health, civil organizations that canalise citizen participation. Their diversity is an expression of the pluralism and vitality of societies and their actions can operate as a counterbalance to public power (Goñalons, 2007: 2). In this sense, they frequently represent the objectives and needs of the individuals, taking part in consultations for the definition of public policies and therefore assuming an important civil participation in the political arena. We can, therefore, affirm that the organizations of civil society act, in general, on the personal, social and political planes.

Now let us go on to consider the organizations created by immigrant people. Immigrants also found their own organizations. Academics who have studied this question consider that the desire to organize grows with migration. In fact, the first stimulus that pushes them to organize comes from the process of emigration itself. It is a fact that migrants worldwide have shown a clear tendency to form many associations (Moya, 2005: 838). The most plausible explanation is that through them, migrants, on the one hand, are able to overcome a wounding sensation of loneliness and isolation in a hostile environment (Morell 2005: 112) and, on the other hand, they collaborate with each other to face the problems that they uniquely suffer and which become more bearable when they share their knowledge, abilities and efforts.

There is a long experience of this phenomenon in other countries other than ours, as well as a prolonged study of the importance of immigrant associations in those states. This is the case, among others, of the United States or Canada, and of some countries in Central Europe. On the contrary, in Spain, which only very recently has moved from being a country of emigration to one of immigration, immigrant organisations have not proliferated until very recent times, fundamentally the 1990s (Morell, 2005: 115).

In this section we are going to gather from the literature that exists in other countries—and only partly in our own—some characteristics of the phenomenon of migrant associationism, because we consider that they also introduce some reflections that are of interest for our context, although will require an more detailed unfolding of this phenomenon to have the occasion to verify it.

Before going ahead we must specify some things more precisely. Up to now we have referred without distinction to immigrant organizations and associations. The association is a legally recognized legal form in our country for those civil organizations which, fulfilling determined formal requisites, demand of the administration their acceptance as

such associations. This means that the phenomenon of associations of immigrants is more restricted than that of its organizations.[7] It seems, in fact, that there is a gradation: first to appear are the informal meeting places, further on the informal structures of sport, culture and mutual aid, and only are formal, organized associations created that come to articulate a representation in the public scope (Morell, 2005: 121). Nevertheless, unfortunately, historians are accustomed to studying the larger and more institutionalised associations, whereas most of them are informal and small (Moya, 2005: 835). This means that an important part of this phenomenon has remained outside the study. In Spain, 94% of the organizations identified by the Observatory of the Third Sector have the legal form of associations and 3% are constituted as federations (Vidal, 2007: 1). On our part, in what follows we will talk about immigrant organisations in general, although, since our sources come from articles and investigations, this will mean that mainly they apply to formal civil organizations—that is, to associations. But this does not prevent us at certain points from mentioning some characteristics of the phenomenon that can be extended beyond formally constituted associations.

Three categories of organizations of/for immigrants are usually distinguished (IOE, 1987): 1) those that are constituted by the immigrants themselves and which we could describe as ethnic; 2) organizations that have a generalist approach and which, among other activities, include some that are oriented to the integration of immigrants and 3) those that are exclusively aimed at immigrants, but managed by natives. For ourselves, we will solely consider those that fall into class 1, that is to say, those initiated and managed by the immigrants themselves.

Below, we present some of the characteristics of immigrant organisations. These are obtained from the analysis of the existing bibliography in countries with a long and considered experience of this phenomenon. Later we will show some typologies of associations and the factors that influence their existence. We will finish with a brief description of the phenomenon in Spain.

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[7] As Moya (2005: 834) indicates, immigrant investigations can take any form between the limits, on the one hand, of the groups formed by primary links of friendship, and on the other, tertiary institutions like the State. But within this range the variety, hibridization and exceptions are so broad, that they evade any attempt at definition.

3.1. *Some characteristics of immigrant organisations[8]*

In this section we cover the main characteristics of the creation and development of immigrant organisations and which appear in the literature from countries with greater experience and in which the issue has been researched for a longer period of time than in our own:

— The more culturally different a certain ethnic group is in relation to the population of the host country, the greater inclination it has to found organizations (Breton, 1964: 204).
— Experience indicates that very numerous ethnic groups do not necessarily give rise to a great number of immigrant organisations (Caponio, 2005: 933). Therefore there is no linear relation between the number of immigrants and the number of their organizations. The diversity of the latter will depend on the degree of differentiation present in this ethnic group: origin, age, gender, religion, labour niche that they occupy, political allegiance... Organizations, whenever their number permits, tend to look for a certain affinity that provides a warm feeling of belonging.
— A minimum number of members is needed to constitute an organization. This number varies depending on the type of activities that the organization wants to create. A newspaper is not the same as a school or theatre. In addition, the geographic area from which these people can come varies depending on the facilities for transport.
— The rotation of the population immigrant is a very excellent factor in the constitution and support of organizations, such that if the changes in the immigrant population are very frequent, they hardly establish their own organizations. These require a high stability in the group of immigrants to be able to survive. Also, they need a desire to stay on behalf of the immigrants, because for people who do not plan a future in the host country, it does not make much sense either to focus on anything other than saving money (Paths, 1998: 57 - 58).
— When two ethnic groups collide in a single space with disputes over certain resources, both groups tend to form organizations which make an effort to exclude the group with which they compete. Similarly, when a group experiences systematic exclusion, it tends to create organizations which strengthen internal solidarity (Diez Medrano, 1994: 875).

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[8] In this section we take as a basis Shrover and Vermeulen (2005: 830ss), who succinctly describe these characteristics from a study of comparative literature. When there is another source, we indicated this specifically.

— The youngest organizations are those which show the greatest risk of disappearing. On the other hand, those that already have a consolidated activity, members and reputation tend to remain. It is usually assumed that the vitality of the associative movement is very high, which simultaneously indicates a high birth and death rate of organizations (Caixa, 2006: 17).
— Few organizations survive beyond the first generation of immigrants. Usually, the reasons that kept them together are weakened among the children of the immigrants, for which reason they are dissolved or slowly fade away (Shrover, 2005: 824).
— When organizations grow and fuse they have more trouble finding some common denominator that unites them, so they run the risk of fracturing or dying.
— It is known that participation in immigrant organisations in the last four decades has been diminishing in the world. This is because previously, the majority of migrants were grouped around associations of mutual aid, which reached great numbers. With the creation of welfare systems in modern societies, the need for these great associations has been reduced and, with it, the affiliation of immigrants.
— Immigrant organisations always contain internal tension between their efforts to adapt to the new cultural context to which they belong and their attempts to preserve elements of the cultures of their countries of origin (Cordero-Guzmán, 2005: 904). From the struggle existing in this tension is derived the fact that some organizations favour integration and others, on the other hand, take pains to maintain the difference of their members with regard to the host country (Shrover, 2005: 824; Garreta, 2007: 4).
— The men associate more readily around nationality than women, even though the latter are usually those who act as the transmitters of values and ethnic ideologies. In the case of women, they prefer to participate in organizations that seek for solutions to problems in daily life in the host society. Usually they are not in the power structures of the associations.
— Both the societies and governments of origin, and those of destination of immigrants, tend to consider the immigrant organisations as belonging to them. For this reason they try, to a certain extent, to influence and mark the direction that they acquire.

Up to this point, we have seen a sample of the characteristics of immigrant organisations that are derived from their history in a range of countries. We will next refer to the factors that most influence the formation and development of organizations.

3.2. *Factors that most influence the existence of immigrant organisations*

In an article by Breton in 1964, which is now considered to be classic, the author alluded to three types of factors that stimulate the formation of ethnic organizations: 1) cultural differences with respect to the host society, 2) the level of resources which the group of immigrants has and 3) the migration model.

Since then until the present day there have been specific studies on this question that allow the factors to be reformulated as follows: 1) the characteristics of the migratory process, 2) the structure of political opportunities and 3) the characteristics of the immigrant community and the organizational culture in its context of origin.

We will not go into detail on the first of the factors, but on the second and third, since the existing literature on this question has dedicated significant attention to them. We will look at 3 cases:

— Bloemraad (2005) has made a comparative study of the behaviour of two groups, the Vietnamese and the Portuguese, in two nearby cities belonging to different countries: Boston in the United States and Toronto in Canada. Both the Portuguese, on their side, and the Vietnamese, on theirs, show similar characteristics in both cities, as well as equally similar models of migration. The volume of their populations is even the same in the two cities. From this is derived the possibility that their different behaviour in terms of the organization of immigrants in these cities has been due to different state intervention. We will now go on to describe this.

Let us begin in Toronto. Prior to 1950, the government of Canada offered very limited support to immigrants, but as of 1960 the State wanted to become an active actor in their integration, so it established in the government a directorate for social, cultural and political integration of migrants. Multiculturalism policies later began to be developed. From 1972 ethnic associations were given financial support, and immigrant cultural activities and programs were promoted so that their children learned the language of their parents.

If we shift to Boston, this city was affected by the *laissez-faire* policy of the United States: from 1940 immigration began to be a question of national security, one reason why immigrants began to receive very little support, even those who travelled due to family reunification; still less those who did so for reasons of employment. On the other hand, the support for refugees was very significant and, especially, that offered to those originating from the war in Indochina.

This different policy on the part of the two States has given rise to a very different development of the associative fabric of these two groups of immigrants. The number of associations founded by Vietnamese both in Toronto and in Boston is very similar (40 as opposed to 32). In addition, the proportion of associations that are dedicated to different types of activities (advocacy, religious, social, journalistic, political, professional, and of social services) is very similar in both cities.

Nevertheless, the behaviour of the Portuguese associations has been very different in the two cities (98 associations in Toronto as opposed to 16 in Boston). In addition, the diversity of associations is much richer in Toronto. This seems to make it clear that there is a high interrelationship between the role that the government assumes and the dynamism and total volume of associations.

— Another case studied in depth is that of the Surinamese and Turkish groups in Amsterdam (Vermeulen 2005). The Surinameses—coming from the former Dutch colony—were divided between those of creole, that is to say, African, origin, and Hindus of Indian origin. The problematic of the two communities was different. We focussed exclusively on the Creoles. In 1970, Creoles had the same density of associations in Surinam as in Europe. Nevertheless their participation in the country of origin was low. Their associations were tied to political or religious interests and they were differentiated by ethnic groups. Thus the credibility of these organizations among Creoles was low, a distrust that also extended towards the organizations which were created in Amsterdam.

In the 1970s, the economic crisis and unemployment affected this community deeply. Many fell into criminality and they were discriminated against by the native population. The administration tried to support them with policies of broad social cover and promoted their return to Surinam. The distribution of State economic aid was carried out by Creole organizations themselves. The subsidies towards these structures grew, towards a golden age between 1974 and 1985. Meanwhile, competition increased between the associations and distrust about the management of the funds.

Subsequently social grants were granted through Dutch institutions. The better located Creoles have been integrated in them. Meanwhile, most of the Creole organizations have been disappearing.

Another form of action was used with the Turkish population. Initially they were *guestworkers*, a group which the Dutch author-

ities believed would eventually return to their native countries, for which reason they were simply ignored politically for some time. Sine the 1980s the attitude of the Administration changed and it began to support all the Turkish organizations, regardless of their religious or political tendency. This increased the presence of organizations and lead to a proliferation and fortification of all Turkish organizations.

In summary, we can say that the attitude of the two groups was different, and also the state policy. An excess of economic grants, together with a distrust in the associations, lead in the case of the Creoles to a loss of organizational capacity. On the contrary, both the attitude of the Turkish population, and the Dutch political strategy, favoured the development of the Turkish associative fabric.

— In Italy, since the 1990s integration policies have been the responsibility of the local administrations, which may have different policies. Caponio (2005) studies the cases of three cities governed with different political mindsets: Milan, where the Northern League has dominated in recent years; Bologna, with a long left-wing history; Naples, a city in which the Catholic Church has always played a key role in social assistance.

In these three cases, the associations of immigrants could receive economic support and representation in the institutions. Nevertheless, experience indicates that institutional resources have flowed towards the Italian organizations by means of public contracts, not to the immigrant organisations. The administrations have distrusted the latter, due to their inexperience and structural weakness, characteristics which, due to lack of institutional endorsement, have been perpetuated.

In the same way, the participation of these organizations in the different consultative organs of the three cities has been very marginal, as a reflection of the poverty of their associative fabric.

In this situation, the immigrant organisations are forced to channel their participation through those Italian institutions that do obtain funds and which are trustworthy and rigorous in the eyes of the Italian administrations. This implies that the immigrant organisations, fundamentally, are tutored in their citizen participation in the public realm, without the capacity to reach a desirable maturity.

We have been able to verify through these three cases how the most influential factors in the formation and establishment of an associative fabric of immigrants are both the characteristics of the specific ethnic group we are considering, and the policies followed by the administrations. These policies do not act mechanically, but depending on how they

are applied and the ethnic group to which they are addressed, can produce very different effects. In any case, it seems clear that without a definite promotion of this immigrant associative fabric, it can hardly develop.

This definite promotion usually takes place in those States where there is a conviction that the democratic life is enriched through the dynamism of civil society, and by means of this, the citizens themselves are also beneficiaries. Those States subsidize the associative fabric, facilitate its procedures regarding the administration, follow it up, help to promote its diversity and offer it assistance that is stable in time. This would be the most republican tradition. On the other hand there is the temptation to co-opt the associative movement and to convert it, through grants, into the extended arm of the State. In the most Anglo-Saxon tradition, the market is considered the essential part of civil society, the place where private initiative and the capacity of the most independent must be prioritised. From this more liberal tendency, the formation of this civic associative fabric is not promoted, which is always too weak to move ahead. In any case, these two sensibilities are present in most of the States and changes in policies arise from the debate that takes place between them.

3.3. *Classification of immigrant organisations according to their activities*

Some of the typologies of organizations use the country of origin of the immigrants as the criterion for classification. The rationale for this type of classification is that, as we have seen, the characteristics of the specific ethnic group influence their behaviour.

We have chosen a different criterion which, it seems to us, can help us in our objective of clarifying how the associations of immigrants influence their integration. We will distinguish them according to the type of activity they carry out.[9]

— *Cultural organizations*: those that carry out leisure and festive activities, re-encounters with their own roots and interchange. They focus on the cultivation and practice of their culture and folklore of origin. Artistic exhibitions, theatre, song, photography, and cinema are some of the activities that they prioritise. This also includes sporting events, gastronomy from their places of origin, or the celebration of special festivals. The motivating axis

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[9] On this point I am fundamentally following Vidal (2007: 9ss). A good schematic description of the activities that immigrant organisations usually carry out can be found in Caixa (2006: 9).

for this type of association is found in the strengthening of a feeling of belonging, which breaks down the isolation and solitude that they often experience, and in transmitting to their children the culture of their origins and values.

In these types of activities they can collaborate with local organizations, to call attention to the wealth of interculturality. In this case they act as a bridge with the host society.

Religious associations are also located here. These are more numerous the greater the distance between the religion of the host country and that of the ethnic group. Also they flourish when they are a religious minority in their own country. But, fundamentally, it seems that a decisive factor is the role that religion plays in the national identification of origin. For example, in Buenos Aires the Irish founded more religious associations than Italians and Spanish put together, although these two groups together are 50 times more numerous (Moyas, 2005: 846).

Also in this large category are *hometown associations* which aim to preserve the customs of their locality and to recreate in the environment of another country the characteristics of the place of origin. It is these organizations that have included the greatest range of social classes within them. Their distinction is based on geographic familiarity, not social division.

The support and participation of governments does not much influence this type of cultural organizations (Moya, 2005: 856), rather they usually have their own dynamics and simple and independent forms of financing.

— *Organizations offering services*: offer support to recent arrivals, help them with the always tortuous bureaucratic proceedings, seek to improve the conditions of life of the migrants, facilitate housing and means of obtaining employment, provide them with emotional support, take care of neglected people and promote the training of migrants in areas of general interest like learning the native language and computing.

Historically, as we have already indicated, this type of organizations are those that historically have been more developed, in the form of credit and mutual aid associations (Moya, 2005: 841ss). In modern societies, the most important activities of this type of association have largely been assumed by the State. This has led to their progressive shrinking, because to carry out this type of task they needed very significant financial and human potential, which was contributed through sacrifice by the migrants when they were not covered by State services. Now that

there are other forms of cover, there is no motivation to promote this type of organization.

— *Organizations of mediation and political pressure*: These are mature organizations which can undertake tasks of political mediation. They engage in dialogue with the public administrations and other organizations, in order to facilitate the integration of the immigrants. They can also get involved in political pressure and reporting abuse, seeking improvement in their situation, protesting their rights or calling attention to situations of discrimination.

Some of them participate in activities of development cooperation with the communities from which they arise. In the case of disasters they can send economic aid specifically collected for the occasion.

Among these types of organizations we also find diasporas organized around political options in their country. Groups of refugees usually do this, sometimes carrying out activities endorsing the government of the country they come from or the political (or armed) groups that threaten it. This has been the case of anti-Castro or anti-Sandinista organizations. Equally, they can lead political lobbying initiatives in the host state so that it its foreign policy influences the situation of the country of origin (Moya, 2005: 849).

Experience indicates that this classification based on activities reflects a possible evolution of the immigrant organisations themselves. Usually they begin with cultural activities, progress towards providing services and, perhaps, culminate with initiatives of a political nature. They may stay at one of these stages, but in any case political activities are those which demand the greatest degree of maturity and strength from the associations, which is why we cannot expect that these activities arise when the organisations have developed very recently.

3.4. *Brief description of the phenomenon in Spain*

In the 2006 Observatory of the Third Sector made a Directory of the immigrant organizations in the whole of the State[10], a total of 1,366 organizations. Based on this it has been possible to obtain some characteristics presented by the phenomenon as a whole.[11]

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[10] This Directory is published by La Caixa Foundation (2006).
[11] We will follow the comments that the team responsible for the Observatory made from the information collected in the Directory and which was presented in the V Immigration Congress that took place in Valencia in 2007 (Vidal 2007).

   60% of the organizations are less than 5 years old, a result of the recent appearance of this phenomenon, as well as the high birth and death rate of the associations. Their scope of action is fundamentally the Autonomous Community in which they are located. Organizations of municipal scope are also common. Only 19% are state-wide in scope.

   Their budget is usually small. 50% do not reach 6,000 € annually, which is why the accomplishment of their activities depends on their own efforts. The main source of financing is member subscriptions, which indicates that they are normally as distant from the public administration, as from the private sector. The staff that they have are mostly volunteers.

   Most of them are oriented to cultural promotion, followed by activities related to the legal consultancy, emotional support, raising awareness... They are only temporarily linked to particular campaigns. In this case, they do so motivated by a desire to present their problems, their own association and, less frequently (18% of cases) with the aim of pressuring the public administration. Figure 1 shows the percentage of associations that claim to participate in different types of activities.

Table 1

Immigrant organizations in Spain by activities
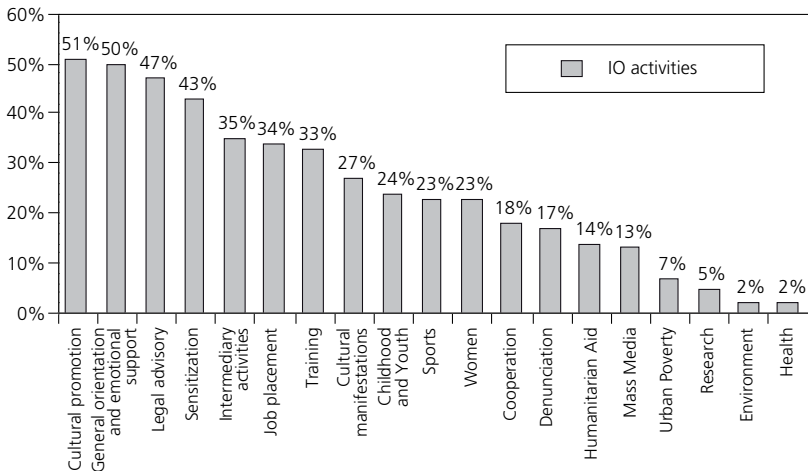
Source: Caixa (2006: 13).

In almost 80% of the organizations, their members come from the same region of one of the countries of origin. This leads to us to think that they are mainly linked by cultural similarities, not so much by specific interests that they may have in common.

When expressing the motivations that have led them to join in an organization they express, in 62% of the organizations, the desire to integrate and to participate in the host society, followed by the desire to be with people from the same country and the intention of promoting their culture of origin.

In their relations with other associations, they are very active, making contact with many other organizations, mainly to develop common cultural initiatives and also to deal with specific topics on immigration. Their social activity is, therefore, very high.

51% of the organizations maintain links with their country of origin. 18% of them even have a delegation in the country of origin of the majority of their members. This allows some to carry out activities of humanitarian aid and co-development.

When they are asked about their problems they usually talk about the lack of economic resources, the little support that they receive from the public administration, and the strictness of the Law of foreigners. Also they find difficulties in a shortage of members, often due to high rotation.

4. **How immigrant organisations affect levels of integration**

In the section on the integration of immigrants we have distinguished six levels of integration: identity, cultural, social, employment, institutions of general interest, and political. As we pointed out, there are different scopes in which citizens participate and which allow us to become incorporated into society. Society as a whole is more integrated, the more the citizens who comprise it participate at these levels. In this section we will review the different levels and consider to what extent immigrant organisations facilitate the participation of immigrants at these levels.

4.1. *Level of identity*

As we indicated at the beginning of this work, nowadays we do not grow up simply assuming the culture from which we come, but constructing our life projects from the commitments that we acquire to different groups and the links that join us to them. We are crossroads of

belonging to different worlds. In the case of immigrants, this reality is radical: they come from another place, another people, another culture; at the same time, they live in a foreign country, among different people and amongst other ways of relating and understanding the world. They make the effort of double belonging, to their country of origin and of adoption. We refer to this level of identity. Here a personal development takes place, by means of which an immigrant can feel himself to be a native of a country, but also more and more part of the adopted country.

In our country, most of the immigrant organisations (62%) state that one of the aims of their formation does indeed consist of the desire to integrate and to participate in the host society (Vidal, 2007: 4). In them, immigrants carry out the double task of promoting their own culture—which they long for, resonate internally with, and feel part of—and knowledge of the new country in which they have arrived. Not for nothing, 51% of the immigrant organisations carry out activities related to cultural promotion and 50% also help orient immigrants in their insertion in new society.[12] The immigrant organisations that carry out these tasks are obviously those that bring together immigrants according to their origin.

For long time it was thought appropriate for immigrants to abandon their culture and become assimilated in that of the destination country, in order to maintain coexistence in common. Today we understand, on the one hand, that this abandoning, if it is forced, is immoral. On the other hand, there are many political philosophers at present who consider that the feeling of belonging to certain cultural groups is essential for our existence (cf. Gargarella, 1999: 146). Based on that primary belonging, we can enter into dialogue and relationships with others, criticize and modify our own, reorient it and enrich it. Thus when the immigrants feel content in their ethnic identity, they are able to participate more decidedly in the new society and enrich it in its pluralism (Kymlicka, 2003: 198). On the contrary, if they themselves do not know and value their own culture of origin, they find greater difficulties in participating in the host society.[13] From this perspective, when immigrant organisations cultivate their own cultures of origin, their customs and ways of life and celebration, they contribute to their healthy growth as individuals

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[12] When we speak about percentages of immigrant organisations dedicated to certain activities, we refer to the data that appear in Figure 1.

[13] There are also authors, framed in strong liberal currents, who consider that the cultivation of one's own cultural identity in immigrants ends up marginalizing them and makes the construction of a common public space difficult, being now subject to a particularist citizenship (Bourque 2002, 170).

and equip themselves with a greater capacity for adaptation to the host country and participation based on self-esteem.

Nevertheless, this level of identity is not merely affected by the attitudes that the immigrants maintain towards their own culture, but also depends, to an important extent, on the recognition and attitudes of the host society (Taylor, 1993: 59ss). The perception that immigrants have of themselves also depends on how the natives see them. They will be capable of greater personal development if they are considered and valued for what they are; including in what they are, their original cultural identity.

In order to be able to take part in society, a person must feel appreciated and valued for what she is. This reinforces their identity and, at the same time, favours their relationship and involvement with others, developing in them a disposition to receive and to contribute. On the other hand, when the person experiences rejection, they more easily generate an identity of resistance.

Although we are speaking of a very personal space, as is the internal space of individuals, the State also plays a role here. The policies called "multicultural" are those that best respond from the State to this integration of the immigrants at the level of their identity (Kymlicka, 2003: 200). They do so by providing programs of bilingual education for the children of immigrants, mainly in the first years of schooling; providing services to adult immigrants in their mother tongue; economically supporting ethnic and religious celebrations; adopting programs of sensitisation against xenophobia...

Definitively, the level of identity, that which is of vital importance for the individual immigrant, is affected by the role of the State, the attitudes of the natives and the capacity of the immigrants themselves to achieve integration in the new society, while maintaining their affective links with their countries of origin. Here is where the immigrant organisations carry out activities of fundamental support.

4.2. *Cultural level*

On this level we refer to the interaction between elements coming from the different cultures, native and foreign. This interchange leads to modifications in both, with subtractions, additions, new panoramas...

Also on this level, the immigrant organisations in Spain carry out a broad range of activities, offering through them a space of interrelation. We are talking about cultural promotion (51%) and artistic performances (27%), as well as actions of sensitisation (43%), which often con-

sist of campaigns. By means of immigrant organisations the immigrants channel towards the host society their values, their cultural wealth and its artistic expression. They act as channels of communication, making known their values and ways of life.

They also carry out training activities for the immigrants, to show them the characteristics and ways of the people of the host country.

In these countries there is a great preoccupation for cultural integration. There are some theories that openly express the radical mutual incompatibility between the supposedly premodern values brought by some ethnic groups and the democratic bases of western societies (Sartori, 2001: 53ss). Perhaps influenced by this type of position, the governments of the European Union are tending to force immigrants to pass certain "integration programs" as a prior requirement for recognition of their citizenship (Race 2006).[14] These are courses for learning the native language, civic courses on the history, values and cultural traditions of the host country, courses of professional practice... This is a valuable supply of learning for the construction of a common culture that makes us all feel more part of the same society, and in this sense, more integrated. What is questionable is that they should be mandatory for obtaining the benefits (economic, social, political and civic) of citizenship, and it is an effort which only immigrants are forced to undertake, which places in question the bi-directional nature of integration. In addition, the practice in several countries is leading to the formalization of sanctions—from fines to loss of the right of residence and consequent expulsion—in cases of non-attendance or failure in these courses (Carrera, 2006: 62).

The State can also facilitate the integration of immigrants on the cultural level, for example, by reviewing curricula in history, geography, religion and literature, so that they present the values and historical contributions of the cultures and countries of the immigrants. Also, it can adapt the working calendar to fit in with their celebrations. Equally, they can educate civic employees and professionals in health and law enforcement in cultural diversity (Kymlicka, 2003, 199) and regulate ethnic stereotypes in the mass media.

In summary, on this level we appreciate many activities developed by immigrant organisations for social integration. Also, the State has an important role to carry out in the sensitisation of the native population towards the new cultural realities, and in disseminating valuable knowledge of these. Nevertheless, the tendency in many European countries

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[14] This is not the case in Spain, where competences as regards integration of immigrants are transferred to the Autonomous Communities. These have set up integration plans, most of which are based on a bi-directional approach (Carrera, 2006: 48).

is towards obligatory integration programs, as an indispensable requirement to enjoying the benefits of citizenship.

4.3. *Social level*

On this level we are talking about the participation of immigrants in associations and formal or informal groups, the relationships that immigrant organisations establish with other types of civil society organizations, and the social network to which the immigrants are thereby incorporated.

On the social level, we could say that immigrant organisations constitute, in themselves, privileged platforms for immigrants to participate in civil society as members and interlocutors. They make it possible for them to relate to the world of associations, they make them collectively visible and open routes of social expression to them. So, without the immigrant organisations, the immigrants could hardly participate in the social level, as immigrants. They would have it to do so through other institutions and general social organizations, but in this case, as citizens. This role as protagonists on the social level is carried out by immigrant organisations as organizations, beyond the specific activities that they undertake.

The immigrant organisations confirm the importance to them of coordination with other immigrant associations (in 69% of cases, according to Vidal, 2007: 6). The also coordinate with organizations in favour of immigrants (59%, Vidal, 2007: 6). In addition, there are some concrete initiatives that help them to participate more on this social level: one is the use of the mass media (13% of immigrant organisations in Spain), actions of sensitisation and participation in campaigns (43%)... There are also some modes of operation that work better for them on this level, such as when they coordinate their actions through federations and platforms.[15] Through these they are developing their potential for interrelation and interchange and they have become outstanding actors in social life. Usually they prioritise cultural initiatives and subjects related to immigration.

Thus, we can say that immigrant organisations do contribute forcefully to the participation of immigrants on the social level, because they themselves constitute the primary nodes that allow them to gain access to civil society. In Spain, the weakness is to be found in the high volatility of the organizations and that the relations that are fundamentally based around activities on the cultural level.

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[15] In Spain 62% of immigrant organisations belong to these "second level" organizations: federations, coordinators, platforms, forums... (Vidal, 2007: 5).

4.4. *Employment Level*

This is one of the most important levels for the integration of immigrants. It plays a crucial role in whether their incorporation takes place at a high or low level of the social scale. In this sense, it largely determines in what social segment the immigrant is integrated.

Immigrant organisations in Spain also promote some activities on this level: training (33% of immigrant organisations, although the training is not always aimed at finding employment), programs of employment integration (34%) and the initiatives for promoting women (23%). As can be seen, the number of immigrant organisations that carry out these types of initiatives is lower in this case in relation to the previous levels.

It is not strictly necessary regarding employment integration that immigrant organisations should consist of immigrants of the same ethnic origin, as it was on the first two levels. There may be others which group together immigrants of diverse origin and natives could also participate in them.

In relation to the labour market, local organizations—aimed at the general public, not specifically at immigrants—can have greater relevance than immigrant organisations, because they are usually better equipped and have more experience at facilitating employment integration. In particular, unions can bring forward initiatives specifically aimed at these groups. In Spain it does not seem that they give anything but minimal support to immigrant organizations (Vidal, 2007: 6).

At this level, also, natives play an outstanding role with their perceptions and patterns of hiring, in readily locating immigrants in certain employment niches, while excluding them from others.

Also, the State constitutes a fundamental actor, for several reasons: The State permits or prevents the recognition of the curricula of immigrants' qualifications, which qualify them for undertaking certain jobs. It is also the State which, with the regularization of immigrants, allows them to work with the same social cover as natives, or in contrast, exposes them to exploitation. Finally, the State also has the inspection mechanisms necessary to uncover places where the rights of working immigrants are not respected and for the appropriate legal investigation.

In conclusion, we can state that, although immigrant organisations carry out certain initiatives for integration on the level of the labour market, their relevance is much less than that of the native population and that of the State.

4.5. *Level of institutions of general interest*

We located on this level the systems of education, health, justice, and all the systems derived from the welfare state in general, as well as transactions with the administration. These institutions of general service to the citizens are based on the principle of equality of access and of non-discriminatory treatment. Through them equality of opportunities is made possible.

In spite of the desire of the Administration to not discriminate based on any social condition, such as ethnic origin, all the institutions that it runs are regulated on a linguistic and cultural basis that, in fact, prevent the equality that they seek. There is an official language, codes of communication, an understanding of the problems of the people... which are framed culturally and which in the end act as instances of discrimination.

This level determines, in the long run, whether in the end the immigrants do or do not feel treated like citizens in the same category as the rest. It is for this reason that in many cases, strategies of positive discrimination are needed which allow actual comparisons between immigrants and natives.

There are policies in this scope that seek to increase the representation of immigrant groups (as also of women or people with disability) in the main educational or economic institutions. Here, also, are located the training programs for professionals of these institutions that help them to understand the cultural variable when faced with people originating from certain countries (this is a key question in health, for example). Also we have translation services for defendants of crimes, etc.

In this field immigrant organisations can do a great deal. It is the immigrants themselves who feel in the first person the repercussions of discrimination on behalf of these types of institutions. They are they first to notice this unequal treatment. In many cases, it is enough to note the defenselessness that they feel in order for the appropriate measures to be taken to stop discrimination. In other cases, there are policies and patterns of behaviour that are very resistant to change.

In Spain, immigrant organisations carry out some activities related to integration on this level: thus, 17% of immigrant organisations include reporting abuse among their activities. Also 35% undertake tasks of mediation with the public administrations. All these actions are not directly related to the level of public institutions which we are talking about, but some are. In any case, these are only the most established associations with the greatest experience that can undertake them.

4.6. *Political level*

Here we meet the most normative level, where the legal conditions of immigrants, policies, access to welfare systems, etc., are specified. The starting difficulty for the participation of immigrants on the political level consists of not having the right to vote, which national citizens have. This condition prevents them from taking part in the election of the political representatives who decide on subjects that affect them directly. Only European Community immigrants can vote, and only at municipal level.

For that reason, associations of immigrants can be seen as a sort of channel of political participation substituting for the vote.[16] This is how the States have understood it. These habitually promote—more energetically or timidly—associationism, citing, among other reasons, the desire that immigrants be present in public debates which are incumbent to them.

They do so using two means: grants to these immigrant associations, and the establishment of mechanisms of participation at national and autonomous level through *Forums for immigrant integration*. In Spain, the national and autonomous-level integration plans have generated these mechanisms since 1994 and today they are still made use of (Martín, 2004: 129).

In fact, nonetheless, the administrations tend to give money to those associations that reach a certain level of recognition. Not for nothing in Spain do 50% of the associations have an annual budget to less than 6,000 €, 48% do not receive public grants and mainly are supported through member subscriptions (Vidal, 2007: 2-3). On the other hand, in recent years business organizations have also been included in the Forums for integration, which means that the immigrant associations lose weight in them, at the same time that these Forums are taking an economic slant.

Thus, although the political participation of immigrants is seen as appropriate, there are no sufficient mechanisms to protect it, so that it could be said that the structure of political opportunity in our State does not favour this participation (Goñalons, 2007: 11). And it is fundamentally due to this that they can only participate in a hierarchical relationship with respect to the State (Martín, 2004: 141), since it is the State

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[16] In this section we will refer to associations of immigrants, and not more generally to immigrant organisations, because the associations have legal recognition and, for that reason, they can be presented as interlocutors to be taken into account in the political arena.

that regulates the grants of the larger associations, which have budgets supported by public funds. It is frequent that this type of associations are limited in their participation to the execution of previously decided public policies (Martín, 2004: 130), establishing a client relation with the State. Actually, immigrant associations are located on the lowest level of recognition of the civic associations, and are not very often invited to participate in the processes of decision and management of public policies (Martín, 2004: 134).

Different authors argue for the establishment of social networks and movements through which immigrant associations can channel their demands (Hooghe 2005; Martín 2004). These authors think that immigrants can only be recognized politically if they are involved in a broad movement of immigrants with common strategies and objectives (Hooghe, 2005: 976). In the Spanish State this has begun to happen on the political level in a very basic and not very promising way. In fact, there seems to be better coordination with the public powers, than with other associations (Martín, 2004: 138), because the relations between the latter are very much mediated by competition due to the grants that the receive.

Definitively, this being a very important level for the participation of immigrants, the authors concur in diagnosing a poor integration of the associations in the decision-making processes of public policies. The future does not seem very promising either.

Conclusions

Present-day western societies contain great cultural plurality within them. This diversity comes from the presence of national and ethnic minorities, but also from causes linked to the development of modernity. In our time, individual choice predominates when planning one's own life, which constitutes a source of plurality.

This fact is transforming the way we consider social integration. No longer is it a question of adopting mimetically a supposedly monolithic common culture, that is now nonexistent. It is rather a process that is incumbent in all people and through which we become an accepted part of society (Penninx, 2004a: 11). This acceptance depends on the efforts of each person, but not less on the perceptions of others and the field opened by the State policies. Integration also has levels or scopes in which it can become effective.

Immigrants have further to go than natives in the process of integration, because there are many common practices that they need to adopt to become part of society. Among the many initiatives that they

carry out, they show a strong tendency to form groups in which they develop various activities. The activities of these immigrant groups affect the different levels of integration, although they do not have the same margins of influence in all of them, and nor are they present in all of these levels with the same force. It is at the cultural and identity levels that the greatest number of immigrant organisations in Spain promote activities with which they favour the integration of immigrants, helping them to preserve their own culture. At the same time, they deepen their spaces of interaction with the people of the host country and increase their capacity for understanding the new cultural reality which they have joined.

The immigrant organisations are also, in themselves, the fundamental actors at the social level, because they enable groups of immigrants to participate in the associative fabric. They make them visible and valid social interlocutors. In this sense, immigrant organisations qualify immigrants to take part in civil society.

Although they make efforts to facilitate access to employment for their members and improve their quality of life, at this level of the labour market, the administration and perceptions and patterns of hiring of the native population have much more influence.

In the level of institutions of general interest, immigrant organisations can play an important mediation role, and reporting situations of discrimination because of their cultural belonging. In Spain they have still a great margin for improvement in this field. Immigrant organisations only become present in this space when they reach a degree of maturity that is not yet frequent in our country, given the little time that most have been active.

Finally, there is the political level, where immigrant organisations have a smaller presence. Nonetheless they are the only means that the immigrants have to participate in the political arena, since they lack the right to vote. It seems that only the development of a certain immigrant social movement can give them the necessary character to become a valid and independent interlocutor with the government.

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Immigration and Self-Employment in the Basque Autonomous Community: A Qualitative Approach

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Introduction

International migrations are becoming increasingly more important in both the societies of origin and those of destination. Spain, traditionally a country of origin for migrants, has become, since the mid-1980s and, especially, since the year 2000, one of the European countries that welcomes the greatest number of foreign immigrants. Although the region of Spain's northern coastline, including the Basque Autonomous Community (referred to as BAC in this paper), has not been one of the main centres of immigration within the State, the presence of foreign immigrants is becoming more and more significant within this geographic area. The BAC, which has long been a destination for internal migration, now faces a new challenge of international immigration.

Although the motivations of each individual for making the decision to migrate are usually multiple, and to speak of a single motive can

sometimes be a simplification of reality, most existing migratory flows at present respond mainly to a desire for socioeconomic improvement. Therefore, employment integration constitutes a fundamental aim for migrants. Nevertheless, due to the difficulties which these people face when looking for a decent job—whether due to issues of irregularity, ignorance of the language, lack of social networks, difficulties for recognition of qualifications, or discrimination—many choose to start their own business as a strategy for self-employment.

As a result of the increase of the number of migrants, the number of business proprietors within this group has also increased. This situation is very apparent in some districts of great cities, as it is the case of Chueca or Lavapiés in Madrid, el Raval or the Ciutat Vella district in Barcelona; but also in secondary cities, like, for example, the San Francisco district in Bilbao. As the enterprise activity of immigrants becomes more visible, studies in this field are becoming all the more important. In countries like the United States, Canada, Australia and the United Kingdom, traditionally known as countries of immigration, there is a vast literature that analyses the business activities of immigrants and ethnic minorities from multiple disciplines (Light, 1972; 1979; Portes, 1986; 1989; Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990; Bates, 1997; Rath, 2000; 2002; Rath and Kloosterman, 2000; Constant and Zimmermann, 2004). In Spain, where this is an incipient phenomenon, there have been relatively few studies in this field. Solé, Parella and Cavalcanti (2007) undertake a complete review of the literature of work published on the ethnic entrepreneur in Spain from different disciplines, beginning with the first studies carried out by Buckley (1998) and Beltrán (2000), to the most recent by Solé and Parella (2005), Oso, Villares and Golías (2005) and García Ballesteros *et al.* (2006). Nevertheless, this is a field of study in which much research is yet to be done.

The present work is exploratory in nature; its objective is to bear witness to the findings of the literature on the motives that lead entrepreneurs to emigrate, to create business enterprises, their strategies and the socioeconomic consequences that opening a business has meant for them, in a reduced sample that operates in the area of the BAC. More concretely, the questions that we seek to approach are the following:

1. What are the main motives that lead people to decide to migrate? Why do they choose the BAC as a destination?
2. What are the main factors that motivate immigrants to start a business?
3. What are the main business strategies used by immigrants? Do they correspond to the so-called *ethnic strategies*? In what way are they different from the strategies followed by natives?

4. Do immigrant entrepreneurs experience added difficulties due to having been born in another country? If so, what are these difficulties?
5. What, if any, are the benefits obtained by immigrant entrepreneurs through starting a business?

In order to approach these questions, we will base our work on three basic theoretical lines of literature in *ethnic entrepreneurship*: the hypothesis of disadvantage (Light, 1972; 1979), the theory of migratory networks (Massey, 1988; Light, Bhachu and Karageorgis, 1992) and the interaction model (Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990).

The structure of this paper is as follows: the first chapter offers a general vision of the situation of foreign immigration and immigrant business activity. In the second chapter we present a brief summary of the most outstanding theories that deal with the questions raised. The third chapter describes the data and the methodology used to carry out the work. In chapter four we present the main results obtained in the interviews. The work concludes by presenting some conclusions and their possible implications.

1. **Context: Foreign immigration to the BAC**

1.1. *Foreign immigration to the BAC*

The presence of foreign immigrants is more and more notable, not only in the great metropolitan areas and the south of Spain, but also in other communities such as the BAC. In the last ten years, the number of foreigners in the BAC has increased by a factor of 6.4. By provinces, the greatest percentage increase has taken place in Alava, where in 2007 there were 7.8 times as many foreigners registered as in 1998 (to see Table 1).

At the beginning of 2007 there were 4,482,568 foreigners registered (in their municipality of residence) in Spain (9.94% of the total population). In the BAC this number was 98,108, or 4.58% of the total population. Although in absolute terms most of the foreigners in the BAC are registered in Bizkaia, in relative terms Alava is outstanding, with more than 6% of the total registered population being foreigners (as opposed to 4% in Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa). The relative increase in the number of foreigners registered in relation to the total registered population between 1998 and 2007 is also higher in Alava than in the other provinces of the BAC. The type of less-qualified manual labour required in this province, where the agricultural sector is more important than in Gipuzkoa and Bizkaia, could be one of the factors explaining this difference.

Table 1

Development of the foreign population in the BAC (1998-2007)

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Alava	2,460	2,801	3,818	5,462	8,031	10,445	12,058	15,141	16,857	19,309
Bizkaia	7,437	7,633	9,419	13,120	18,661	23,908	28,876	36,217	43,395	49,916
Gipuzkoa	5,301	6,359	7,903	8,856	11,716	14,878	18,232	21,536	25,290	28,883
BAC	15,198	16,793	21,140	27,438	38,408	49,231	59,166	72,894	85,542	98,108
Spain	637,085	748,954	923,879	1,370,657	1,977,946	2,664,168	3,034,326	3,730,610	4,144,166	4,482,568
% of the total population										
Alava	0.86	0.98	1.33	1.89	2.75	3.55	4.07	5.05	5.58	6.32
Bizkaia	0.65	0.67	0.83	1.16	1.65	2.11	2.55	3.19	3.81	4.37
Gipuzkoa	0.78	0.94	1.16	1.30	1.72	2.17	2.66	3.13	3.66	4.16
BAC	0.72	0.80	1.01	1.31	1.82	2.33	2.80	3.43	4.01	4.58
Spain	1.60	1.86	2.28	3.33	4.73	6.24	7.02	8.46	9.27	9.94

Source: INE (Municipal Register). Data from 1 January.

Graph 1

Development of the foreign population in the BAC (1998-2007)
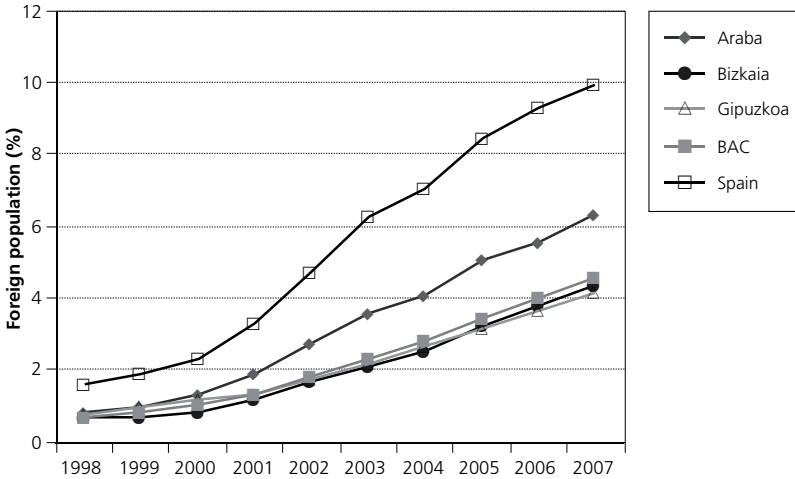
Graph 1 shows the development of the registered foreign population in the BAC compared with the total population between 1998 and 2007, by provinces. The percentage of foreigners registered in Spain is greater than in the BAC, both in 1998 and in 2007, although the difference is more notable in the later year. In 1998 there was hardly any difference in the percentage of foreigners registered among the provinces of the BAC. Nevertheless, the graph emphasizes the greater increase of the registered foreign population in Alava between 1998 and 2007 in relation to the rest of provinces and shows the remarkable difference visible at the beginning of 2007.

1.2. *Immigration and the labour market in the BAC*

As a result of the rise in the foreign population in Spain and the BAC, the number of foreigners affiliated with Social Security has also undergone a significant increase. At the end of the 2006 there were three times more foreigners in the BAC affiliated with Social Security than in 2001. The same thing happened in the case of Spain and the provinces of the BAC. As with the number of registered foreigners, the percentage of foreigners affiliated with Social Security within the total population of Spain at the end of 2006, is double the percentage in the BAC. Alava exceeds Gipuzkoa and Bizkaia as regards the percentage of affiliated foreigners. Curiously, Bizkaia is the province with the greatest number

of affiliated foreigners in absolute terms and the smallest percentage of affiliated foreigners as a proportion of all affiliated people.

Table 2

Development of the number of foreigners affiliated with
Social Security in the BAC (2001-2006)

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Alava	3,098	3,675	5,903	6,528	8,944	9,797
Gipuzkoa	4,004	5,213	5,880	7,111	11,166	12,805
Bizkaia	4,724	6,727	7,626	8,760	16,093	16,745
BAC	11,826	15,615	19,409	22,399	36,203	39,347
Spain	607,074	831,658	925,280	1,076,744	1,696,117	1,823,973
% of the total affiliated population						
Alava	2.26	2.64	4.06	4.45	5.93	6.42
Gipuzkoa	1.42	1.82	2.02	2.39	3.66	4.14
Bizkaia	1.10	1.53	1.72	1.94	3.45	3.55
BAC	1.39	1.80	2.21	2.50	3.92	4.22
Spain	3.85	5.14	5.58	6.27	9.34	9.81

Source: http://www.mtas.es/estadisticas/presenta/index.htm . Data for 31 December.

   Graph 2 shows the development of the percentage of foreigners affiliated with Social Security compared with all affiliated people in the BAC between the end of 2001 and 2006. The graphic representation shows clearly that during this period the percentage of affiliated foreigners in Spain is much higher than in the BAC. Among the Basque provinces, Alava is higher than Gipuzkoa and Bizkaia. All the territories, with the possible exception of Alava, show a relatively constant rise until the end of 2004, from which point until the end of 2005, this tendency is accentuated. This increase, due to the process of regularization of foreigners that took place between February and May 2005, is more evident in the case of Spain and less so in that of Alava.

   Finally, Table 3 shows the development of the number of foreigners affiliated with Social Security in the special self-employed category. In absolute terms, the number of self-employed foreigners both in the BAC and in Spain at the end of 2006 is twice that in 2001. In the case of Alava this number has tripled. Although the number of foreigners in Araba and Bizkaia is higher than in Gipuzkoa, the latter is first among the three provinces as regards the number of foreigners affiliated as self-employed, both in absolute terms and in relation to the total of affiliated foreigners.

Graph 2

Development of the percentage of foreigners affiliated with Social Security
compared with the total of affiliated people in the BAC (2001-2006)
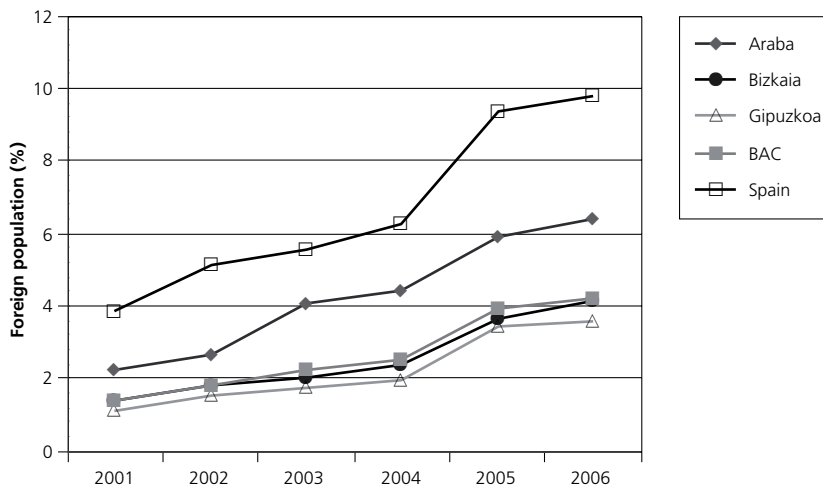
Table 3

Development of the number of foreigners affiliated as self-employed with
Social Security in the BAC (2001-2006)

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Alava	282	353	429	561	701	869
Gipuzkoa	782	878	1,020	1,226	1,454	1,748
Bizkaia	745	841	991	1,194	1,455	1,649
BAC	1,809	2,072	2,440	2,981	3,610	4,266
Spain	81,167	91,285	104,309	123,147	145,869	164,630
% of the total population of affiliated foreigners						
Alava	9.10	9.61	7.27	8.59	7.84	8.87
Gipuzkoa	19.53	16.84	17.35	17.24	13.02	13.65
Bizkaia	15.77	12.50	13	13.63	9.04	9.85
BAC	15.30	13.27	12.57	13.31	9.97	10.84
Spain	13.37	10.98	11.27	11.44	8.60	9.03

Source: http://www.mtas.es/estadisticas/presenta/index.htm. Data for 31 December.

However, although the absolute number of foreigners affiliated as self-employed has increased between the end of 2001 and 2006, the percentage of self-employed foreigners out of all foreigners affiliated with Social Security has fallen. The most significant reduction has taken place in Gipuzkoa and Bizkaia. This fall in the relative number of self-employed people out of all affiliated people is not limited to foreigners, but also applies to natives (see Peña and Irastorza, 2006); nevertheless, the reduction is greatest in the case of foreigners.

Graph 3 demonstrates the higher proportion of self-employed foreigners compared with all foreigners affiliated in Gipuzkoa in relation to the other territories. All the territories, with the exception of Alava, seem to have followed a similar trend. At the end of 2001, the percentage of self-employed foreigners was very high in almost all cases, reaching almost 20% in Gipuzkoa. Between end of 2002 and 2004 it stayed constant, with some slight variation. Between the end of 2004 and 2005, the percentage of self-employed foreigners out of all affiliated foreigners fell significantly. This reduction was not due to a reduction in the number of affiliated foreigners in the self-employed category, but to an extraordinary increase in the general category, which was due, without a doubt, to the process of legalization of foreigners that took place during 2005. Finally, between 2005 and 2006, the trend is slightly rising again.

Graph 3

Development of the percentage of foreigners affiliated as self-employed with Social Security compared with all affiliated foreigners (2001-2006)
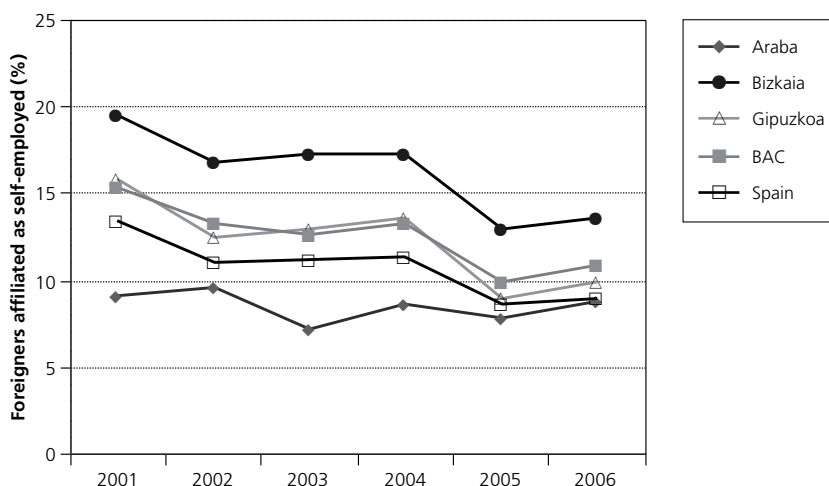
1.3. *Immigration and creation of businesses in the BAC*

1.3.1. ENTREPRENEURIAL DEMOGRAPHY

The arrival of foreign immigration in the BAC has undergone a progressive increase during the 1990s. This increase has been reflected, among other aspects, in the number of companies created annually by foreigners. Table 4 shows the development of the number of companies created between 1993 and 2003 by foreigners under the legal form of physical individuals[1]. Here we observe that in 2003, 2.5 times more companies were created than in 1993. Almost half of the companies were created in Bizkaia, 43% in Gipuzkoa and only 8% in Alava.

Table 4

Development of the number of single-person companies created by foreigners in the BAC (1993-2003)

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	Average
	No. of companies created											
Alava	2	6	13	9	16	15	23	24	32	52	67	24
Gipuzkoa	49	112	13	86	153	96	100	106	97	133	124	97
Bizkaia	82	77	13	88	112	102	128	100	141	176	151	106
BAC	133	195	13	183	281	213	251	230	270	361	342	225
	% vertical											
Alava	1.50	3.08	5.75	4.92	5.69	7.04	9.16	10.43	11.85	14.40	19.59	8.49
Gipuzkoa	36.84	57.44	42.04	46.99	54.45	45.07	39.84	46.09	35.93	36.84	36.26	43.43
Bizkaia	61.65	39.49	52.21	48.09	39.86	47.89	51.00	43.48	52.22	48.75	44.15	48.07
BAC	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: EUSTAT.

As with the number of companies created, the numbers closing show a similar development. As shown in Table 5, the companies that ceased trading in 2003 were double the number of closures in 1993. Peculiarly, unlike with the average of the companies created between the years 1993 and 2003, half of the closures took place in Gipuzkoa, not in

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[1] The reason we have selected companies created by foreigners under the legal form of physical people is that data are not available on companies created by foreign entrepreneurs under other forms of association.

Bizkaia, where the percentage of companies created was slightly higher than in Gipuzkoa. This difference could be for various reasons, such as, for example, (i) a greater mortality of the companies that operated in Gipuzkoa during the decade 1993-2003 in comparison with Bizkaia or (ii) the existence of a greater number of companies created by foreigners in Gipuzkoa prior to 1993 which ceased activity between 1993 and 2003. The proportion of companies that ceased activity in the province of Alava was below 8%.

Table 5

Development of the number of closures of single-person companies created by foreigners in the BAC (1993-2003)

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	Average
	No. of companies closed											
Alava	0	1	0	6	4	5	12	6	16	25	3	7
Gipuzkoa	5	3	46	106	50	81	79	70	64	90	6	55
Bizkaia	3	1	56	69	28	64	77	65	85	144	10	55
BAC	8	5	102	181	82	150	168	141	165	259	19	116
	% vertical											
Alava	0.00	20.00	0.00	3.31	4.88	3.33	7.14	4.26	9.70	9.65	15.79	7.10
Gipuzkoa	62.50	60.00	45.10	58.56	60.98	54.00	47.02	49.65	38.79	34.75	31.58	49.36
Bizkaia	37.50	20.00	54.90	38.12	34.15	42.67	45.83	46.10	51.52	55.60	52.63	43.55
BAC	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: EUSTAT.

Finally, Graph 4 illustrates the net difference between the number of companies that started and ceased trading in the BAC between 1993 and 2003, by provinces. With the exception of the years 1995 and 1996, the difference between companies created and closed down was positive for each year. Alava, where the proportion of has been positive in all the periods, has seen modest but constant growth. The same is not true of Gipuzkoa and Bizkaia, provinces that have undergone remarkable variations during the first half of the decade, with a greater number of closures than startups in 1995 and 1996, but that show a more stable and slightly rising trend as of 1998. Note the remarkable increase between 2002 and 2003 in the whole of the BAC.

Graph 4

Development of the net difference between startups and
closures of single-person companies created by foreigners
in the BAC (1993-2003)
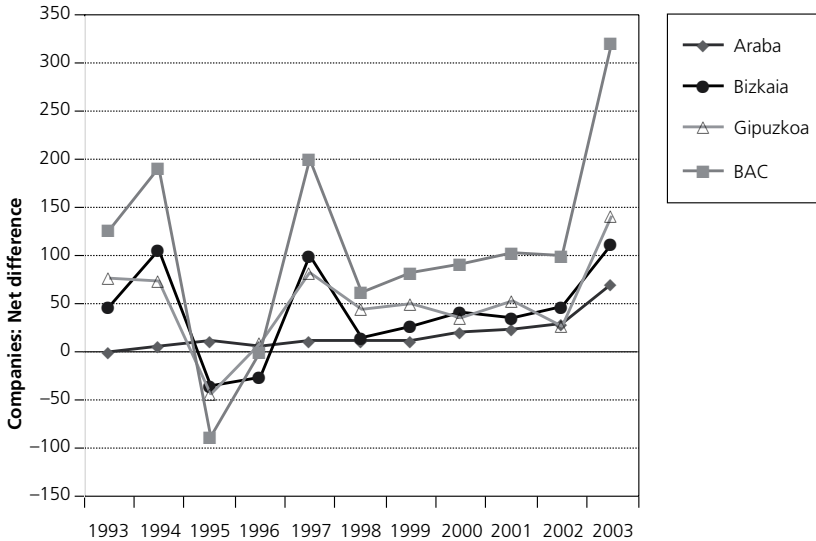
1.3.2. SECTORS OF ACTIVITY

Studies on the entrepreneurial activity of immigrants indicate that immigrants frequently choose to work in postindustrial, marginal or segmented sectors, where barriers to entrance are relatively low (Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990). The data that follow confirm the findings of the literature, since most of the foreign entrepreneurs who operated in the BAC in this period chose to initiate their activity in the sector of retail, hotels and transport, and in construction: sectors, mainly, in which starting an entrepreneurial activity does not require a great investment. The industrial sector, which was already insignificant in 1993, lost weight during the following decade. The sectors of banking, insurance and company services, as well as other service activities show the same trend as the industrial sector. The opposite occurs with the construction sector, whose relative weight doubled between 1993 and 2003.

Table 6

Development of the number of single-person companies created by foreigners
in the BAC according to sector of activity (1993-2003)

	Industry	Construction	Retail, hotels and transport	Banking, insurance and company services	Other service activities	Total
No. of companies created						
1993	5	10	65	25	27	132
1994	5	11	94	21	63	194
1995	7	20	116	31	52	226
1996	3	15	111	26	28	183
1997	6	30	150	44	51	281
1998	5	34	101	25	48	213
1999	7	43	127	32	42	251
2000	6	47	110	30	36	229
2001	10	49	119	47	45	270
2002	8	81	161	55	56	361
2003	6	79	171	39	46	341
Total	68	419	1325	375	494	2,681
horizontal %						
1993	3.79	7.58	49.24	18.94	20.45	100
1994	2.58	5.67	48.45	10.82	32.47	100
1995	3.10	8.85	51.33	13.72	23.01	100
1996	1.64	8.20	60.66	14.21	15.30	100
1997	2.14	10.68	53.38	15.66	18.15	100
1998	2.35	15.96	47.42	11.74	22.54	100
1999	2.79	17.13	50.60	12.75	16.73	100
2000	2.62	20.52	48.03	13.10	15.72	100
2001	3.70	18.15	44.07	17.41	16.67	100
2002	2.22	22.44	44.60	15.24	15.51	100
2003	1.76	23.17	50.15	11.44	13.49	100
Total	2.54	15.63	49.42	13.99	18.43	100

Source: EUSTAT.

Graph 5 shows the average percentage of companies created between 1993 and 2003, by sector of activity and province. The graph shows the predominance of the commerce, hotel and transport sector over the rest of the sectors across the three provinces. However, the industrial sector, where the entrance barriers are more significant, shows the smallest number of startups. Construction was in second place in Alava and in Gipuzkoa, while other service activities took second place in Bizkaia.

Graph 5

Single-person companies created by foreigners in the BAC by province and sector of activity (1993-2003)
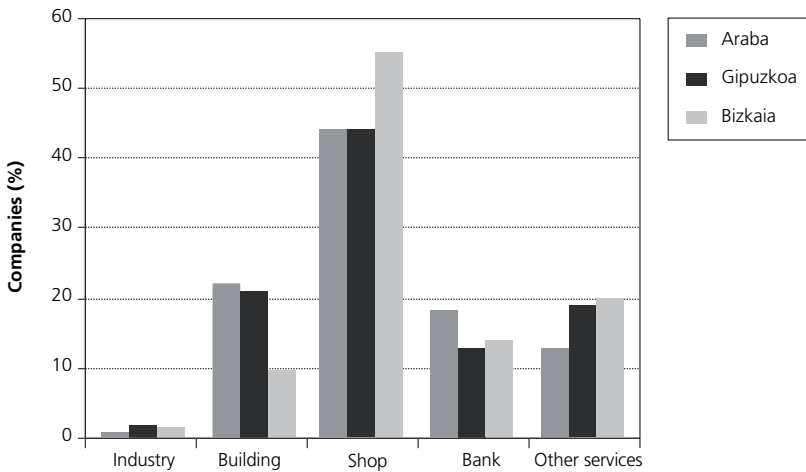
1.3.3. SURVIVAL OF BUSINESSES

Empirical studies show that companies created by foreigners cease trading sooner than companies created by natives (Fertala, 2004; Irastorza and Peña, 2006). The added difficulties facing foreigners in opening and managing a business could explain this difference. In this sense, Solé and Parella (2005) suggest that immigrants must surpass additional obstacles because they carry out their business in a foreign country, where they must fulfil bureaucratic requirements to obtain a permit to work either for themselves or for someone else, where they do not know how the market works, they may have difficulty speaking the language of the host country, they can face discrimination by the host society, or they can face more problems in obtaining the initial finance necessary to open a business, etc.

Graph 6

Closure rate of single-person companies created in the BAC in 1994,
by origin of the entrepreneur
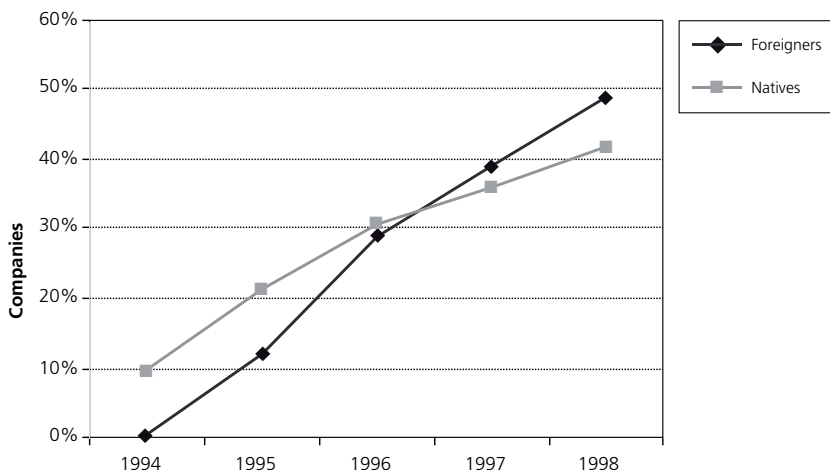
Graph 7

Closure rate of single-person companies created in the BAC in 1999,
by origin of the entrepreneur
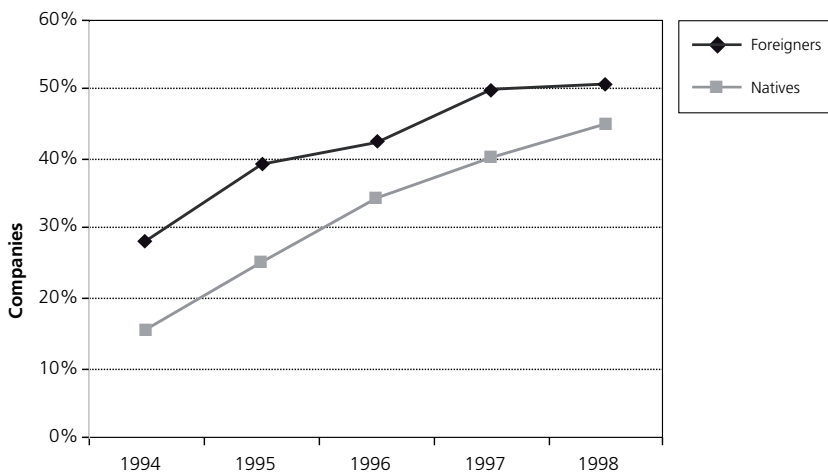
Graphs 6 and 7 illustrate the rate of closure during the first five years of businesses created by resident foreigners in the BAC in 1994 and 1999, compared with businesses created by natives. Since our database covers businesses created between 1993 and 2003, we have chosen these two years in order to measure and compare the survival of businesses during two periods of 5 years. In general, both graphs confirm the findings of the literature, since the cumulative closure rate of businesses created by foreigners in 1994 compared with in 1999, in the fifth year from their creation, is higher than for businesses created by natives.

Unlike those created in 1999, businesses created by foreigners in 1994 had a better rate of survival during the first two years than those created by natives. Nevertheless, starting in 1996, the year when the two lines cross, the cumulative closure rate of businesses run by foreigners exceeds that of businesses created by Spanish nationals[2]. The closure rate of businesses created by foreigners in 1999 is higher in all years. Nevertheless, the difference is more notable during the first two years and diminishes from the year 2001.

2. **Literature review: Immigration and creation of companies**

In the previous section, we presented a general vision of the employment situation and entrepreneurial activity of foreigners who live in the BAC. In this we offer a brief summary from the literature written on the entrepreneurial activity of immigrants in both the United States and Europe. We do not aim to include all the outstanding authors on the subject, but to collect the main ideas of the currents of interest to us so as to test the variables selected for this study.

2.1. *The hypothesis of disadvantage*

The hypothesis of disadvantage (Light, 1972; 1979) refers to the motivations of immigrants for undertaking to set up a business. According to this theory, immigrants set out from a situation of disadvantage in the labour market, both for reasons of racial discrimination and for the lack of knowledge and abilities of a person who is not familiar with the economic and employment system of the host society. In this situation, starting a business could arise as a strategy of self-employment

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[2] Since at the beginning of the 1990s the entrepreneurial activity of foreigners was only just beginning, the low number of startups registered in 1994 may have distorted the view of the business panorama.

or survival when faced with the lack of opportunities existing in the general work market. With respect to the type of work carried out by the immigrants, Aldrich and Waldinger (1990) indicate that immigrant entrepreneurs operate in marginal, segmented or exotic markets, where barriers to entrance are relatively low and, consequently, the degree of competition is high.

According to this theoretical line, due to the difficulties that people of foreign origin experience in integrating satisfactorily into the labor market, the businesses they create would be based on a situation of necessity (the need to employ oneself), more than of the perception of a business opportunity. Therefore, the risk of failure of the aforementioned companies would be greater than that for companies created due to opportunity.

The thesis of socioeconomic development proposed by Constant and Zimmermman (2004) goes beyond the theory of disadvantage when suggesting that the creation of a business helps to improve the socio-economic situation of the entrepreneur. On the one hand, considering the type of work that immigrants habitually carry out, it is hoped that running one's own business gives the entrepreneur greater benefits than would be obtained if he or she worked for someone else. On the other, contact with the clients and other retailers and associations in the district would facilitate establishing relations in their working environment. The case study carried out by Parella (2005) among the ethnic retailers of Barcelona would confirm this hypothesis, since most of the business trajectories analysed reflect processes of ascending mobility. Nevertheless, other authors such as Hjerm (2004) criticize this argument, indicating that the excessive number of working hours would not allow the entrepreneur to participate in social, sporting or cultural activities, thus decreasing their options for social interaction. In addition, he adds that the extra income of the self-employed worker in comparison with the employee is due to the greater number of hours worked, not to a greater yield per hour worked.

In sections 4 and 5 we present and discuss the answers given by interviewees when asked to state their motivations for starting a business as well as the socio-economic consequences that this has involved.

2.2. *The theory of migratory networks*

The theory of migratory networks based on the idea that the choice of destination—even, sometimes, the very decision to migrate—by the future migrant depends, to a great extent, on the situation of a relative, friend or acquaintance that has previously done the same (Massey,

1988). These people, already located in the host societies, will facilitate the search for housing and work, as well as themselves creating opportunities in relation to the search for housing and work, and supplying food and other services (Light, Bhachu and Karageorgis, 1992). Nonetheless, these authors make it clear that migratory networks may shift, once the market in which they operated begins to reach saturation and there cease to be work opportunities for the new residents.

The theory of resources (Light, 1972; Light and Gold, 2000) uses the concept of ethnic resources to talk about sociocultural elements based on ethnic social networks, like, for example, the systems of marriage, religion, language, particular entrepreneurial values, credit associations, etc. Light (1972) distinguishes these from class resources, inasmuch as the latter are cultural and material attributes, such as human and financial capital, characteristic of the bourgeoisie worldwide. It is habitual for the entrepreneur to employ their family, formally or informally, in their business; also for them to maintain contact with suppliers and, even, lenders of the same origin to manage and finance it. One might consider whether the differentiation between ethnic resources and class resources proposed by these authors does not correspond to a distinction between the resources used by members of ethnic minorities - for which the concept of ethnic resources would be used—and majorities—which would be related with class resources.

2.3. *The interaction model*

The model of interaction proposed by Aldrich and Waldinger (1990) indicates the existence of three factors that interact in the creation of ethnic businesses: the characteristics of the groups, the structure of labour market opportunities, and ethnic strategies. The characteristics of the groups include both the entrepreneur's human and social capital, as well as migratory characteristics, such as previous training, the type and anticipated duration of the business, or the socioeconomic position following migration. The structure of opportunities includes the market conditions, such as the niches accessible for immigrants, and the possibilities for access to property by the latter. Finally, the strategies described as *ethnic* arise from the application of ethnic resources by each group in the structure of opportunities to face the difficulties they meet. Solé and Parella (2005) define the additional restrictions that self-employed immigrants must face in Catalonia as follows: initial financial difficulties due to their lack of savings and the barriers to gain access to formal credit institutions; difficulties to obtain work permission; the reticent attitude and rejection by the native population towards these

businesses; and the abusive rents that immigrants must pay in comparison with natives, supposedly due to the relation between immigration and crime.

According to the interaction model, the ethnic strategies, used to overcome the obstacles just mentioned, include the exchange of information in public spaces shared by members of the same group (ethnic churches, associations, etc.), financial assistance by family, friends or other members of the same group, hiring family manual labour, self-exploitation, evasion of rules and taxes, etc. Considering that all these practices could easily be attributable to *non-ethnic* entrepreneurs, once again, it would be worthwhile asking what is truly *ethnic* about these strategies: whether it is the action carried out or the person who carries it out. We will review the debate existing around the label *ethnic* in relation to entrepreneurs of immigrant origin and the resources and strategies used by this group.

3. **Methodology**

3.1. *Description of the methodology*

The method used to obtain information on the questions raised in the introduction was the personal interview. The in-depth interview is the most widely used method of collection of information within the qualitative methodology. The use of this method implies the acceptance of the idea that each person is an expert on their own experience and, thus, is the most suitable person to talk about how they have experienced the specific acts or processes that they are being asked about (Darlington and Scott, 2002).

Interviews are classified according to their level of structuring, as structured, unstructured and semi-structured. The level of structuring is in turn related with the greater or lesser openness of the questions. Structured interviews are those in which the evaluator must maintain a neutral and disconnected position, since their function is reduced to asking a series of closed questions to which the interviewee has to respond briefly by merely expressing agreement or disagreement with certain supplied options. Unstructured interviews are much more open. In this type of interview, a series of questions is considered with no need to follow a pre-established order or format in the answers and comments of the interviewee. Finally, semi-structured interviews combine characteristics of both structured and unstructured types. Based on a series of predefined questions or subjects, these questions are con-

sidered following a pre-defined order and the interviewee is allowed to responds freely to them. If he considers it appropriate, the interviewer can participate by asking the interviewee to enlarge on a particular answer or can even raise new questions as a result of the answers provided by the interviewee. Considering the exploratory character of this work and the flexibility offered by this last technique, we decided to use semi-structured interviews.

After collecting the information, the answers obtained were processed by means of *content analysis*. Unlike *discourse analysis*, whose objectives and methods are oriented to the exhaustive analysis of the narrative form and structures of texts to identify significant underlying elements that are evinced in the use of language, in the present analysis of content we limit ourselves to compiling and presenting in a structured way, the ideas expressed by the interviewees, as experts, though their own life experience, in the topic that concerns us.

3.2. *Design of the interview*

The structure of the interview has been designed by taking as a reference the thematic script proposed by Solé and Parella (2005) in their book *Ethnic Businesses* and aims to test whether the theories proposed in the literature section are confirmed in the case of the selected sample. Specifically, questions on the following aspects have been raised:

— Reasons for migration
— Reasons for creating the company
— Entrepreneurial strategies
— Differences perceived with respect to native entrepreneurs
— Consequences that opening the business had for them

The first two topics seek to evaluate the validity of the theory of disadvantage and the theory of migratory networks among the interviewees. The third topic is concerned with the concept of ethnic strategies proposed by Aldrich and Waldinger (1990) and includes questions like the *ethnic* or generalist orientation of the business, the number of hours worked, etc. The objective of point five is to find out about the entrepreneurs' own opinion on the added difficulties that they could encounter with respect to native entrepreneurs, both when starting and when carrying out their activity. Finally, the sixth question is concerned with the thesis of socioeconomic development proposed by Constant and Zimmermann (2004) and is focussed on the interviewee's evaluation of the economic and social improvement that they have experienced as a result of opening the business.

3.3. *Characteristics of the sample*

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, the object of the present study is to explore the motivations of entrepreneurs for emigrating, and for starting their business, the strategies they use to manage it, and the consequences that it has had for them, so as to be able later to compare the results obtained with the findings of the literature. For this purpose, ten personal interviews were carried out with entrepreneurs who have started and run a business.

Table 7

Characteristics of the sample[3]

	Data about the entrepreneur						
Inter-view	Origin	Gender	Type of business	Age	Years in BAC	Educational level	Marital status
1	Venezuela	Man	Bar-restaurant	38	15	College student (not finished)	Married
2	Venezuela	Woman	Gift article shop	38	1	Secondary	Divorced
3	Venezuela	Woman	Fast food	36	10	Professional training	Married
4	Venezuela	Man	Computing shop	55	10	Secondary	Married
5	Argentina	Man	Bar-restaurant	35	5	Secondary	Unmar-ried
6	Morocco	Man	Phone centre	33	7	Professional training	Married
7	Morocco	Man	Phone centre	31	9	Primary (not finished)	Married
8	Sahara	Man	Grocery (African)	37	10	College student (not finished)	Married
9	Slovakia	Woman	Bar	28	6	Professional training	Unmar-ried
10	China	Man	Grocery (Chinese)	47	6	Secondary	Married

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[3] In order to guarantee the anonymity of the people interviewed, the data about the locality where each particular business is located have been omitted.

		Data about the company				
Inter-view	No. partners	Length of existence (years)	Still running	No. employees	Modification of staff	Other businesses
1	2	5	Yes	6-8	No	No
2	2	6 months	No	1	No	No
3	1	3	Yes	2	Yes (-2)	No
4	1	3	Yes	2	No	No
5	1	1.5	Yes	2-6	No	No
6	1	8 months	Yes	1	No	No
7	1	4	Yes	3	No	Yes (3)
8	1	2	Yes	1	No	No
9	1	3	Yes	2	No	No
10	1	1	Yes	3	Yes (+1)	Yes (1)

The interviews were carried out in the area of Donostia-San Sebastián, specifically in the localities of Donostia-San Sebastián, Errenteria-Orereta and Oiartzun, during the month of August. We did not seek to gather a representative sample of the immigrant entrepreneurial population, but rather the selection was made for reasons of convenience. To contact the interviewees, on the one hand, the personal networks of the investigator were used; on the other hand, the rest of the businesses selected were contacted directly. Personal networks served to contact the people of Venezuelan origin who were interviewed, while in the other cases we went directly to the businesses. Although the study did not aim to gather a representative sample of the entrepreneurial population of foreign origin, inasmuch as possible we have tried to reflect the diversity of origins and types of business among companies run by immigrants. It seems appropriate to clarify that people from Latin American countries were more readily accessible than immigrants from other countries. It was especially difficult to find a Chinese person who spoke Spanish and was willing to answer our questions. Also we must consider that, for reasons of convenience, all the businesses contacted and analysed, with one exception, are still running; and this fact does not correspond to the reality of business for foreigners resident in the BAC.

Specifically, of the ten interviewees, four are Venezuelan, two are Moroccan, one Saharan, one Argentinean, one Slovakian and one Chinese. Three are women and the average of age of the sample is 38. They have been living in the BAC an average of between seven and eight

years. Two interviewees say they have studied at university without finishing, another two finished professional training, four have a secondary education and the last one did not finish primary school. Seven of the ten interviewees are married, one is divorced and two are unmarried. Six of them have one, two or three children, while the rest have none. Finally, eight of the ten do not have any other business, while two of them, as well as the one analysed, have between one and three more family businesses. Unusually, the person who has started four businesses is the one with the lowest educational level.

The businesses of all the interviewees remain active, with the exception of a gift shop, run by two partners, which was open for less than a year. The rest of the businesses, except the bar-restaurant opened by a young Venezuelan man and his Catalan partner, have a single proprietor and the number of employees varies based on the type of company in question, the restaurants being the businesses that employ the greatest number of people. Most of the businesses have not changed their number of staff since they started up, except in the case of the fast food business, whose staff has been reduced by two people, and the Chinese grocer's, which has one more employee than it had at first. This store is the second business set up by one family (the first is a sweet shop). The same has happened with a phone centre (*locutorio*: a shop where people can use the phone and Internet) run by a Moroccan, who has subsequently opened two other, different businesses. Specifically, he started out by offering carpentry services, later he opened the phone centre, then a bar and, finally, a hairdressing salon. These are all family businesses.

4. **Characteristics of the interviews**

In the first section, dedicated to the contextualization of the phenomenon of foreign entrepreneurs in the BAC, it has been explained that, despite the progressive increase of the foreign population and, therefore, of the foreign population affiliated with Social Security, the percentage of self-employed foreigners has undergone a considerable decrease in the BAC and in Spain, in general. We have seen that most of these companies were created in the sector of retail, hotels and transport; and that the closure rate of businesses created by immigrants is higher than that of businesses created by natives.

In this section we present the results of our analysis of the data obtained through the personal interviews. We have undertaken the following analysis around themes presented in the literature review and described in the design of the interview, and the aim of this analysis is to contribute in a small way to explaining the reality presented in the first section.

4.1. *Motives for migration*

Generally speaking, motivations for migration tend to be simplified after the decision to migrate is made. The different answers obtained when interviewees were asked about the reasons why they decided to leave their countries of origin, show the diversity of factors that can motivate the act of migration.

Two of the ten interviewees explicitly mention "improving their conditions of life". Both are Moroccan men. One had previously lived in Cordoba and moved to the BAC because an acquaintance of his, who had settled here, told him there was little immigration and better employment opportunities in this area. For the other person, the BAC was the first destination and he says that the choice was accidental.

The other two interviewees, of Venezuelan and Argentinean origin, explain that they decided to emigrate because of the complicated situation in their respective countries. Both had relatives or acquaintances in the BAC and one of them had lived for a while in Madrid before being transferred to the BAC, whereas for the other it was his first destination.

Table 8

Reasons for migration

Inter-view	Origin	Gender	Reasons for migration	Reasons for choosing BAC	Other destinations
1	Venezuela	Man	To travel, see other places	Uncles in BAC (father from Irún)	No
2	Venezuela	Woman	Divorce and need for a change	Sister in BAC	No
3	Venezuela	Woman	Meeting a boy from San Sebastián	Boyfriend from BAC	No
4	Venezuela	Man	Complicated situation in his home country	Brothers in BAC (Parents from San Sebastián)	Yes (Madrid)
5	Argentina	Man	Complicated situation in his home country	Acquaintance in BAC	No
6	Morocco	Man	Improvement of life	Acquaintance in BAC	Yes (Cordoba)
7	Morocco	Man	Improvement of life	Chance	No
8	Sahara	Man	Study	Girlfriend from BAC	Yes (Amsterdam and Madrid)
9	Slovakia	Woman	family problems, to see other countries, to learn languages	Boyfriend from BAC	Yes (Toledo and Madrid)
10	China	Man	Job offer	Uncle with restaurant in BAC	No

Two women, one from Venezuela and the other Slovakia, say they left their countries for personal reasons. Specifically, one did so because she needed a change after going through a divorce, while the other mentions family problems, but also the desire to see other countries and learn languages, as her main reasons for migration. Both had a relative or friend in the BAC. For one this was her first destination, while the other had already been in Toledo and Madrid, from where she moved with her boyfriend from Hondarribia to work in the restaurant that he had started there.

The desire to visit other countries was also the main motivation of a Venezuelan man, who, since his father was from Irún, has relatives in the BAC. Another girl decided to emigrate from Venezuela to the BAC because she knew a boy here, whom she later married. This is also the main reason why a Saharan man, after having emigrated to Amsterdam to study, moved with his Basque girlfriend from there to Madrid and, later, to the BAC.

Finally, a Chinese couple moved directly from Southeast China to the BAC because their uncle, who had a restaurant, offered them work as cooks.

In summary, two people explicitly talk about improving their conditions of life, another two about a complicated situation in their countries of origin and another one says that he came for work. Nevertheless, the rest of the interviewees talk about other, very diverse factors as their main motivations for the decision to migrate. Six of ten interviewees chose the BAC as a destination because they had relatives or friends here, and the other three established a relationship with somebody from the BAC and for that reason were transferred here. Only one person states that their arrival in the BAC was accidental. Therefore, we can see that the theory of migratory networks (Massey, 1988; Light, Bhachu and Karageorgis, 1992) is upheld in most cases. Finally, six of the ten interviewees came directly to the BAC; for two of them this was their second destination and for the other two, their third.

4.2. *Reasons for creating a company*

In the previous section we have indicated a variety of reasons that motivated the migratory act. The same diversity characterizes the factors that motivated the interviewees to start up their own business.

Half of the interviewees mention factors related to the desire to progress economically and improve their employment conditions as main factors that motivated starting their business. We can conclude that all of them fit, in some way, the profile of the theory of disadvantage proposed by Light (1972; 1979).

Furthermore, the Saharan man who runs an African grocery also mentioned health reasons and spotting a business opportunity, given the progressive arrival of foreigners, as additional reasons for creating his company. Another three people initially worked as employees in a business which they are now running, and took advantage of the opportunity for transfer. A Venezuelan woman began by supporting, both as a partner supplying capital and as an employee, a project that her sister was thinking of starting, with the idea that it would also give her stable work. Finally, a Moroccan man continued doing the same as he had done in Morocco, working as a self-employed carpenter.

With respect to the employment situation of the interviewees prior to starting their business, six worked as employees, of whom two were in the same business, one worked in another business in the same sector, and the other three in another business and sector. Another two were self-employed, one in Venezuela and another in the BAC; the other two took care of children and domestic tasks.

Finally, seven of the ten had previously started and run a business in their countries of origin, two had some type of indirect experience through family companies and one did not have any previous experience.

Table 9

Reasons for starting up the business

Interview	Origin	Gender	Reasons for starting the company	Previous work situation	Experience in starting companies
1	Venezuela	Man	His girlfriend was a cook in the restaurant that they now run and they took advantage of the opportunity for taking it over.	Employee in another company and sector	Several companies in the family
2	Venezuela	Woman	To support her sister's project and for work stability	Own business in Venezuela	Hairdressing salon in Venezuela
3	Venezuela	Woman	Economic independence and to ensure her son's future	Unemployed (housewife)	Pharmacy with her sister in Venezuela
4	Venezuela	Man	Took over the store in which he worked	Employee in the same store	Self-employed in Venezuela (carpenter)
5	Argentina	Man	Desire to progress and be his own boss	Employee in the same sector	Transport company in Argentina
6	Morocco	Man	Desire for improvement of work conditions	Employee in another sector	Self-employed in Morocco (mechanic)
7	Morocco	Man	To continue working as a carpenter	Self-employed (carpenter)	Self-employed in Morocco (carpenter)
8	Sahara	Man	Health reasons, improve working conditions and to seize a business opportunity	Employee in another sector	None
9	Slovakia	Woman	Took over the bar in which she worked	Employee in the same bar	Through a former boyfriend
10	China	Man	Desire to progress economically	Unemployed (house-husband)	Self-employed in China (draughtsman)

4.3. *Enterprise strategies*

The literature on immigration and creation of companies talks about *ethnic* strategies as the means of overcoming the obstacles for gaining access to the labour market. These are business strategies which include financial help given by the family, friends or other members of the same group, orientation of the business, hiring family labour or self-exploitation.

Most of the businesses run by the interviewees are general in nature and do not use ethnic-cultural elements to commercialise their products. A Basque-Argentinean restaurant and two grocer's (one African, the other Chinese) are exceptions to this trend. The origin of the customers may condition the orientation of the business. When it is a business that commercialises *ethnic products*, it is more likely that the customers are of the same origin and are looking for products used in their own countries; also it may be natives who like to consume products that are, to them, exotic (as in so-called *ethnic restaurants*). Since, as already mentioned, these are businesses aimed at the general public, the customers include both natives and foreigners, including tourists. For the same reason, almost all the suppliers are national, except in the cases of the Chinese and African stores, the Basque-Argentinean restaurant and a fast-food franchise. As regards the links of the businessman with the other employees, four of the interviewees did not have any type of family bond or friendship with them, another four had some kind of kinship, one of them used friends or acquaintances, and in another case, only one of the employees was a relative of his.

With respect to the sources of the initial financing necessary to start up the business, four people declared that they used solely their personal savings, another four asked for a bank loan to cover all the initial expenses, one used his own savings plus a grant of €6.000 from the Gipuzkoa provincial government, and the last obtained family loans, in addition to the bank loan. Finally, eight of the ten interviewees work more than ten hours a day and the other two have an eight-hour day.

Table 10
Enterprise strategies

Interview	Origin	Gender	Orientation of the business (origin of the product)	No. hours per day	Sources of finance	Links with employees	Origin of suppliers	Origin of customers
1	Venezuela	Man	Generalist	9-11	Bank loan	None	Native	Native and foreign (tourist)
2	Venezuela	Woman	Generalist	10	Personal savings	None	Native	Native and foreign (tourist)
3	Venezuela	Woman	Generalist	12	Bank loan	None	Foreign (franchise) and native	Native and foreign
4	Venezuela	Man	Generalist	12	Personal savings	Relative (daughter)	Native	Native and foreign
5	Argentina	Man	Basque-Argentinean	13	Bank loan	None (except in the case of one employee: brother-in-law)	Native and Argentinean	Native and foreign (tourist)
6	Morocco	Man	Generalist	11-13	Personal savings	Relative (wife)	Native	Foreigners
7	Morocco	Man	Generalist	8	Personal savings	Relatives (wife, brother and sister-in-law)	Native	Foreigners and some natives
8	Sahara	Man	African	12	Personal savings and government grant	None	Native and foreign	Foreigners and some natives
9	Slovakia	Woman	Generalist	10-13	Bank loan	Friends	Native	Native
10	China	Man	Chinese	8	Bank loan and loans from relatives	Relatives (daughters)	Native and foreign	Native and foreign

In summary, we could conclude that most of these businesses use some type of business strategies termed "ethnic", like, for example, working long days, employing relatives and friends, or using family loans. Nevertheless, one might ask oneself in what way these strategies are different from those followed by small native retailers in the BAC. Parella (2005) notes that studies in this field have dealt with the entrepreneurial activity of immigrants and ethnic minorities as if it were an anomalous phenomenon, by the mere fact of being companies created by foreigners. Alluding to Rath and Kloosterman (2000), he adds that the ethno-cultural characteristics of businesses run by immigrants and members of ethnic minorities have been over-emphasized. As result of his study of the strategies of ethnic commerce in Barcelona, he shows the appropriateness of using the term *ethnic* to refer to these types of businesses, inasmuch as the strategies and resources used by the entrepreneurs of immigrant origin, like, for example, the use of transnational networks that allow hiring relatives in the country of origin, differentiate these businesses from those run by natives.

4.4. *Differences found with respect to native entrepreneurs*

When asked if they found added difficulties due to the fact of being from another country, half of the interviewees did not think that there was any difference with respect to natives. One mentioned ignorance of the market and the language (speaking about Basque) as the main difficulties in managing the business, but thought that the same could happen to a native. Two other interviewees said that they would not know how to answer this question since they did not know what difficulties native entrepreneurs might experience and one emphasizes ignorance of bureaucratic and administrative procedures as one of the most important obstacles. The four others, however, did perceive that they have had additional difficulties in comparison to natives. Two of these people mention the distrust of natives in renting premises to an immigrant, as well as their reluctance to go into a shop run by immigrants. Another interviewee, a Chinese retailer, emphasizes ignorance of the language (in this case, Spanish) and the ignorance of native people in connection with the consumption of the product that is sold (in this case, Chinese food products) as the main differences that he experiences with respect to natives. A repeated comment has been that rents are very high and the attitude of people a little closed and reticent towards foreigners. The experience of the interviewees agrees, to a great extent, with the difficulties mentioned by Solé and Parella (2005) in their study on ethnic businesses in Catalonia.

4.5. *Socioeconomic consequences of starting a business*

The aim of this last point is to evaluate whether the thesis of socio-economic progress proposed by Constant and Zimmermann (2004) is fulfilled in the case of the interviewees.

The diversity of answers obtained reflects the different experiences of the people who have been interviewed. Four of these people state that they have noticed an improvement of their economic situation since the creation of the business, although they emphasize that they work more hours than they did when they were employees. Three state they have not experienced any kind of economic or social improvement and the other three state that they have suffered economic losses as a result of opening the business.

When they have been asked if starting the business has allowed them greater interaction with people in the neighbourhood or area in which they operate, all but one answered that their social networks have not changed, since their relationship with their clients is solely professional, and due to their long days at work, they hardly have any time left to go out and do other kinds of activities. Finally, one person who complained they were losing money, was nonetheless satisfied because their psychological situation had improved.

In summary, the answers obtained do not seem to confirm the positive consequences of starting a business for the socioeconomic situation of the entrepreneurs, suggested by Constant and Zimmermman (2004) and Parella (2005). However, they do support Hjerm's thesis (2004) which questions the benefits of self-employment for the social integration of immigrants, due partly to excessive working hours and the limited time remaining to participate in other social activities.

In the present study we have analyzed the business activity of a sample of immigrants who operate in the area of the BAC. The reasons for undertaking this study are (i) the increasing number of companies created by foreigners in Spain and, therefore, also in the BAC, (ii) the importance of this field as a result of the expansion of the so-called *ethnic* economy, and (iii) the relatively small number of existing publications in Spain and, especially, the BAC, due to the novelty of the phenomenon in question.

Starting from an analysis of the general panorama of immigration and the entrepreneurial activity of this group in the BAC, presented in the first section, the objective of this exploratory work has been to compare the findings of the literature on *ethnic entrepreneurship* and the results obtained through the interviews carried out. Specifically, on the basis of the theory of disadvantage, the theory of social networks

and the model of interaction, and taking as a reference the interview proposal of Solé and Parella (2005), we have analyzed entrepreneurs' motivations for emigrating and for setting up their business, their strategies and the socioeconomic consequences for them of starting a business.

The results obtained in the interviews carried out with the entrepreneurs reflect the existence of a diversity of factors that can motivate the act of migration, beginning with a desire for socioeconomic improvement, the political or economic instability of some countries, a desire to visit other places or other types of personal reasons. In practically all the cases, the future enterpreneurs had a relative, friend or acquaintance who facilitated the process of finding accommodation and work. A desire to improve their socioeconomic situation is the reason most often given by the interviewees when they are asked about their motivations for starting up a business. Most of the businesses were already running and the interviewees decided to take them over as a self-employment strategy. On the basis of what has been found, the theory of migratory networks and the hypothesis of disadvantage can both be used to explain the migratory and business experience of the interviewees.

As regards human and financial resources and the business strategies used to set up and run the business, we have mentioned that most of these businesses use some type of business strategies labelled as *ethnic*, such as, for example, self-exploitation, hiring relatives and friends, or the use of family loans.

Reconsidering the debate on the use of this label to refer to businesses created by foreigners or members of ethnic minorities, and the resources and strategies that they use, we recommend caution when using concepts like *ethnic entrepreneur, ethnic enclave, ethnic resources* or *ethnic strategies*, for several reasons. On the one hand, there is a risk of stigmatizing the entrepreneurial activity of foreigners, on the basis of the characteristics that are normally mentioned as defining it, and ignoring the diversity within this group. On the other, the use of the term *ethnic* to refer to people of foreign origin and members of ethnic minorities seems vague to us, since, if we are to classify people in ethnic groups, every person, whether *native*, *immigrant*, member of an ethnic minority or majority, would belong to some ethnic group. Therefore, we think that the use of this term should be clarified by adding the concepts *minority*, *foreign* or *immigrant*, as may be the case.

Although most of the interviewees claim not to have met with extra difficulties in running their business with respect to native busi-

nesses, others mention ignorance of the language and of the initial bureaucratic procedures, the lack of social networks in the destination society, the disinclination on the part of native people to rent premises to foreigners, their reluctance to enter shops run by foreigners and to consume unfamiliar products, as well as high rents, as the main obstacles which they must face. Considering the greater closure rate of businesses started by foreigners between 1993 and 2003, shown in section 1, we can deduce that immigrant entrepreneurs must face some type of additional difficulty in comparison to native entrepreneurs.

Finally, the experience of most of the interviewees does not confirm the thesis of socioeconomic improvement, but supports the opposite thesis of Hjerm (2004), which questions the benefits of self-employment in the social integration of foreigners, due, above all, to the little time they have left to participate in social activities because of their long working hours.

Due to the relative novelty of the phenomenon of entrepreneurship among foreigners in Spain, this field has not been sufficiently studied from all the disciplines. Up to now, research has been carried out mainly by sociologists and anthropologists, and has been focussed on analysis of the motivations and enterprise strategies of entrepreneurs of immigrant origin. Nevertheless, few studies have been undertaken from other disciplines like economics, with a treatment of the object of study that is less focussed on the ethno-cultural characteristics of entrepreneurs, and which compares the results obtained with experiences of companies with similar characteristics, run by native people. Future research should focus on the analysis of business initiatives undertaken by immigrants in diverse sectors, beyond hotels and retail; the enterprise success of these initiatives, as well as on their degree of innovativeness and their growth potential, from a multidisciplinary perspective. Also, it would be interesting to carry out an analysis of similar experiences undertaken by natives that allow us evaluate the characteristics that really differentiate businesses described as *ethnic* from those created by natives.

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Transnationalism and Citizenship without Borders?
The Role of the Political Opportunity Structure in Spain[1]

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Introduction

At present, migratory movements and the migrants themselves are in a context in which they enjoy a series of resources for communication and transport. From the airplane to the Internet, there is a broad range of tools that help us to be in contact with our relatives, friends or associates. Migrants, just like companies and other kinds of organisation, use these tools, but they use them in a different way and with different objectives. The general axis under which the migrants handle these tools is that of reproducing the order and social structure from which they come. Via the telephone or the Internet, the migrants ensure that life continues its course in the same way that it did when they were there. That is, they continue to exert the same functions and roles in their community across distance. The sum of relationships that migrants develop across distance to continue being part of the society they belong to is grouped under the concept of *transnation-*

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alism or *transnational practices.* This type of *trans-border relations* already existed previously and, in fact, predate the formation of the Nation-State (Suárez, 2007: 3079). Nevertheless, globalisation, understood as the set of social changes that have developed since the Eighties, has accentuated these transnational flows and their relevance for the existing social order. There are a great variety of *transnational practices* developed by migrants and each one of them has different consequences for the different social structures affected. Citizenship, as an axis that vertebrates the predominant model of society in the West based on the border as boundary of the Nation-State, is one of these social structures that is affected by transnational practices developed by the migrants. Although several authors have predicted that the transnational practices of migrants can, really, place in doubt the existing model of citizenship (Faist, 1998; Soysal, 1994; Sassen, 2003), there is little empirical evidence on the real repercussions of these practices.

The work presented here has the objective of establishing the bases for a subsequent investigation that evaluates, empirically, the impact of the transnational practices of migration on the citizenship model. In particular, I will focus on the capacity and transnational potential of associations of migrants in Spain to influence their country of origin or other countries in which their community is based, thus going beyond the classic scope of citizen action delimited by the borders of the Nation-States. In this article I focus on a first stage whose main objective is to determine how the social structure of the destination country of the migration can influence the transnational practices of the migrants. In this framework, this work has three main hypotheses. In the first place, I start from the conjecture that the transnational practices of migrants defy the model of citizenship based on the Nation-State in different ways. Secondly, I propose that the role of migrant associations is key for both national and transnational action of the migrants. And, thirdly, I will determine that the *Political Opportunity Structure* of Spain conditions both the form and the national and international volume of the activities and actions carried out by migrant associations in Spain.

The development of this article is divided in five sections. The first section introduces the conceptual framework for the theoretical debate on the impact of transnationalism of migration on "citizenship without borders". Next, I look at the potential of migrant associations as transnational actors. Thirdly, the concept of *Political Opportunity Structure* is described and the typology of the Soysal's Regimes of Incorporation as an analytical model is set out. Next, I analyse the *Political Opportunity Structure* that Spain present. And, finally, I will reflect on the effect of the Spanish *political opportunity structure* on the capacity of migrant associations to affect the paradigm of national citizenship.

1. **Globalisation, transnationalism and citizenship**

The crisis of the 1970s was one of those crises that seemed to mark the definitive end of the capitalist economic system, but this was not the case. The capacity for adaptation of Capitalism, which already had been demonstrated after overcoming the crisis of the 1930s, showed itself again in the 1980s causing a series of changes that were not only limited to the economic arena, but which also had repercussions in the whole social and cultural sphere, introducing what has been called "post-modern" culture. These economic changes now gave rise to a new worldwide arrangement of the economy that reaches, more than ever, to the whole of the globe. The Fordist model of production became obsolete thanks to its form of rigid mass production. And, to surpass its limitations, the capitalist system developed four basic transformations:

1. Relaxation of the form of capitalist production, transforming the form of rigid mass production into a form of customised "just in time" production.
2. Expansion of commercialisation through the introduction of new consumer goods, like leisure or culture. In this way we went from material to immaterial production.
3. Expansion and geographic reorganisation, looking for new non-capitalist areas so that they exert the function of suppliers of manual labour and raw materials and thus expand the market.
4. Third Industrial Revolution: the revolution of information and communication technologies.

From the result of these three mutations, the "late" or "post-industrial" capitalist system has emerged, characterised by the global scope of its influence and the immediacy of its movements. In this context, three types of processes emerge and expand, characterised by interconnectivity and multilocality: 1) internationalisation, developed by States; 2) multilocation, carried out by non-governmental organisations and multinational companies; and 3) transnationalisation, carried out by civil society (Portes, Escobar and Walton, 2005).

Transnationalisation is a social phenomenon that began to be studied as of the 1990s by anthropologists and sociologists who studied migrations in the United States. Anthropologists Basch, Glick Schiller and Santón Blanc were the first to delimit the phenomenon of transnationalism in migrations: "we define transnationalism as the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. We call these processes transnationalism to emphasize that many immigrants today build

social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders. Immigrants who develop and maintain multiple relationship—familiar, economic, social, organisational, religious, and political—that span borders we call 'transmigrant'" (Basch, Glick Schiller y Szanton Blanc, 1994:7). Since then, a considerable amount of research has taken place which captures the nature of the transborder relationships of migrants. Nevertheless, there is still no consensus on the exact and operative definition of the phenomenon. Approximately, the definition which the aforementioned anthropologists offered at that time remains in effect and it is this definition that I will use in this article.

The concept of transnationalism has been used in different senses, which is why I think it is necessary to differentiate at least two of these meanings to avoid confusion. On the one hand, transnationalism refers to a new theoretical perspective, that is to say, a new form of observing and analysing migratory processes. On the other hand, this term also has been used as an adjective qualifying migrations and, in this context, great confusion has been created. Some authors use the concept with a weak meaning, describing as transnational all sorts of migrations merely because they establish sporadic relations with their country of origin. In contrast, other authors use the concept with a strong meaning, talking about the definition of a specific type of migrations in which the migrants forge social relations located simultaneously at multiple sites and which link the society of origin and that of destination, among others. "Transnational" reality is not novel, in itself, because there are numerous examples of "transnationalism" in studies prior to the Nineties, such as in the studies on diasporas in the 19th century.[2] Nevertheless, we are in a completely different context in which we have to emphasize three aspects that make this concept really novel and outstanding. On the one hand, "transnational" reality is now studied from a perspective that defies methodological nationalism which allows us to observe and analyse its whole potential.[3] On the other hand, transnational processes are, at the present time, more present than ever and also very relevant for national and international institutions (Portes, Haller, Guarnizo, 2001; Portes, 2005). And, finally, transnational practices generate an increas-

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[2] In the article by Alejandro Portes (1999) ""Conclusion: towards a new world. The origins and effects of transnational activities" there is more information on this type of study.

[3] Methodological nationalism is based on the consideration of the Nation-State as a natural boundary of the social phenomena to be investigated (Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2002). A detailed explanation of methodological nationalism can be found in the article by Wimmer and Schiller (2002) on "Methodological nationalism and beyond: nation-state building migration and the social sciences ".

ing contradiction between the mobility of social life and the statism of the social order (Ong, 1999:6). The tension existing between transnational practices and the present model of citizenship is a clear example that static social orders are incapable of including social mobility.

Citizenship is a social construct that formalises the link between individuals and the Nation-State through the law. The content of this relationship is characterised, mainly, by rights, duties, representation and identity.[4] Citizenship, in its initial Enlightenment definition, was of universal inspiration. Nevertheless, its development went hand-in-hand with the construction of the Nation-State as a model of social organisation, thus delimiting the scope of application of citizenship to the scope of the Nation-State. The coexistence between the universalist and egalitarian principles of citizenship and the exclusive and unequal ones of the Nation-State has been, until now, a source of latent tension.[5] And it has been the phenomenon of global migration accompanied by the burgeoning of transnational networks, among other phenomena, that has made evident the increasing contradiction between citizenship and the exclusive model of the Nation-State; between the mobility of individuals and the rigidity of the social order and institutions.

Therefore, the citizenship model, which guarantees the social rights and duties of democracy, is challenged by the new global flows that create new social orders across borders. At this crossroads, the present model of citizenship, based on the Nation-State and territoriality, has two fundamental options. The first, and most discouraging one, consists of the gradual loss of functionality of the model, causing a crisis of the conception of citizenship. The second consists in the reinvention of citizenship and its development in new forms that face up to the present-day changes and mobility. There are several debates on both options, but none of these has been able to glimpse or prevent the consequences of the present social changes.

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[4] Among the great diversity of definitions of citizenship, some of the most concise are those contributed by: Delanty, "Citizenship as a membership of a political community involves a set of relationships between rights, duties, participation and identity" (Delanty,2000:9), or Faist, "Citizenship in a state is an institutionalized form of solidarity. It constitutes an expression of full and formal membership. Citizenship forms a continuing series of reciprocal transactions, between a citizen and a state" (Faist, 2000:202-203)

[5] The authors explain it in the following way: "the influence of ethnicity is far greater than its real power, because it has been successfully presented or constructed as an inevitable, natural and irresistible force in world history. In view of current and future developments, both inside European societies (e.g. immigration and asylum questions) and in the field of supranational developments on a European and a world scale, the influence of the present ethnicity-and-territory-based political ideology may prove to be a formidable obstacle to creative thought" (D'hont, Blommaert y Verschuren, 1995:116).

2. **The potential of migrant associations in Spain. Their challenge to the citizenship model**

In the Spanish context there are a great number of organisations of different migrant groups. These organisations, like other types of civil associations, can serve to channel demands, protests, or suggestions to the local or state institutions. What is more, migrant organisations specifically can be an important element for developing suitable models of social integration for migrants (Bousetta, 2000) or for proposing models of development for their countries of origin (Portes, 2006). People, individually, have few options for being heard by the large State institutions. However, groups of people through associations do have a greater potential to raise their voice towards the State, referring both to the State in which they live and other international States or instances.

Civil society, understood as the sphere of dialogue between individuals and the state, is a fundamental element in present-day democracies. In this political system, unlike other authoritarian or oligarchical ones, the representation and endorsement of citizens are a fundamental element for the good operation of the social order. In fact, an active and informed civil society is an indicator of health of present-day democracies (Odmalm, 2004: 471). In the organisation of this civil society two types of organisations can be distinguished: 1) the political parties, dependent on and derived from the state institutions; and 2) civil associations. My interest is focused on the latter. Civil associations are characterised by joining active subjects in the public sphere, in a more-or-less organised way, without being subject to the formal mechanisms of democracy and the State. These associations play a key role in our democratic societies, acting as a vehicle for collective needs or demands, showing approval or rejection of the initiatives of institutions, etc. They are a manifestation of the pluralism of societies at the same time as acting as controllers of public power (Jordana, 2002). Conceptualising the reconfiguration of democracy in times of globalisation, Held identifies 'civic associations' as a fourth sphere of power, emphasising on the one hand the possibilities of influencing institutional power, and on the other hand possible elitist or exclusive dynamics that they can also generate (Held, 1997: 181). The set of civil associations is able to establish a space for dialogue and representation of the objectives and necessities of individuals, beyond the method of formal and individual participation: the vote. They provide an intermediate field through which civil society can bring its concerns before the institutions, at different levels, although from now on we will talk exclusively about the State institutions.

Civil associations can have an especially important role in the development of public policies that affect them directly. The organisations can serve as a vehicle for proposing public policies, and also as intermediaries to develop the type of public policies that better fit the real needs of the population. The distance that separates the State from the society can partially be bridged through these civil associations bringing the two together. It is evident that the effectiveness of social policies depends on their adjustment to real needs, although the degree of participation that civil society should have has been widely discussed (see bibliography). In addition, since the middle of the Eighties, a new system of development of public policies, the New Public Management, has been progressively developed, opening a greater field of opportunity for the participation of these associations (Dunleavy and Hood, 1995). The New Public Management decentralises and diversifies the actors who participate in the elaboration and decision of public policies. In this way, civil society, through its civil associations, can increase its presence and make the system of elaboration of public policies more democratic.

Within the area of migrations, the creation of associations that gather and represent the interests of this group can favour their participation in the process of developing policies of social integration in the host country or other types of policies to promote it in the country of origin. Their potentialities and options are infinite, and precisely because of this diversity of options, the role of these associations is still not absolutely clear (Avci, 2005). There are different studies on organisations of the migrant population, their forms of organisation, their questioning of citizenship, their function for social integration, etc. (Jacobs and Tillie, 2004). In this work we will not focus on how migrants are organised and mobilised, but on how their actions can constitute a challenge to the present model of territorial citizenship.

Through a conscientious bibliographical review, it can be determined that, broadly speaking, associations of migrants raise two general challenges to the present of model citizenship. On the one hand, migrant associations defy citizenship as soon as they constitute a stock of workers, who are part of civil society and participate in it, but cannot be recognised as citizens so that they cannot have their democratic rights guaranteed. The constitution of an active civil association, which organises activities and participates in the public sphere, is properly an attribution of legally and democratically recognised citizenship. Nevertheless, these people, by the mere fact of being migrants, are not recognised as legitimate citizens, so that their actions in the public sphere constitute an inferior category to the rest of the actions carried out by legitimate citizens. The struggles and activities of migrants with relation to the pub-

lic sphere of the host country are intimately related to social integration. In a synthetic way, the social integration of the migrants can be understood as a compound of four dimensions: 1) obtaining citizenship rights, 2) identification with the host society, 3) adoption of democratic norms and values, and 4) political participation, mobilisation and representation (Bauböck, 2005). The associations and organisations of migrants mainly execute two types of functions: a) actions of internal solidarity and b) actions of integration in the host society. The function of internal solidarity refers to activities aimed at mutual aid within the same group of migrants, the establishment of support networks or the maintenance of relations with the community of origin. They are, fundamentally, actions aimed at the recently arrived migrant who needs guidance on the most urgent questions, like housing, papers, etc. The second function, which refers to integration in the host society, consists of actions and activities through which the migrants demand the representation of their needs and rights. These actions are no longer directed within the migrant community, but outside, towards the total population of the host society (Odmalm, 2004). The creation, therefore, of migrant associations and organisations that participate in the public sphere constitute a characteristic activity of citizenship, characteristic of people who have the right to participate and to make demands. Although these migrants do not have this right, through not being recognised as citizens, they have all the more reason, despite running a greater risk, to make their voices heard.

On the other side, the associations of migrants challenge the model of citizenship based on the Nation-State when constructing and maintaining social relations through which they participate in a cross-border way in the civil society of another State, normally, that of their country of origin. The present model of citizenship is based on an ideal model of society that governs itself by two assumptions:

1. In the first place, considering that the cultural nation and the State, the political and legal order, correspond unequivocally with an arbitrary set of borders (D'hont, Blommaert and Verschuren, 1995: 105-119 and Jacobson, 1997:127)
2. Secondly, presupposing that people are completely immobile and live their whole life in the country where they are born.

This view, far from being real, is completely false and idealised. Completely in opposition to these assumptions, the borders of the Nation-State have never really been able to represent a nation, and people never have been completely sedentary. In the context of global migra-

tion, thanks to a series of technological advances, there are opportunities to maintain transnational relations, use them to create realities, civil societies and transnational citizens. Diverse studies have identified numerous transnational practices undertaken through migrant associations that themselves construct their own transnational space of citizen participation. Among these studies we can emphasise Itzigsohn's (2000) study of the incidence of these associations in the country of origin. Itzigsohn studies the associations of Dominican, Haitian and Salvadoran migrants in the United States to determine how these associations develop transnational practices and the influence of these in the country of origin of each of these groups. The study shows how migrants are empowered with respect to their State of origin by forming migrants associations and by having control of remittances. In addition, the study demonstrates how associations obtain the commitment of their State of origin in certain aspects, such as defending their interests against the United States, in exchange for contributing, with their remittances, to the economic development of the country. This is an example of what several authors like Ostergaard-Nielsen, Smith or Portes have done to analyse similar practices in different groups. These practices, which associations of migrants of Spain also carry out, imply a great challenge for the present model of citizenship.[6] These transnational flows and networks make it evident that the model of citizenship based on the Nation-State is incapable of including and controlling all citizen actions that are carried out to direct them to the Nation-State.

3. **The Political Opportunity Structure as an analytical model**

The capacity for participation and influence of these organisations depends on many factors, like the desire of the individuals to be associated, the need to do so, the obtaining of resources to be associated, people with greater or lesser leadership capacity, the associative culture, and a long list of others. All these personal and social conditions determine, in a critical way, the formation of associations of migrants and their operation, success and duration. On the other hand, it is the structural and "macro" type conditions, that is to say, the general insti-

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[6] The TRANSMIGRA R&D project (http://www.pcb.ub.es/crea/proyectos/transmigra/presentacion.htm) that is being developed by the CREA research group of the University of Barcelona is of the few sources of empirical evidence that exist on transnational practices in Spain. As a pre-doctoral fellow of the Ramon Areces Foundation, I have been involved in this project since its beginnings.

tutional conditions that also determine the creation of associations by migrants, their capacity and their form of operation and financing.

Consequently, the capacity of these migrant associations for influence and participation in the institutional context do not depend strictly on their will. On the contrary, there are a great variety of conditioning factors that promote or damage the capacity and potential of these associations. One of these conditioning factors determines the *Political Opportunity Structure* of the destination State of the migration. The concept of Political Opportunity Structure is one that best includes and delimits the "macro" conditions that affect the creation of all types of associations and, specifically, those of migrants. The Political Opportunity Structure is a concept created by Tarrow and which began to be used in the scope of the theorisation and investigation of social movements. It measures the degree of openness and vulnerability of state structures with respect to social movements (Neveu, 2002: 157-158). This concept has been transferred to the study of the integration of migration to describe the degree to which the Nation-State is open to the participation of migrant organisations. If the level of openness is high, the migrant organisations will find facilities for developing and participating in the public sphere. On the other hand, if the level of openness is low, these organisations will not find these facilities and they may even meet obstacles when they come to participate as active and recognised actors in the public sphere. De Tocqueville himself already foresaw this institutional conditioning factor when he affirmed that the relation between civil society and institutions varies according to the form of the institutions.[7] More closely related to immigration, Soysal maintained that these institutional structures, referring to the processes of integration of migrants, determine the forms and possibilities of participation of migrant associations.[8]

1. *Systems of immigrant incorporation as models of Political Opportunity Structure*

Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal, in the book *Limits of citizenship, migrants and postnational membership in Europe*, elaborates a very useful ty-

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[7] "This means that, depending on the institutional settings, societies will tend to differ in their relation to an ideal conception of civil society (Tocqueville 1968)" (Odmalm, 2004: 472)

[8] "My main assertion is that the rules of membership that define the forms of participation in particular polities also configure the collective patterns of migrant organization" (Soysal, 1994: 84)

pology of immigrant incorporation regimes in the European context. In this document, Soysal sets out from the hypothesis that a tension exists between the emergence of a concept of universal citizenship, which relativises the borders of the Nation-State which are characteristic of the *postnational era* and the persistent bond between citizenship and Nation-State.[9] From her point of view, the main indicator of this tension is the figure the guestworker, or invited worker "whose membership in European host polities contradicts predominant conceptions of citizenship and the nation-state, manifest these changes" (Soysal, 1994:1). In order to explain the different models by which these guestworkers are integrated in the countries of Europe, Soysal elaborates the typology of the three incorporation regimes based on their corresponding membership models. Soysal's first hypothesis is that the state organization of immigrant incorporation is the most important factor that determines how migrants will be incorporated into society. This reasoning, therefore, abandons the classic models that measured the social integration of migrants based on their individual and cultural characteristics. The second hypothesis consists of affirming that the incorporation regime is principally influenced by the membership model of the Nation-State.[10]

— *The membership model* is determined by the types of institutionalisation and organisation of the relation between the individual and the State.
— *The incorporation regimes* are defined through the legal, institutional and discursive processes that the states develop to channel migrants towards a process that converts them into recognized members with rights, although not necessarily citizens.[11]

In order to define the different incorporation regimes, Soysal undertakes an empirical investigation of the institutions and official documents of the countries that she analyses. From this theoretical and

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[9] "what were previously defined as national rights become entitlements legitimized on the basis of personhood" (Soysal, 1994: 3)

[10] "the way new migrant populations are incorporated depends on the type of the polity they encounter, with respect to its institutional resources and legitimate models of membership." (Soysal, 1994:36)

[11] "In using the term incorporation regime, I refer to the patterns of policy discourse and organization around which system of incorporation is constructed. All states develop a set of legal rules, discursive practices, and organizational structures that define the status of foreigners vis-à-vas the host state, and the forms and boundaries of their participation in host polity institutions" (Soysal, 1994: 32)

empirical investigation, Soysal identifies that in the European context there are four membership models, from which derive three incorporation regimes: the corporativist regime, the liberal regime and the state regime. Next, the fundamental characteristics of each of these regimes are described, which can be interpreted as political opportunity structures for the participation of migrant organizations in the public sphere.

1. *The corporativist regime* (Migrants as Corporate Groups). Characterized by the treatment of the migrants as collective identities, with the same status as any other "ethnic minority". They are considered by their "natural" identity. The migrant organisations are the institutional channel for the incorporation of migrants. The state provides them with a series of mechanisms so that they have the possibility of making demands and negotiating with the State through its organized groups. The State or lower-level administrations have a highly interventive and regulatory role in social policies. The three fundamental pillars are: the equality of all citizens, the freedom of culture and cultural expression, and solidarity between the citizen majority and "ethnic minorities". On the one hand, specific policies are created to respond to the demands of specific groups, with equality of conditions, but depending on the capacity for influence of the group. The central system of financing contemplates and endorses these organizations. Specific funds are destined for "ethnic minority policy", through which these groups can build their schools, television channels, radio stations, etc. The financing is very important and specific, separate from central budgets. On the other hand, there are also specific services of "reception services for newcomers" which include: employment training, language learning for adults, learning of their native language, information on social services, etc. The state treats migrants as "corporate groups" that have demands and participate directly with the State, independent of whether they are citizens or not. The countries that exemplify this incorporation regime are Sweden and the Netherlands.

2. *The liberal regime* (Migrants as Individuals) Emphasizes individual freedom, and autonomy. There are no formal structures that channel groups canalizes with a direct link with the State or the Administration. Migrants can organize in groups, but this is as a result of their decision and individual effort; the State does not take part. However, the capacity to transfer demands

to the State will depend on the capacity for pressure of these groups and associations. The state intervenes very little, and does not take part in the incorporation of immigrants nor in their activities. Their incorporation is emphasized through the main institution of the labour market. The following expression represents this perspective very well: "the better position you have on the job market, the better you are integrated" (Soysal, 1994: 55). The State, therefore, does not have specific policies on immigration, nor specific social programs for this group. The action of the State in reference to immigration is focussed on antidiscrimination laws. "Racial equality" is the most important principle, and therefore what are developed are legal instruments to maintain "good race relations": "favorable race relations means employing legal actions against discrimination in individual cases rather than acting on behalf of any particular group or creating special mechanisms to deal with migrant groups as separate entities" (Soysal, 1994: 55). In some cases, and at the request of outstanding pressure groups, some residual political initiatives can develop to intervene in overcoming the obstacles facing migrants. But, as a rule, there are no designated instruments to promote the incorporation of migrants. Examples of this incorporation regime are Switzerland and Britain.

3. *The statist regime* (Individual Migrants, Centralized State). Migrants are treated as individuals, face-to-face with a very major presence of the state administrative bureaucracy, which is the center of sovereignty and political organization. Individuals are specific and equal elements, subordinate to the State. By law, discrimination between individuals by reason of their ethnic or religious characteristics is prohibited, and it is not possible for them to be associated or organized as such. The State, highly interventionist in social functions, treats all invididuals equally, without considering the particularities of different groups. The state provides significant social services for integration of "individuals" within society, but these services are only defined by socioeconomic conditions, not by the condition of immigrant. The generic market, education and social services are the resources which the migrants, as individuals, can use to integrate themselves in society. The paradigmatic case of this incorporation regime is France, where there is a great contrast between the multicultural reality and the universal treatment of "republican citizens".

In order to synthesize the incorporation regimes defined by Soysal, I reproduce below the summary table that she presents in her book.

Table 1

Summary of Incorporation Patterns[12]

	Corporatist	Liberal	Statist
Unit of incorporation	Collective group	Individual	Individual
Goal of incorporation	Equality between groups	Equal opportunities for individuals	Equal standing of individuals vis-à-vis the state
Tools of incorporation	Group-specific programs and institutions	Existing institutions (especially labour markets and education)	Existing institutions
Organisation of incorporation	Centrally organised, through formal structures	Decentralised, through local voluntary or public agencies	Centralised, bureaucratised
Formal participation (through consulative arrengements)	As collective groups at national and local levels	As individuals mostly at local levels	As individuals at national and local levels
Location of incorporation	National level, central	Local level	National level, central

The grey rows are those that most significantly indicate the degree of openness of the political opportunity structure that each of these regimes represents for migrant social organizations. As a synthesis, we might state that the corporativist regime is the one that has the most open political opportunity structure, in promoting the creation and participation of migrant organizations. On the other hand, the liberal model has an intermediate degree of openness, inasmuch as it neither promotes nor discourages the political participation of migrant asso-

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[12] Representation of Table 5.1. Summary of Incorporation Patterns in SOYSAL, Y.N. Limits of citizenship. Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe. The University of Chicago Press, 79

ciations. Finally, the statist regime represents the most closed political opportunity structure, in not recognizing and dissuading this type of political participation.

Next, I will describe the framework that the Spanish State presents for migrant organisations based on the analytical model of Political Opportunity Structure. The analysis of the Spanish Political Opportunity Structure will be done in two steps. This work will be based on the variables that Soysal proposes in her analysis:

— Unit of incorporation. The actor to which the State refers as the object of incorporation. May be the group or the individual.
— Tools of incorporation: specific programs of social policy (aimed at the incorporation of migrants), or generic institutions and social policies.
— Type of measures: positive (services for incorporation), negative (anti-discrimination laws), or absent.
— Organization of incorporation: centralized or decentralized
— Place of incorporation: state level or regional-local level
— Form of institutionalized participation: by means of groups defending migrant interests or as individuals with respect to the Administration

I am aware that the analysis I am going to present here is not completely accurate compared with the real conditioning factors that influence in the capacity for participation of migrant organisations. The perspective of the Political Opportunity Structure has been criticised as being excessively institutionalist and forgetting about individual and social determinants. Authors such as H. Bosuetta express the need to elaborate a more complex theoretical framework which would allow us to analyse the different levels of determination of the participation of migrant organisations (Bosuetta, 2000). In a similar sense, E.K. Ostergaard-Nielsen demands, in the case of the study of the transnational political practices of migrants, an extension of the Political Opportunity Structure to fit the different social structures, in origin and destination, that determines the capacity for participation of the migrant associations (Bosuetta, 2000). However, being conscious of these nuances, the analysis that I propose merely aims to outline the ease or difficulty that the Spanish institutional system offers to the participation of migrants. This first approach will allow us to open the debate on the possible role of migrant organisations in challenging the model of citizenship based on the present-day Nation-State.

### 4. **The Spanish system of incorporation.**

1. *The context of migration in Spain*

Before focusing on the description and the analysis of Spanish politics that constitutes the Spanish system of incorporation and its Political Opportunity Structure, we must briefly consider the recent migratory history of Spain. In this way, its social and political measures can be better contextualized and understood.

The phenomenon of *im*migration in Spain is relatively recent. Spain, a closed dictatorship from 1939 to 1975, was a country of emigration during the 20th century. It was not until 1990s, concretely towards the end of this decade, that the flow of *im*migration began to increase to a considerable speed, making evident the phenomenon of global migration in Spain. The growth of the foreign population in Spain has been really outstanding during recent years, in which the registered foreign population has quadrupled. In 2000, the number of registered foreign people did not reach one million—the total was 923,879. In 2007, the registered foreign population is four and a half million people, which represents almost 10% of the total registered population. In Figure 1 we see the curves of development of the foreign population from 1998 to 2007, and in Table 2 the interannual variation, which shows that the growth of migration has been especially high in 2003 and 2005. At present, according to the last United Nations report, Spain is the third country, after the United States and Germany, in which the migratory flow is growing fastest.[13]

Figure 1

Development of the foreign population in Spain.
Absolute numbers. 1996-2007.
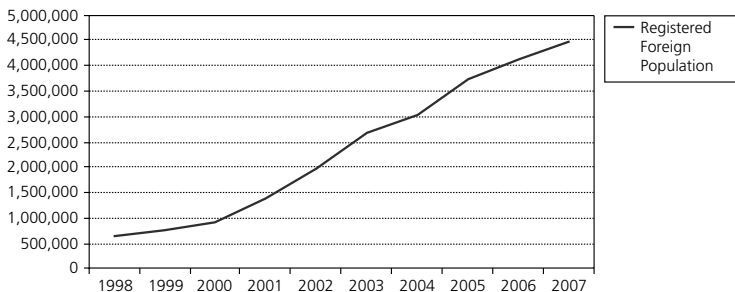
Source: Prepared by the author from data of INE-Padrón

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[13] The medium variant of the net migration rate for the period 2000-2005 was 4.4 United States, 2.4 Germany and 13.6 Spain. http://esa.un.org/unpp/index.asp?panel=2

Table 2

Development of the foreign population, the percentage of foreigners and interannual variation. 1998-2006

	Registered Foreign Population	Interannual variation
1998	637,085	
1999	748,954	111,869
2000	923,879	174,925
2001	1,370,657	446,778
2002	1,977,946	607,289
2003	2,664,168	686,222
2004	3,034,326	370,158
2005	3,730,610	696,284
2006	4,144,166	413,556
2007	4,482,568	338,402

Source: Prepared by the author from data of INE-Padrón

Therefore, migration in Spain has been, as well as a recent phenomenon, a very rapid phenomenon that has changed the panorama of the country in a matter of 5 years. Possibly, this rapid nature is what has meant that migration is one of the most important concerns that the population mentions in the "opinion barometers" of the CIS. In the barometer of September 2007, migration was located respectively in fourth place among the problems which most worry the population, behind housing, unemployment and terrorism, which are in first, second and third place.

2. *The configuration of the Spanish Regime of Incorporation*

Following the variables proposed by Soysal that I have indicated above, here we present the analysis on the Spanish regime of incorporation. In order to carry out this study I have used three sources of information: first, the laws on immigration; second, the measures for access to rights and ultimately to citizenship; and finally, the institutions and policies made by the Spanish government.

The law of immigration in Spain is characterised by instability and uncertainty. Different laws have followed one another, often more for political reasons than in response to real needs. This situation has led to a context of ambiguity and lack of definition in describing the legal

regulation of immigration in Spain (Aja and Díez, 2005). The first law on immigration in Spain, the "Statutory law on rights and freedoms in Spain", was passed in 1986 by the Socialist PSOE government. This law was appropriate to its time, when immigration was scarce and little regulation was required. In the present context, this law would be neither relevant nor appropriate. In fact, most experts on immigration in Spain merely mention this law without explaining it. In the year 2000 the law changed, in the context of a highly important wave of migration. In this year two laws were passed: the first being the law 4/2000, of 11 January, on "Rights and freedoms of Foreigners in Spain and their social integration". This law, proposed by the PSOE when in opposition, was fairly progressive and widely recognized the rights of migrants, while simultaneously including legal instruments against irregularity. The law was passed with the opposition of the conservative PP, which was then in a minority government, and after the elections of March 2000, in which the PP won an absolute majority, a new law, Law 8/2000, was passed which implied an important reduction in migrants' rights. In 2003, the PP government decided to reform, and make more severe, the law that they themselves had passed. This was the Law 14/2003. With respect to the previous law, the reform affected only a few rules; practically all it did was to make the penal regime for foreigners harsher, facilitate mechanisms for deportation, and make regularization more difficult. This law has been challenged before the Constitutional Court, and some of its articles declared unconstitutional. Nonetheless, the key thing to remember is that this law does not apply to practical effect; the law truly in use is the Law 8/2000.

The main aspects of this law that I wish to emphasize are the processes by which migrants may obtain their rights and freedoms. In a situation of irregularity, an immigrant can also gain access to health and education services, provided he or she is registered in a municipality. In a situation of regularity (whether temporary or permanent), a series of rights is obtained, significantly limited in comparison with those of citizens. I must emphasize here that the Law 4/2000, in the section on rights and freedoms, states "equality with Spaniards", which is removed under the law 8/2000. The most notable rights are: 1) political participation, the right to vote in municipal elections if there are bilateral agreements with the country of origin of the immigrant, 2) the right to meeting and association, only for those who have legal authorization for residence, 3) rights to free education and health care, 4) the right to employment, when they have the legal permission for residence. Finally, the concession of nationality opens

the door to full rights. Nationality can be obtained through different processes:

— Direct process: those born in Spain without any particular parentage.
— Temporal process: a) 1 year of legal residence for those married to a Spaniard for one year, and those born outside Spain of a Spanish father, mother, grandfather or grandmother; 2 years for nationals of Latin American countries, Andorra, the Philippines, Equatorial Guinea or Portugal; c) 5 years for those who have obtained refugee status; and d) 10 years for others. Regarding residence, a distinction is made between temporary residence (more than 90 days and less than 5 years) and permanent residence.

The institutions that deal with the subject of immigration are, fundamentally, twofold: The Social Forum for Social Integration and the Permanent Observatory of Immigration. The two institutions are part of the Secretariat of State on Immigration and Emigration, which belongs to the Ministry of Work and Social Affairs. The first of these institutions is a consultative agency for information and advice created under the Law 4/2000, whose main functions are: to make proposals and recommendations to favour the social integration of migrants, to channel proposals and to elaborate information, plans and programs for social integration. This institution includes a timid representation of migrant associations, together with representatives of the public administration, trade unions and business organizations. The second institution is a collegiate organ that has the function of collecting data, analysis and study of the migratory phenomenon in Spain.

Spain does not have specific national programs of social policy for migrants. The system of attention to immigration is fairly decentralized, and the State only takes charge of funding the Autonomous Communities (regions) for this purpose. A Fund to support the intake and integration of immigrants and for educational reinforcement has been created, where the money invested by the State goes. The State announced that for the year the 2006 it would finance the Secretariat of State on Immigration and Emigration to the tune of 183 million Euros. To this are added 365 million Euros from the General State Budgets for 2006 which are dedicated to "Action to support migrants". This part is dedicated, essentially, to funding associations or organizations which organize programs to stimulate the social integration of migrants (defined very broadly). These grants are managed by IMSERSO (The Institute of Migrations and Social Services), which also manages a few Refugee Centres, Temporary Residence Centres for migrants, and

other, basically emergency, services. Finally, we need to add 11 million dedicated to "Coordination for immigration". This money is for supporting the administrative and management expenses. Together this adds up to some 600 million Euros.

The model of action towards migrants is decentralized, specific programs are carried out at Autonomous Community level, as well as at local level. However, concentrating on the state level, the main political actions for the incorporation of migrants described by the Secretariat of State for Immigration and Emigration can be summarized by the following main lines:

— Medical assistance and health education.
— Education strategies that promote mutual respect and multiculturality. Special education for migrants, in particular, for knowledge of the Spanish language.
— Exercise of religious freedom.
— Reduction and streamlining of bureaucratic and administrative proceedings for regularization of migrants.
— Promoting equality in incorporation of migrants in the labour market.
— Reception and attention to migrants in vulnerable situations (without discrimination between legal and illegal migrants): reception centres and temporary residence centres, collaboration with NGO's to give emergency help, etc.
— Coordination of the decentralised administrative structure. The Social Forum for the Social Integration of the Immigrants is the key axis of this coordination.
— Antidiscrimination action. Informative campaigns and penalties for discrimination.
— Assistance for unaccompanied minor immigrants.

The main conclusion of this tentative analysis is that politically the discourse of social integration of migrants is used and abused, but on an effective level, the State has not positioned itself, nor has it developed policies, to achieve this aim. The axes that have been defined here are very basic; they do not imply the dedication of many resources and are not highly committed. In terms of policies of control, a strong position has, in fact, been taken—one that has hardened considerably of late. However, as regards the system of integration of immigrants, ambiguity predominates. The action of the State towards migrants is totally individual, they are treated the same as a Spanish citizen, but with fewer rights and freedoms. Although associations of regularized migrants are allowed, these do not represent a fundamental route for

participation and demands for social action for, and by, such migrants. In summary, the Spanish State puts its faith in the institutions and general policies for the incorporation of migrants. The most important institution in this field is the labour market, followed by education and health.

The following table serves to summarize and conclude the analysis that has been made:

Table 3

Spanish regime of incorporation.

	Spain
Unit of incorporation	Individual
Tools for incorporation	Political institutions and general social services. Health, education, and above all the market.
Type of measures	Generic measures
Organisation of incorporation	Decentralised
Form of institutionalised participation	Individual, but timidly promotes the representation of associations in organisations that have little power of decision.

Therefore, the regime for integration of immigrants in Spain bears strong resemblances to the French regime, although it shows two main differences. In the first place, the Spanish welfare state is not as large as the French state. Secondly, Spain legally permits and recognizes association by ethnic or religious minorities, which the French state does not permit. Spain, unlike France, does not have such a centralizing and egalitarian ideology.

Conclusion. Reflection on the possibilities for participation by migrant organizations

This brief and provisional analysis clearly shows that the Spanish system of institutional integration has a statist tendency, although not as marked as in the French model. We could dub this a "decaffeinated" statist model. This framework forms an unfavorable political opportunity structure for the participation of migrant associations

in public institutions. This does not mean that the emergence of migrant associations is prevented, as this is not prohibited, but does not recognize them as legitimate actors for participation in the public sphere, especially, for the elaboration of integration policies. The institution of the Social Forum for Social Integration timidly gives space to the representation of these associations, although this representation is irrelevant inasmuch as it takes place in an institution that has no real power. Unlike the corporativist model, where the institutions themselves promote the emergence of associations of migrants and the creation of links between these and state institutions, the Spanish "decaffeinated" statist model does not prohibit these organizations but neither does it stimulate them to participate or take an active role. The group of migrants is understood as "equal" to the rest of the population and it is hoped that they will be integrated through the generalist policies of the state: education, health, and the market.

After these preliminary conclusions, we can reflect on the consequences of the Political Opportunity Structure for migrant associations and their potential for transforming the territorial model of citizenship. There are diverse questions for research that arise from this axis: Does this political opportunity structure actually pose disincentives to the participation of immigrants? What difficulties do migrant organizations find in participating in and influencing the public sphere? What are the mechanisms that they use to overcome these difficulties? Leaving aside the central institutions, can the local area constitute a good space for the participation and influence of these migrant organizations? Does the political opportunity structure totally determine the participation of migrants? Are there differences between groups as regards their degree of participation?

Apart from these questions, this analysis also provides a basis for reflection on the "adequate" political opportunity structure for the social integration of migrants. Here we enter a very complicated and endless discussion. Without going into this, I merely want to present some results of research that show how the corporativist regime, generally idealized for its openness to immigrant participation, also has a negative side when it excessively ethnicizes organizations and makes them dependent on state provisions (Odmalm, 2004). What is clear is that each regime has its advantages and disadvantages; could there be an alternative, intermediate model?

The purpose of this article is not to answer these questions, but to establish the bases to ask them. The objective of the research work that I am developing is supported on the bases presented here to

empirically analyse the national and transnational practices and actions of different migrant associations located in Spain to discuss their impact on the model of citizenship based on the Nation-State. The work presented serves to raise awareness of the "macro"-scale constrictions that can determine the potential of migrant associations and their direction.

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Attitudes and behaviors of the population to mixed marriages in Spain

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Introduction

In today's Western societies, the formation of couples and marriage take place through direct bonding and mutual knowledge. Proximity and coexistence favor frequent encounters, and these become key factors in the initiation and development of romantic love, which then establishes the basis for the formation of couples. In Spain, until the end of the 1990s, the formation of mixed marriages between a native and a foreign spouse was difficult, because the presence of people from other countries was relatively small[1]. Since then, immigration has grown extraordinarily, so that at the beginning of 2007, the foreign population in Spain had reached almost 4½ million people, practically a tenth of the total population resident in

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[1] As of 1 January 1999 the number of foreigners resident in Spain reached 748,953, whereas as of 1 May 1996 the number was 542,314 (Source: INE).

this country. This volume of foreigners means that their presence is visible on all levels of daily life, with the consequent increase in interactions with the native population. One of the consequences of this is the formation of couples of different national origin. This new context allows us to make a preliminary approach to the study of the question of mixed marriages.

Research on mixed marriages is, for the reasons mentioned above, quite novel in Spain. There are few references on the subject before the year 2000. However, one contribution stands out at the beginning of the 1990's and that is the work of Ruth Aguilera (1992) in which she considered the subject of interethnic marriages, with a focus on white-black interracial couples. Other references concerning marriage markets and immigration were found in Cabré (1994) and Checa (1999). Since the beginning of the twenty-first century there has been an increasing interest in the subject, with the resulting publication of works like the research of Rodriguez García (2004), referring to Catalonia and focussing on Africans from Senegal and Gambia, and more recently research by Sanjurjo (2005) and Cortina et al. (2006). Likewise, at the last Congress on Immigration in Spain held in March 2007 communications were presented by Martinez Flores (2007) and Sarrible (2007) on this question. Nevertheless, the formation of interethnic marriages has already been studied for a long time in other countries that for years have been experiencing the arrival and establishment of an important contingent of immigrant population. This is the case of the United States of America with the classic studies of Merton (1941) and Gordon (1964) and more recently others like Liang and Ito (1999), Jacobs and Labov (2002); Lee and Edmonston (2005) or Qian (2005), and also that of Europe, especially countries like Great Britain, with contributions such as those of Collins (1957), Berthoud (2005), Peach (2005), and the Netherlands, with Kalmijn and van Tubergen (2006).

In our study, when raising this subject in acordance with the majority trends in thinking, we start from the hypothesis that the existence of mixed marriages is one of the indicators of social integration of immigrants in host societies. Despite knowing that other authors assume a critical attitude to this direct relationship between mixed marriages and integration (Song, 2006), it seems to us that studying this social fact in Spain can help us to understand better how relations between groups take place.

In this article we wish to approach the following questions: What is the number of mixed marriages in Spain? Is this type of marriages growing at the same rate as immigration? Is mixed marriage more frequent among native men or native women? What are the most frequent nationalities when Spanish people choose a foreign partner? What values are maintained around this question of mixed marriages by both the

native and immigrant populations? Through the following sections we will try to respond to these questions, using the statistical sources and survey data currently available in Spain.

1. **Immigration in Spain, a process of constant growth**

The Spanish population has grown from 39 million in 1996 to 45 million inhabitants in 2007 (Figure 1). This increase of six million new inhabitants has taken place in the blink of an eye and new residents are the main cause, together with newborn citizens who are Spanish, though mostly of immigrant origin. The Spanish population, with a high age profile and low birth rate, had low growth capacity and it is the immigrants who, through their presence, have made this change of trend possible.

Figure 1

Development of the total, native and foreign population.
Spain, 1996-2007
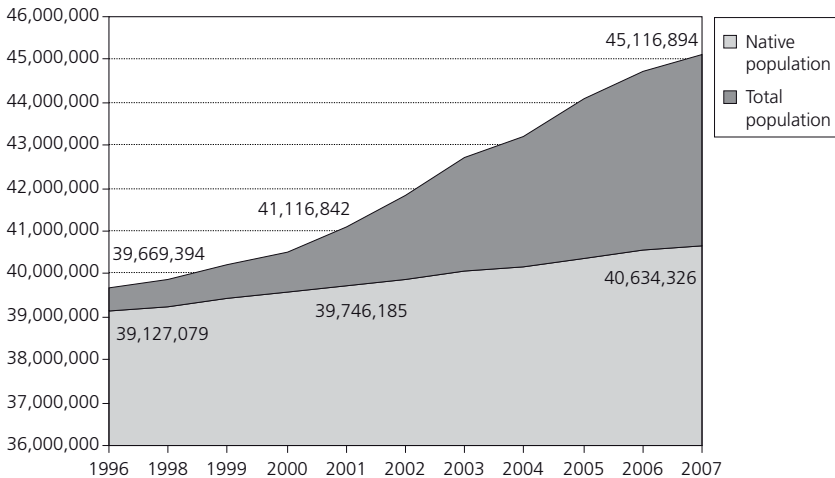
Source: National Institute of Statistics. Data from 1 January

The presence of an immigrant population in the Spanish State has undergone continuous growth throughout the last two decades, and this has especially accelerated with the advent of the twenty-first century. Thus, in the last six years the population of natives of other countries resident in Spain has increased 227%, from 1,370,657 in 2001 (3.33%

of the total resident population) to 4,482,568 (almost one in ten people in this country) in 2007 (Table 1 and Figure 2). And at the present time Spain is the EU country that is receiving the most immigrants.

Table 1

Development the foreign population: total and by sex.
Spain. 2001-2007. Absolute and Percentage

Year	Total	% total population	Men	% total foreign population	Women	% total foreign population
2001	1,370,657	3.33	716,837	52.3	653,820	47.7
2002	1,977,946	4.73	1,048,178	53.9	929,767	47.0
2003	2,664,168	6.24	1,414,750	53.1	1,249,418	46.9
2004	3,034,326	7.02	1,605,723	52.9	1,428,603	47.1
2005	3,730,610	8.46	1,992,034	53.4	1,738,576	46.6
2006	4,144,166	9.27	2,215,469	53.5	1,928,697	46.5
2007	4,482,568	9.94	2,375,783	53.0	2,106,785	47.0

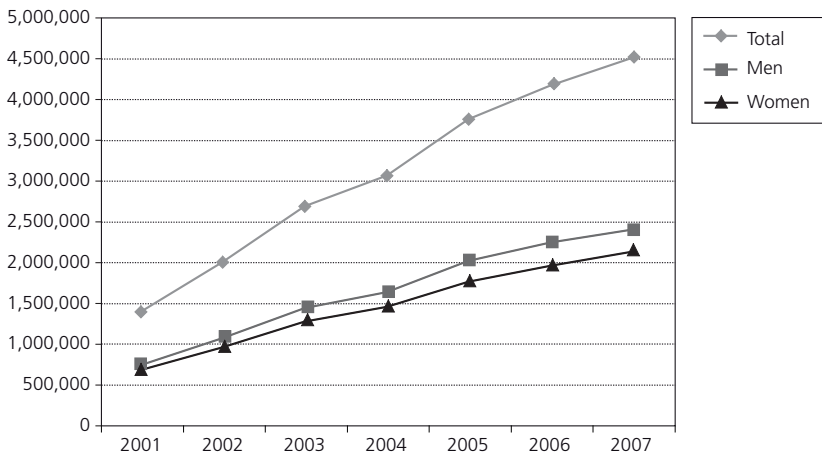*Source:* National institute of Statistics. Data from 1 January

The majority of this foreign population are men (53%), a trend that is seen throughout the period considered, although women have maintained their relative proportion during this period, thus forming a significant presence, which comes to approximately 47% of the total migratory stock in the country.

As regards the origin of the foreign population resident in Spain, a constant growth in the presence of people coming from four of the five continents is seen in the first place from the beginning of the century (Asia experiences a slight reduction during the last year considered, that is to say, 2006) (Table 2 and Figure 3). However, without a doubt, the most intense growth has been seen in the population coming from the Americas—more specifically from Latin America—which during the course of these six years has increased its presence by 256%, comprising at present 35% of the foreign population resident in Spain. Natives of other European countries, however, still head this ranking by continents, with 42% of the total of foreign population, since their growth throughout the period considered has been only slightly below (254%) that experienced by the American popula-

tion. On this point we can emphasize, in addition, the greater weight of people coming from EU countries compared with other European countries, as a result of the different processes of EU enlargement[2], and especially the recent incorporation of Bulgaria and Rumania. Rumanians are the second nationality in the ranking of foreign populations resident in Spain, surpassed only by Moroccans.

Figure 2

Development of the foreign population, total and by sex.
Spain. Years 2001-2007

Source: National Institute of Statistics

Natives of African countries are in third place in the ranking by continents during the period considered (2001-2007), with a growth over the period of 151%, although their relative weight has fallen from 23% in 2001 to 18% at the beginning of 2007 due to the more intense increase in numbers of European or American natives. On the other hand, in spite of the increase and diversification of origins seen in the African population resident in Spain ,we can point out that practically eight out of ten people arriving from Africa are of North African origin. The Asian population, on the other hand, during this period has practically tripled its presence in Spanish territory, although it still occupies the last place in this ranking, since its development is less intense than that of other groups considered.

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[2] Remember that during the period 2001-2003 we are considering a European Union consisting of 15 countries, extended to 25 as of 2004 and 27 from 1 January 2007.

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Table 2
Areas of origin of foreign population resident in Spain.
Years 2001-2006

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Europe	533.405	701.063	936.271	1.047.206	1.352.253	1.609.856	1.887.920
European Union	(15)	(15)	(15)	(25)	(25)	(25)	(27)
	417.311	489.814	587.686	636.037	774.953	918.886	1.702.613
Europe Rest	116.094	211.249	348.585	411.169	577.300	690.970	185.307
America	442.888	752.563	1.073.527	1.262.419	1.474.493	1.528.077	1.577.478
North America	26.764	32.351	41.398	42.726	51.619	51.149	45.075
Central and South America	416.124	720.212	1.032.129	1.219.693	1.422.874	1.476.928	1.532.403
Africa	317.242	423.045	522.682	579.372	713.974	785.279	797.592
North Africa	256.552	343.250	424.160	469.500	571.250	624.088	634.804
Sub-Saharan Africa	60.690	79.795	98.522	109.872	142.724	161.191	162.788
Asia	75.141	98.942	128.952	142.828	186.848	217.918	216.769
Oceania-Stateless	1.981	2.333	2.736	2.501	3.042	3.036	2.809
Total	1.370.657	1.977.946	2.664.168	3.034.326	3.730.610	4.144.166	4.482.568

Source: National Institute of Statistics. Data from 1 January

Figure 3

Development of the main areas of origin of the foreign population
resident in Spain. Years 2001-2007
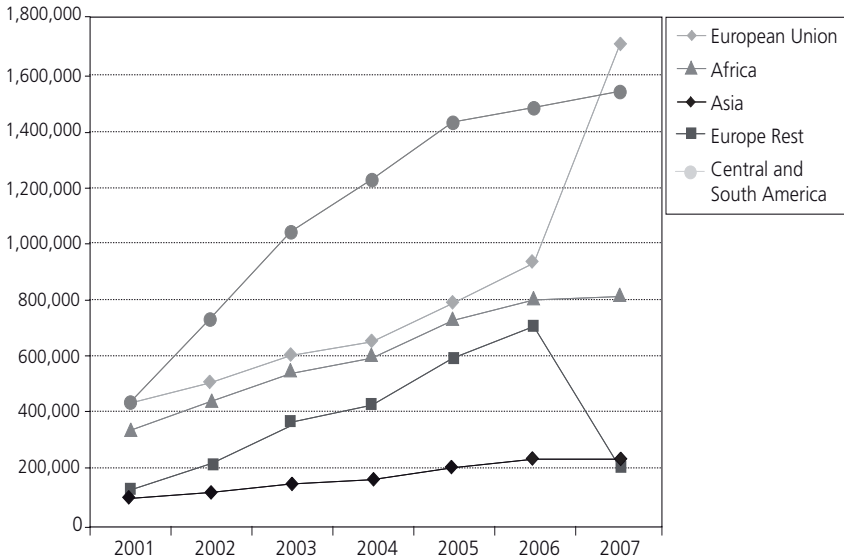
Source: National Institute of Statistics. Data from 1 January

The remarkable increase in immigration has had an impact on the
opinions and attitudes of the Spanish population to the migratory
phenomenon. Whereas in the 1990s citizens were not aware that
immigration could be a problem for the country, in the 21st century
attitudes have been changing. The surveys show that, little by little,
the proportion of people that consider that immigration is the main
problem that Spain faces has been increasing (Figure 4). The barom-
eter of opinion of January 2003 made by the Sociological Research
Center indicated that one in ten of the population considered immi-
gration as a problem, whereas in January 2007 more than three out
of ten of the population considered this to be the case. This attitude
does not mean, however, that the same population sees immigra-
tion as a problem that affects them personally. In the barometer of
January of 2007, the percentage falls from 34.5% of the population
that indicate that immigration is the principal problem facing Spain

to 11.5% of the population who indicate that the problem affects them personally.

Figure 4

Spanish population that considers immigration as the main problem that exists at the moment in Spain. January 2001- January 2007. As a percentage
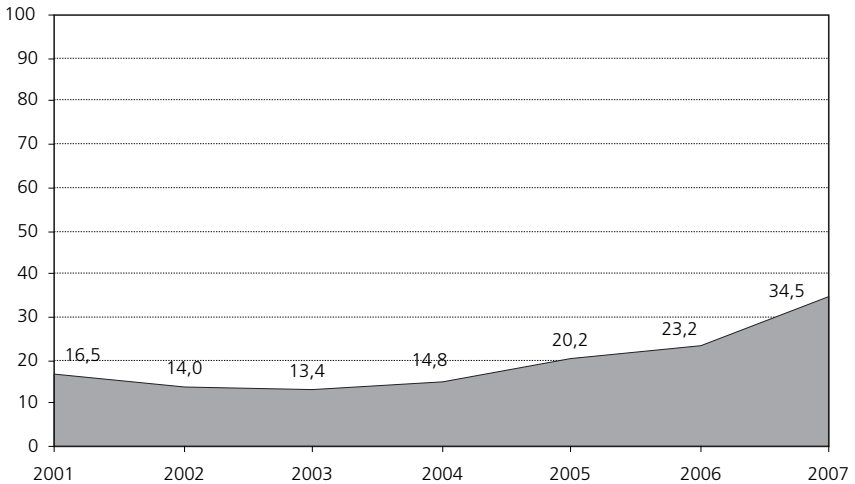
Source: Sociological research center. Barometer

What these data show is the existence of a change of attitudes and perception of immigration at a general level, but which is not correlated with daily interactions in the life of the citizens. For this reason, it could be questioned whether these values will in the end be reflected in the existence of mixed marriages between natives and immigrants and in their increase or decrease in recent years, or whether it is a fact independent of the increase in immigration in general and the values and attitudes towards it.

2. **Mixed marriages, from attitudes to behaviors**

In this section we will present, in the first place, the characteristics of the existing marriage system in Spanish legislation; secondly we will focus on the development and main characteristics of mixed marriages, and finally we will analyze the attitudes of the native and immigrant

population to the fact that a descendant chooses to form a mixed marriage with a person of another nationality.

2.1. *Spanish legislation on marriage*

Spanish legislation gives diverse authorities the power to officiate in the ceremony of matrimony. Thus, civil marriage can be contracted before the competent authorities (judges, diplomatic or consular civil servants, mayors or people designated by them), and also religious marriage within the auspices of the authorities of the Catholic church and—thanks to the Cooperation Agreements signed by Spain with other denominations established in this country—including the Muslim, Jewish or evangelical religious authorities. These marriages will be legally recognized in Spain when they fulfill the requirements of Spanish law, and they can take place between foreigners of certain religious States with no need for them to go to their place of origin to be recognized, because the marriage is authorised by the religious authority that is competent according to the law of their country of origin (Orejudo, 2002: 325).

Contracting matrimony involves obtaining, first of all, the authorization of the competent civil authorities, and then carrying out giving of consent before a competent civil or religious authority and in the presence of two witnesses. Since in this article we are planning to focus solely on marriage between a Spaniard and a foreigner, we must emphasize that in connection with this point the authorities in question require the demonstration of a true "marriage for love", to avoid the so-called "marriages for papers" or "marriages of convenience".

On the other hand, in religious marriages the giving of consent will be done according to the rites of each denomination, which implies that, in addition to the conditions imposed by Spanish law, additional requirements may be demanded, according to the provisions of their denominational law. In this sense we can emphasize, for example, that Islamic law forbids the marriage of Muslim women with men of another religious denomination (not so in the case of Muslim men), as does Jewish law for women of this denomination who want to marry non-Jewish men. This is not true in the case of evangelical marriages, since evangelical churches do not have their own marriage law.

2.2. *Development and characteristics of mixed marriages*

During 2006, the number of marriages registered between a Spanish and a foreign spouse reached 24,412—that is 11.5% of the

total marriages registered in the country during that year—following the rising tendency noted in the period considered, the years 2001-2006. Of these, 61% were marriages between a Spanish man and a foreign woman[3], whereas the remaining 39% took place between a Spanish woman and a foreign man[4]. This is, also, a trend that is seen throughout this period, and which is even slightly intensified, since the number of marriages between Spanish men and foreign women has grown more (127%) that those between Spanish women and foreign men (84%).

Table 3

Marriages of Spaniards with a spouse of foreign nationality, by year. Spain, 2001-2006

Year	Total mixed marriages	Spanish woman with foreign man	% of all mixed marriages	Spanish man with foreign woman	% of all mixed marriages
2001	11,754	5,237	44.6	6,517	55.4
2002	14,368	6,039	42.0	8,329	58.0
2003	19,088	7,739	40.5	11,349	59.5
2004	22,648	9,074	40.1	13,574	59.9
2005	22,402	8,730	39.0	13,672	61.0
2006	24,412	9,619	39.4	14,793	60.6

Source: National Institute of Statistics. Several years. Data from 31 December.

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[3] Foreign women represent, however, a lower percentage than that of men in the registered migratory stock in Spain, although by a small margin (47% of women as opposed to 53% of men).

[4] Since the year 2005 the celebration of marriages between homosexual couples in Spain has been possible, as regulated in law 13/2005 of 1 July, which took effect on 3 July of this year. Thus, in 2006, 1,144 marriages of this type between a Spanish partner and a foreigner were registered (that is, 4.5% of the total), corresponding in this case to 932 marriages between a Spanish man and a foreign man, and another 212 marriages between a Spanish woman and a foreign woman. Given the recent nature of this law—which prevents us from making comparisons with previous years—and since probably during the first months of its taking effect its impact will be especially notable—since this type of union was previously not allowed—we considered it more opportune to leave this type of marriage out, although they will have to be considered in future.

Figure 5

Development of mixed marriages by year
Spain, 2001-2006
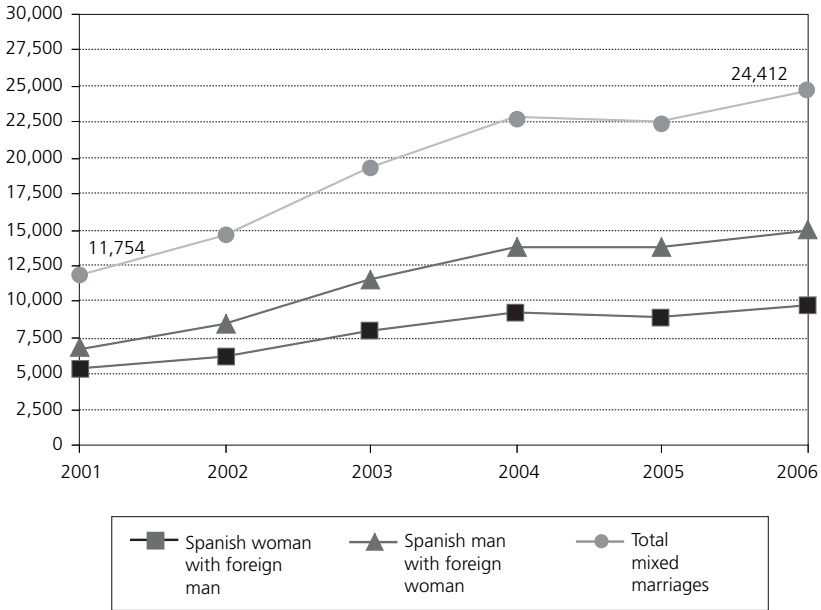
Source: National Institute of Statistics. Several years. Data from 31 December

It is possible to make a comparison between the proportion of foreign people in the whole of the population and the proportion of mixed marriages out of all marriages taking place in Spain (Figure 6) to see the trends that occur and whether a relationship exists. Throughout the period between 2001 and 2006 we note that the two curves follow the same rising trend. Nevertheless, the proportion of mixed marriages among the total number of marriages taking place annually in Spain is slightly higher than the proportion of foreigners in the population. That is to say, mixed marriages are relatively more frequent than the presence of foreigners in the country would indicate. Another aspect of the importance of mixed couples that can be seen is that while mixed marriages are growing as a proportion of all marriages, the rate of marriage in Spain is falling; while in 2001 the gross rate of marriage was 4.97, by the end of 2006 it had been slightly reduced, to a rate of 4.69 marriages per 1,000 inhabitants.

Figure 6

Foreign population with respect to the total population, mixed marriages with respect to all marriages taking place annually (as a percentage) and gross marriage rate (per 1000 inhabitants). Spain, 2001-2006.
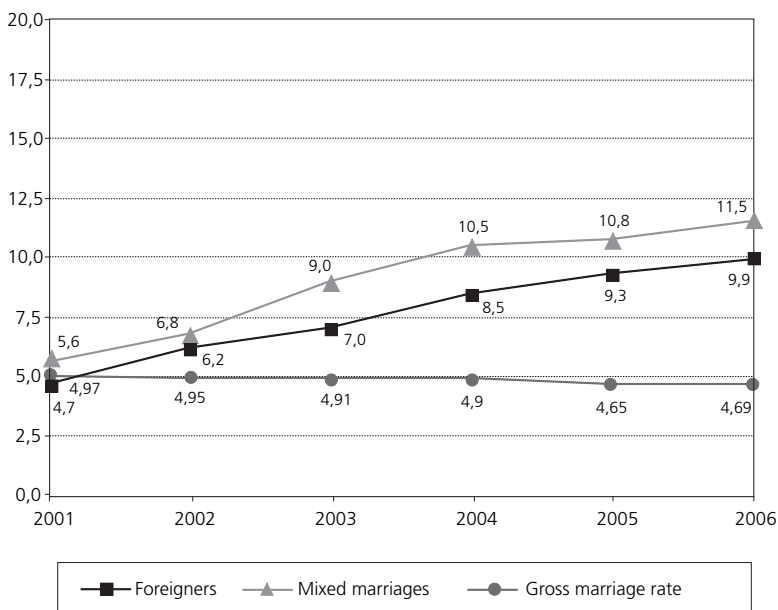
Source: National Institute of Statistics. Several years. Data from 31 December

2.3. *Attitudes of the population to mixed marriage*

In order to evaluate how the Spanish population feel about the reality of mixed marriages, we can look at opinion surveys that have been undertaken in Spain in which people are asked if it would matter to them if a close relative were to marry a foreign spouse, of the same or a different race. The answers suggest that a great majority would accept the situation without being concerned about this aspect (Table 4), although a higher percentage would more easily accept people of the same race or ethnic group (67.5% to whom it would not matter at all or very little) that of another race or ethnic group (56.4% to whom it would not matter at all or very little). But, at the same time, there is a group of 12% who do not wish at all for a relative to marry someone from of another country with similar

physical characteristics, a number that rises to 21% when the foreign partner is of a different race or ethnic group. Therefore, six out of ten people accept mixed couples, whether of the same or different race, but one in five is very concerned if a relative decides to enter into a marriage of this type.

Table 4

Opinion of the native population on marriage with a foreigner, depending on whether they are of the same or different ethnic group or race. Spain, 2005. As percentages

Thinking about people who have come to Spain from another country and who are of a. the same race or ethnic group as most Spaniards b. a different race or ethnic group to most Spaniards to what extent it would matter to you if they were to marry a close relative?		
	Percentage	
	a. Same race or ethnic group	b. Different race or ethnic group
It would not matter at all (0)	54.2	44.7
1 to 3	13.3	11.7
4 to 6	13.7	15.1
7 to 9	6.4	11.3
It would matter a great deal (10)	6.0	9.9
Don't know/ No answer	6.4	7.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Sociological Research Centre. Barometer of opinion. 15 November 2005[5]

This fairly generalized openness of Spanish citizens corresponds with the attitudes of the immigrant population faced with the same situation, that is to say, the fact that a close relative, son or daughter, falls in love with a Spaniard. In general, we found that more than six in ten immigrants would accept their relative doing what they wanted, that is to say, that if they fell in love and decided to marry, they would not stand in their way (Table 5). This position is maintained through time, with a slight percentage reduction between 2000 and 2004.

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[5] Barometer n. 2625. Sample: 2485. Spain. Spanish population, men and women, with 18 years and more.

Also, as in the case of the Spanish population, among immigrants there are those who do not want romantic relationships between their descendants and Spanish people: between 11% and 16%, depending on whether it is a son or a daughter, who would not accept this type of relationship, prohibiting them or advising them not to go ahead with the commitment.

Table 5

What would immigrants do if a daughter or son fell in love with a Spaniard. Spain. 2000-2004. As percentages

	Daughter				Son			
	2000	2001	2002	2004	2000	2001	2002	2004
Total N	765	759	771	753	765	759	771	753
Let them do what they wanted	73	66	67	60	76	69	72	65
Suggest they consider their cultural differences before going ahead	7	12	15	18	8	11	13	19
Suggest they consider their cultural differences before going ahead	1	3	3	5	2	3	3	3
Advise against going ahead	3	3	4	7	3	4	4	5
Prohibit going ahead	9	6	4	4	4	4	2	3
Don't know/no answer	7	9	7	5	7	9	6	4

Source: Diez Nicolás, J. (2005) *The two faces of immigration*, p. 130.

In this section we have noted the continued growth of mixed marriages, with rates above those experienced by the foreign population in the country and considerably above the national marriage rate, which shows the numerical importance that the stock of mixed marriages is gaining, a stock for which we will not have data until the next population census takes place in 2011. Also the generalized openness among both the native population and the immigrant population towards the formation of mixed couples has been shown, without forgetting that there are certain minority groups, in both populations, that are very much against mixed marriage. Next we are going to study mixed marriages in more depth, looking at the variables of sex and origin, to see if we can establish certain direct relations with the official consolidation of mixed couples.

3. **Gender and nationality, the influence of two variables on the consolidation of mixed couples**

After examining the development of mixed marriages that has taken place during recent years in Spain, as well as the opinions of the native and foreign population to mixed marriages in their own family, we are going to focus next on the main places of origin of foreign partners who have married Spaniards in the last six years.

3.1. *Areas of origin, nationalities and marriages*

In marriages between a native and a foreign spouse, it is important to know the origin of the foreigner, to see whether there are comparative preferences as a function of nationality when choosing a partner. Table 6 shows that the percentage of marriages in which one spouse is Asian or African maintains relatively stable throughout the six years considered (2001-2006). The most remarkable changes are in the proportion of marriages of Spaniards with Europeans and Americans. While among the mixed weddings that took place in Spain in 2001, 45% included one spouse who was a native of the American continent—especially of Latin America—in 2006, mixed marriages with a (North, South or Central) American spouse represented 53% of the total. The number of marriages registered with European spouses is also increasing (going from 4,515 in 2001 to 7,489 in 2006), although their relative weight is diminishing, going from 38% of mixed marriages in 2001 to 30.7% in 2006, due precisely to the greater increase in the population from the American continent which, as can be seen in Figure 7, have gone in this six-year period from just over 5,000 mixed marriages in 2001 to almost 13,000 in 2006.

Table 6

Mixed marriages taking place annually. Totals and percentage by continent of origin of the foreign spouse. Spain, 2001-2006

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Total	11,754	14,368	19,088	22,648	22,402	24,412
Europe	38.4%	34.6%	31.1%	30.2%	31.2%	30.7%
America	45.0%	50.5%	53.7%	53.9%	52.7%	53.0%
Africa	13.5%	12.1%	12.7%	13.2%	13.2%	13.1%
Asia	2.8%	2.3%	2.3%	2.5%	2.7%	3.0%
Rest	0.3%	0.5%	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%

Source: National Institute of Statistics. Several years. Data from 31 December

Figure 7

Development of the number of mixed marriages taking place annually,
according to continent of origin of the foreign spouse. Spain, 2001-2006
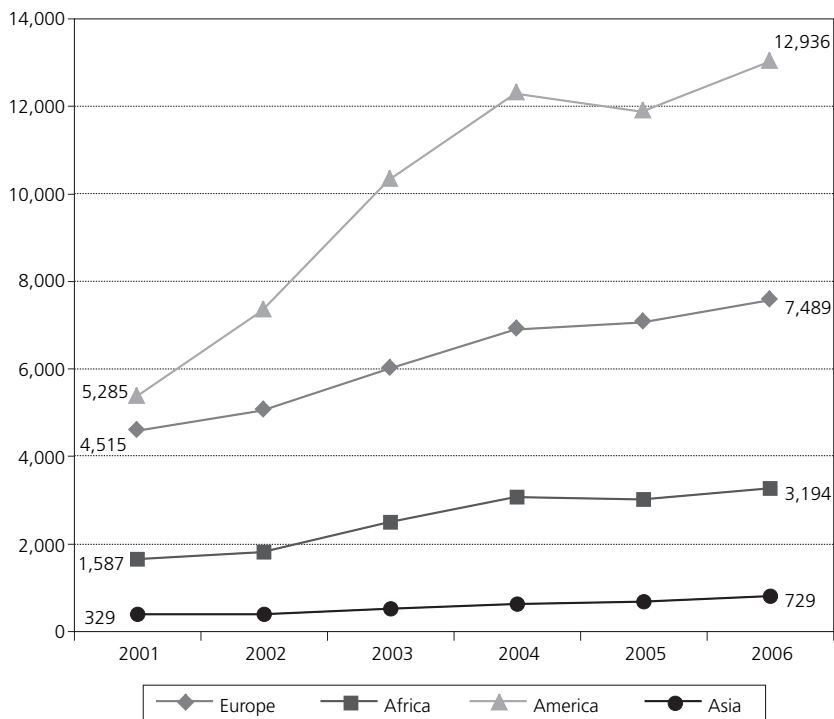
Source: Statistical Yearbook of Immigration. Several years. Data from 31 December

Given the results seen above it is not surprising that it is an American nation—Colombia—that heads the ranking of foreign marriages with a Spanish partner[6]; this fact is maintained throughout the time period considered. Perhaps more notable is its position with respect to other nationalities in mixed marriages, since Colombia is in fifth place in the stock of foreign residents in Spain. Following Colombia in the ranking of mixed marriages are other major Latin American nations, such as Argen-

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[6] However, the stock of the first ten nationalities of foreign population resident in Spain, prior to 31 December 2006, according to data of the INE, was led by Morocco, followed by Rumania, Ecuador, United Kingdom, Colombia, Bolivia, Germany, Argentina, Italy and Bulgaria

tina, Ecuador and Brazil. Within the African continent, Moroccan partners are clearly the first choice for mixed marriages with Spanish spouses, in second or third position of the overall ranking from 2001 to 2006, which is not surprising if we consider that this nationality has been leading the ranking for foreign population in Spain throughout the last decade.

The main European nationalities present in the mixed marriages taking place in Spain are EU member states, among them British, German, French and Italian. However, throughout this period we see that their relative proportion is descending, so that as the years go by there are less and less of them among the ten first places, while another non-EU European nation—Russia—is becoming more important.

Table 7

Main nationalities of foreign spouses married with Spaniards. Spain, 2001-2006

| 2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Colombia (1,564)	Colombia (2,374)	Colombia (3,419)	Colombia (3,799)	Colombia (2,645)	Colombia (2,252)
Morocco (971)	Argentina (1,025)	Morocco (1,546)	Morocco (1,840)	Ecuador (1,666)	Brazil (1,978)
UK (603)	Morocco (1,022)	Argentina (1,480)	Argentina (1,538)	Morocco (1,663)	Morocco (1,893)
France (563)	Ecuador (599)	Ecuador (998)	Ecuador (1,481)	Argentina (1,411)	Argentina (1,439)
Argentina (523)	Brazil (582)	Brazil (820)	Brazil (1,015)	Brazil (1,310)	Ecuador (1,355)
Brazil (516)	UK (582)	Cuba (644)	Ecuador (851)	Venezuela (823)	Venezuela (975)
Germany (508)	France (553)	Russia (578)	Russia (730)	Russia (769)	Russia (865)
Cuba (491)	Germany (548)	France (575)	UK (702)	France (603)	Cuba (823)
Ecuador (490)	Cuba (506)	UK (572)	Cuba (671)	Nigeria (601)	Dominican R. (746)
Italy (470)	Italy (452)	Ecuador (532)	Venezuela (659)	Italy (581)	UK (670)

However, since in the choice of a foreign partner the variable of gender can play a part, we will now examine in more detail the principal origins of foreigners that have married a Spanish spouse in recent years.

3.2. *Sex and nationality*

As seen in Figure 8, women and men show remarkably dissimilar preferences as regards origin when it comes to choosing a spouse. Thus, in 2006, most Spanish men who married foreigners did so with a woman from the American continent (62%): a choice shared, on the other hand, by only four in ten Spanish women who married a foreigner during that year. The choice of an African partner—mainly North African—when undertaking a mixed marriage is, however, clearly higher among Spanish women than men, as shown by the relative weight of this type of marriage (22% for women and 7% for men). The relative proportions in mixed marriages in which one spouse is Spanish and the other European is much closer (33% of Spanish women and 29% of Spanish men who contracted marriage with a foreign partner in 2006), as with the mixed marriages in which one of the spouses is of Asian origin, which are, in any case, very few in number (4% in the case of Spanish women married with a foreigner and 2% in the case of Spanish men).

Figure 8

Main areas of origin of foreigners married with a Spanish spouse, by sex.
Year 2006
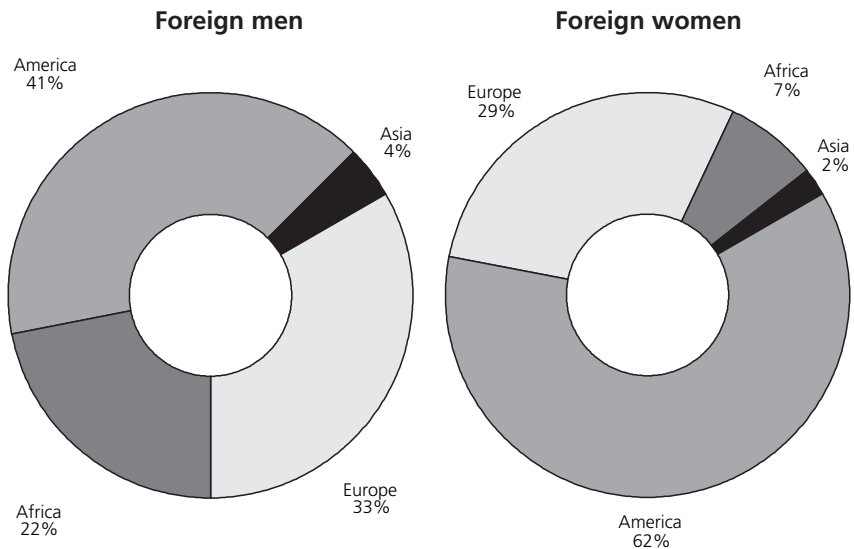
Source: National institute of Statistics

If we analyze this question in greater detail, focussing now on the sex of the Spanish spouse and the nationality of the foreign person whom they have married, some characteristics worth mentioning are observed. Thus, in first place we can emphasize the clear predominance, as we have previously indicated, of mixed marriages in which the spouses are a Spanish man and a Latin American woman[7], and more specifically, with Colombian, Argentine, Brazilian or Ecuadorian woman. Among the African nations, again it is Morocco that contributes most women to this type of mixed unions, which may be surprising at first sight given the Islamic prohibition against women marrying a non-Muslim (and few Spaniards are Muslims) and the results of the studies of opinions and attitudes previously mentioned. However, on this point it may be necessary on the one hand to consider that not all Moroccan women follow the rules of Islam and, perhaps more importantly, than the number of nationalized Spanish of north African origin (who are therefore entered in these statistics as Spaniards) is already large and increasing, which is one reason why this result needs to be subjected to an analysis in greater depth.

On the other hand, among European nations, of the one-third of mixed marriages in which the woman is European, Russia is in first place. Despite the fact that this nationality is not among the main nations in the stock of foreign women resident in Spain, compared with other European nations like Britain, Germany, Bulgaria or Italy.

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[7] Note that the numbers of foreign women resident in Spain as of 31 December 2006 give as the first ten countries of origin the following: Rumania, Morocco, United Kingdom, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Germany, Argentina, Bulgaria and Italy.

Table 8

Main nationalities of foreign spouses married with Spaniards, by sex.
Spain, 2001-2006

Nationalities of FOREIGN WOMEN who have married SPANISH MEN					
2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Colombia (1,374)	Colombia (2,056)	Colombia (2,797)	Colombia (3,040)	Colombia (2,056)	Colombia (1,725)
Argentina (273)	Argentina (545)	Argentina (833)	Ecuador (1,094)	Ecuador (1,291)	Brazil (1,708)
Brazil (460)	Brazil (521)	Ecuador (770)	Brazil (897)	Brazil (1,169)	Ecuador (1,013)
Ecuador (380)	Ecuador (479)	Brazil (705)	Argentina (797)	Argentina (776)	Russia (842)
Morocco (450)	Morocco (442)	Morocco (652)	Morocco (742)	Russia (725)	Argentina (760)
Russia (271)	Russia (388)	Russia (552)	Russia (689)	Morocco (621)	Morocco (731)
Cuba (278)	Cuba (268)	Cuba (324)	Venezuela (464)	Venezuela (576)	Venezuela (652)
Dominican R. (177)	Dominican R. (211)	Dominican R. (307)	Dominican R. (423)	Dominican R. (401)	Dominican R. (472)
Germany (167)	Ukraine (192)	Venezuela (304)	Ukraine (355)	Ukraine (306)	Cuba (454)
UK (159)	France (192)	Ukraine (300)	Cuba (332)	Bolivia (279)	Bolivia (346)
Nationalities of FOREIGN MEN who have married SPANISH WOMEN					
2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Morocco (521)	Morocco (580)	Morocco (894)	Morocco (1,098)	Morocco (1,042)	Morocco (1,162)
UK (444)	Argentina (480)	Argentina (647)	Colombia (759)	Argentina (635)	Argentina (679)
Italy (388)	UK (409)	Colombia (622)	Argentina (741)	Colombia (589)	Colombia (527)
France (374)	Italy (386)	UK (486)	UK (518)	Italy (466)	UK (471)

2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Germany (341)	Germany (362)	Italy (435)	Rumania (424)	UK (414)	Italy (441)
Argentina (250)	France (361)	France (403)	Ecuador (387)	Rumania (398)	Rumania (440)
Portugal (215)	Colombia (318)	Cuba (320)	Italy (385)	Ecuador (375)	Nigeria (388)
Cuba (213)	Cuba (238)	Rumania (316)	Germany (369)	Nigeria (373)	Cuba (369)
USA (203)	USA (218)	Germany (312)	France (347)	France (372)	Germany (367)
Rumania (193)	Portugal (202)	Nigeria (229)	Cuba (339)	Germany (336)	France (356)

Mixed marriages by Spanish women with foreign men, present different characteristics from those previously highlighted, if we consider the nationality of the latter. In this type of marriage, the most frequent union during the period considered (2001-2006) is of a Spanish woman with a Moroccan man[8] (which, in this case, does not require that the woman be Muslim, according to the rules of Islam). The most frequent mixed marriages in this case remain, however, those between a Spanish woman and a Latin American man, mainly of Argentine or Colombian origin. On the other hand, there is a greater proportion among Spanish women than men of marriage with partners from the European community, especially with British, Italian, German or French men, as well as with men from Rumania who, as we remember, in the period considered—2001 to 2006—were still not included among EU citizens, although they will be considered as such from 1 January 2007. To conclude, to emphasize solely that among the main nationalities of foreign men who have married Spanish women during recent years there is another of African origin: Nigerians, who during recent years seem to be climbing in this ranking.

Sex is, on the other hand, a variable that influences attitudes among both the native and foreign population when evaluating the fact that

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[8] Note that on this occasion the numbers of foreign men resident in Spain as of 31 December 2006 give as the first ten countries of origin the following: Morocco, Rumania, Ecuador, United Kingdom, Colombia, Bolivia, Germany, Italy, Argentina, Bulgaria.

it is a son or a daughter who is going to marry someone of a different origin and nationality. Thus, among Spaniards who would prohibit their daughter from having a romantic relationship with a foreigner (Table 9), this prohibition is more frequent if the spouse is African (Moroccans, 20% and sub-Saharans, 19%) than if he is from Latin America or Eastern Europe (16 and 15% respectively.)

Table 9

Spaniards who would prohibit or advise against the romantic relationship of a daughter with: Spain. 2000-2003. As percentages

Areas of origin	2000	2001	2002	2003
North African	16	19	23	20
Black African	16	20	22	19
Eastern European	11	12	14	16
South American	12	13	16	15

Source: Diez Nicolás, J. (2005) *Las dos caras de la inmigración*, p. 197.

When the immigrant population is asked if they would accept or prohibit their daughter or son from forming a couple with a Spaniard, the answers given are different according to the region of origin of those who respond (Table 10). It is most common to be more severe in accepting that a daughter falls in love with a Spaniard than it is in the case of a son. Mainly it is more frequent to let sons do what they will in the case of love than to intervene or prohibit, but is true that people from Latin America and Eastern European accept mixed couples better. People from black Africa are in an intermediate position in accepting mixed partnerships. However, the Asian and North African population (fundamentally Moroccan) resident in Spain have a reticent attitude to mixed couples, especially if it is the daughter who falls in love with a Spaniard.

Table 10

What would immigrants do if a daughter or a son fell in love with a Spaniard,
by region of origin. Spain. 2000-2004. As horizontal percentages

2000-2004	Total n	1	2	3	4	5	NS/NC
IF A DAUGHTER FALLS IN LOVE WITH A SPANIARD							
Total sample	3048	67	13	3	4	6	7
Country of birth:							
Latin American	1076	86	7	2	1	1	3
Eastern European	197	83	9	-	2	1	7
Black African	443	72	11	3	4	4	6
Asian	288	55	18	2	6	7	12
North African	977	43	21	5	9	12	10
IF A SON FALLS IN LOVE WITH A SPANIARD							
Total sample	3048	71	13	3	4	3	7
Country of birth:							
Latin American	1076	87	7	1	1	1	3
Eastern European	197	86	6	-	1	-	7
Black African	443	75	9	4	4	2	6
Asian	288	58	17	3	5	6	11
North African	977	51	21	4	8	6	10

Source: Prepared by the authors based on Diez Nicolás, J. (2005) *Las dos caras de la
inmigración*, p. 136.

1. Would let them do what they wanted
2. Would suggest they consider their cultural differences before go-
   ing ahead
3. Would suggest they consider the reaction of friends and relatives
   before going ahead
4. Would advise against going ahead
5. Would prohibit them from going ahead

We have noted in this section that native men and women do not
have the same behavior in relation to mixed marriages. It is more fre-
quent to find Spanish men marrying foreigners than Spanish women
doing so, although foreign males are a more numerous group. In addi-
tion, women do not marry foreign men of the same origin as the foreign

spouses of Spanish men. On the other hand, the attitudes of the population—both Spanish and immigrant—towards mixed couples are not the same for all types of ethnic groups and cultures. Latin Americans and Europeans—from the UE (EU?) and Eastern Europe—are more valued as partners than Africans and Asians.

Conclusions

At the present time, the number of mixed marriages in Spain is increasing, following the lead of the migratory flows and stocks in this country. However, this is a situation about which little has been known until recently, despite the fact that interest in the subject has increased during recent years, as can be seen in in the different academic contributions that have appeared. In this line, the different official statistics are permitting a greater understanding of the patterns of mixed marriages, allowing analysis since the Nineties of their development in absolute and relative numbers, or the knowledge of the main areas of origin and the nationalities of the foreign spouses that constitute them, as we have analyzed in the present article.

However, these statistics present important limitations when examining this situation. For example, sometimes it is difficult to analyse the time series of some variables or they do not allow us to find out the number and characteristics of marriages between a Spanish spouse and another who, while born abroad, has been able to obtain Spanish nationality. This fact is especially relevant if we consider that the Latin American population—the main protagonist of this type of marriage—needs a mere two years of residence in Spain to obtain Spanish nationality; whereas other population groups—like Moroccans—can require up to ten years to obtain it—a period that can be shortened if they marry a Spanish partner. In fact, there are already 881,747 people who, having been born abroad, have Spanish nationality so that, if they married, they would be outside the statistics of mixed marriages, unless they did so with another, non-nationalized, foreigner. This is indeed the situation shared by 382,442 people born in the Americas and 92,954 born in Morocco, and who at present enjoy Spanish nationality. To make the behavior of this immigrant population group visible would contribute greatly to knowing and explaining the situation which we have talked about in previous pages.

But this is not the only limitation of the statistical sources. In order to examine this phenomenon in greater depth, it would be of great interest to be able to have other variables, such as the time of residence

in Spain of the foreign spouse, the educational or socioeconomic level of both spouses, their ages, their previous civil status or the type of wedding—civil or religious; this last variable has already begun to be included recently in the statistical registries, but only in total numbers, without breakdowns.

Opinion surveys, on the other hand, also present difficulties when successfully obtaining the attitudes of the population to mixed marriages. Thus, we found interrupted time series, which make following the development of the phenomenon impossible. In other cases, in which a single organisation has made studies at different times on immigration topics, we find changes in the statement of the questions that prevent comparisons. On the other hand, surveys focussed on the mixed marriages have still not been made, and qualitative studies that take this population as a central object of study are about to be developed.

All this having been said, this article constitutes a first contribution to the reflection on the relations between the Spanish population and the different cultural and ethnic groups of foreign nationality resident in Spain. We have stated that mixed marriages are becoming an increasingly more important reality in Spain. The number of this couples in this country is experiencing a constant growth and it is foreseeable that this tendency will continue in years to come, with an even higher percentage that that implied by the volume of the immigrant population. In addition, these behaviors seem to be supported to be supported by permissive attitudes towards the choice of a partner outside the group to which the individual belongs, shown by both the native population and the population of foreigners resident in Spain.

These situations make us think that mixed marriages constitute an important route that facilitates the opening of spaces of integration in society. This does not mean that we cannot recognize that a group of population still exists that is against this type of marriage and that, therefore, does not show an attitude of openness towards the establishment and development of interethnic relations.

Of the results obtained we can highlight some points with relation to the volume of immigrant population. This variable does not seem by itself to explain the behavior of mixed marriages, since the nationalities present in the stock of foreign population are not always those that most frequently marry a Spanish spouse. This is the case of the Rumanian and Bulgarian nationalities—among the countries of Eastern europe—or Bolivians—among Latin Americans. On the contrary, countries less well represented in the stock of foreigners like Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Venezuela and Brazil—among Latin Americans—and Russia—between Eastern Europeans—carry more weight in mixed marriages.

Faced with these results one might ask oneself if other explanatory variables for this phenomenon do not exist such as the prevalence of males or females within each group or the longevity of the migratory flows. In this sense the data reveal that Spanish women marry Moroccan men more frequently, and Spanish men with Colombian women and those from other Latin American countries. In both cases, the results seems to point in this direction since Moroccans are among the groups of foreigners present in Spain that are most male-biased, and the the aforementioned Latin American nationalities are among the most female-biased. In relation to the longevity of the migratory flows, the analysis reflects that people coming from countries like Rumania, Bolivia and Bulgaria, whose volume is among the top ten in Spain, although of recent arrival, have little representation in mixed marriages.

After the development of this study it seems opportune, likewise, to approach other topics that should be the object of future research. It would, for example, be valuable to look for an explanation of the high prevalence of marriages between Spanish men and Russian women, who are still a relatively small ethnic group residing in Spain. It would also be interesting to consider the development of mixed marriages in order to see their impact on social integration, as well as the long-term outcome and duration of this type of marriage, with the intention of knowing more about the relationship between spouses, their characteristics, the presence of children, without forgetting the analysis of patterns of divorce.

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Part II

Transitions and Transformations in Education: Celebrating Diversity and Promoting Intercultural Competence

Intercultural Competence and Teacher Training.
An Analysis of Educational Plans

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The society of information and knowledge, technology and the processes of globalisation, have made migratory movements and dialogue between cultures part of our daily life. Day-to-day coexistence between people of diverse origins makes it impossible to become distanced from the phenomenon of diversity. This situation requires new competences to be able to relate with others and resolve the conflicts derived from coexistence itself. These abilities become especially important when we act as hosts to people of immigrant origin or if we travel outside our own nation for professional, touristic or cultural reasons. The main reason is that the capacity to carry on effective relations with neighbours,

friends, or colleagues from different cultures depends to a great extent on the ability to handle the differences in a positive way, whether these are of cultural, racial, religious or ethnic nature (Centre of Intercultural Competence, 2003; Fantini, 2000).

Intercultural competence has become a factor of success, also, in the world of business. Workers and executives, especially when they are working in other countries, need to know how to work in a variety of environments, to communicate in different languages, to understand different cultural contexts. The rates of failure in international business, nonetheless, are very high. It is thought that 50% of foreign companies' projects fail and 55% of the workers allude to cultural factors as the main reason (MacDonald and Lapierre, 2006). This situation is translated into great economic losses, a question of great importance in the business environment, which reaches the personal and social sphere. For this reason, being prepared, personally and professionally, for this dimension is becoming an essential part of one's curriculum vitae.

In countries with an increasing level of cultural diversity, knowing how to handle differences is fundamental to creating positive relations. So, intercultural competence is considered an essential tool to suitably approach the relations between different cultures. The institutions and personnel who work in its different areas (health, social services, education) must be adapted to make a suitable response and the training plans usually incorporate aspects of sensitisation, knowledge and the ability to work in intercultural surroundings. All of these constitute elements of so-called intercultural competence.

In the educational area, the incorporation of pupils of foreign origin requires the transformation of the educational space, to allow an appropriate response. In this case, the discourse is centred on so-called intercultural education, as a critical and inclusive approach to diversity based on equity and social justice (De Haro, 2003). To achieve this a change of mentality is necessary, a different vision, based on the alterity that begins with the recognition of one's own cultural aspects.

When analysing this reality in depth, one can verify that the recent development of the migratory phenomenon has not given the educational institutions sufficient time to give a definite answer. Faced with this situation, the teaching staff faces the challenge of including diverse pupils, and this requires suitable training to adapt to the different situations (Soriano, 1999). The different administrations have looked for solutions and offer courses of permanent training for active teaching staff, as well as including some subjects in the university curriculum.

This aim of this article is to present the results of a research study on the presence of topics related to intercultural competence in the training

plans offered, especially, in the CAPV and the proposal for educational reform of the Ministry. This contribution begins with a section reflecting on the education and integration of immigrant pupils from the perspective of equity. From this context, the training of teaching staff and educational personnel is consolidated as one of the fundamental strategies for developing intercultural projects. Next, the very concept of intercultural competence in relation to the principal educational tasks is analysed. The third section presents the results of the aforementioned study.

The justification of this study is based on the consideration that these projects constitute a referent of the training of teaching staff. We have not considered the analysis of the programmes, the training in *berritzegunes* (educational support services), nor the experience of the people involved in their development. We are dealing, therefore, with a first approach that seeks to open a framework for reflection in which there are many processes left to be analysed in future research. In any case, the work carried out offers an initial framework of reflection on a topic for future priority development in intercultural education.

1. **Education and Immigration: The Challenge of Equity**

The right to education is considered a necessary principle to reach total integration and to realize the principle of equity and participation. Consequently, integration policies usually devote a chapter to education as a tool in the fight against exclusion. For example, the document *Common Basic Principles on Integration*, approved by the Council of Ministers of Justice and Internal Affairs in Brussels, 19 November 2004, reminds us that education is fundamental to prepare immigrants, and in particular their descendants, to participate more successfully and more actively in society. In the same document we find the need to develop inclusive policies in order to obtain this goal of integration.

These words reflect the latent concern in the European Union since, in general, pupils of immigrant origin usually show a greater rate of scholastic failure, abandonment of studies or direction towards less prestigious academic careers (Eurydice, 2004; OECD, 2006). Thus, in many countries, integration into the educational project has become one of the challenges of the scholastic systems and an objective of national and European educational policies (Eurydice 2004; EUMC 2004).

Educational policies constitute one of the target sectors of integration policies. Their analysis shows that the perspective of equity constitutes a clear referent on the path to a more cohesive and integrated society. The very concept of integration incorporates this variable. In principle,

an education with equity is related to a greater degree of social justice, and to the possibility of an increasing degree of social cohesion. On the contrary, in a society without equity, diversity is simply a difference in power, between different social or cultural groups (Shi-Xu, 2001). Consequently, changing the manner of thinking and interrelating constitutes an imperative to generate new, more equitable and just practices.

Nevertheless, this is not a easy task since, in spite of the improvement in the ratios of access to education and measures of support (linguistic support, educational reinforcement), there is a risk of continuing an educational model that maintains certain patterns of discrimination (social, political or economic) (Banks, 1997, 2004; Cushner, 1998; Eurydice, 2004; EUMC, 2004; Grant & Lei, 2001; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1999). For these reasons, it is important to reach high levels of equity between the most underprivileged groups, including groups of foreign origin. In this way, we aim to obtain equitable ratios in the different educational levels, favouring greater possibilities for all pupils.[1]

In other words, the recognition of the importance of intercultural education and equitable treatment, are not sufficient, since they are not always accompanied by suitable measures or sufficient application. Research work by the research group in intercultural education[2] (GREDI) of the University of Barcelona in Catalonia, indicate the misalignments between the opinions and good intentions of the teaching staff on the level of discourse and the specific practice in the different educational realities studied (Marín Gracia, 2001). Faced with this reality, different authors propose a set of measures related to the concept of intercultural education, related to critical pedagogy, to emphasize this approach and

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[1] In education four levels of equity are distinguished, that correspond to typologies that are interconnected and related to diverse historical moments, in processes that evolve towards more complex and committed models of education (Marchesi & Martín 1998; Tomlinson 2001):
— *Equity of opportunities:* this is the basic level. It describes the need to guarantee the possibility of guaranteeing an option in the educational system.
— *Equity of real access:* In this case, the objective is to guarantee the real access of all the population to the educational system, eliminating any concealed processes that make this possibility difficult.
— *Equity of educational treatment:* This level incorporates the development of a common and integrated curriculum that it tries to overcome the differences and inequities between educational centres.
— *Equity of results:* At this last level, equity is understood as equity between pupils of different social and cultural characteristics. In other words, it does not seek homogenous results but tries to assure that the differences not must be due to social or cultural factors.
[2] See Grup de Recerca en Educació Intercultural GREDI: web

to develop educational policies aimed at the elimination of prejudices and stereotypes (Banks, 1997, 2004; Cushner, 1998; Grant & Lei, 2001; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1999).

Some measures are focussed on the educational system itself and intervention with the immigrant collective (Capps et al. 2005; Eurydice 2004; Finnish National Board on Education 2006ª; Maruny 2002; OECD 2006): measures aimed at offering information and guidance, support in learning second languages, programs of early education, support to the language of the origin country, support in curricular areas (mathematical, extrascholastic lecto-writing, activities).

Another set of measures is articulated around the whole educational community, since it is considered that the presence of pupils of foreign origin requires support for educational strategies based on respect and tolerance. As a whole, they seek to harness an educational model that favours the elimination of prejudices, knowledge of diversity, development of attitudes, as well as the development of intercultural competences (Boom, 2000; Center of Intercultural Competence, 2003; Crawshaw, 2002; Cushner, 1998; Fantini, 2000; Wittenberg 2004). As Cushner (1998, p.396) recalls, a pedagogy for an effective intercultural education requires us to go beyond the identification and transmission of information to a cognitive level. An effective intercultural education demands that individuals have encounters with others that are well-structured, extensive and affective and that the knowledge obtained in these encounters, about others and oneself, is evident for all the persons involved in these interactions.

Therefore, the teacher training constitutes an important element in this field. This is a measure of a transverse type, since it refers to almost all the points mentioned. In addition, it is verified that there is a demand from the teaching staff itself, who were often trained in curricula prior to the demographic change and which therefore did not consider the diverse reality in which, at the present moment, they are undertaking their educational tasks. Consequently, the challenge of plural society means that the teaching staff must develop new competences that respond appropriately to diversity (Banks 1997; EUMC 2004; Woodrow et al. 1997). In almost all the European countries, different subjects associated with interculturality are included in teacher training curricula. So that in the year 2003/04, the Eurydice report verified that only in Estonia and Bulgaria did these topics not appear. Although in Estonia a pilot plan was being developed in this field. At the other extreme, the Eurydice report indicates that in the German-speaking community of Belgium, and in Lithuania, Malta and Sweden, the practice of intercultural education is a fundamental part of their initial training (Eurydice 2004:64).

2. **Teacher Training and Intercultural Competence**

As has been mentioned in the previous section, current teaching staff must be prepared to take on board cultural diversity. Especially, when educational and political discourses assume an educational paradigm based on interculturality that defends an educational system that is critical, reflective and practices solidarity, which promotes and generates social changes (Soriano, 1999). In this frame, the teaching staff must adopt a new discourse that allows them to overcome the previous one of exclusion, prejudice and which is oriented towards the concept of equity. To this end, their training must develop critical consciousness and sensitivity towards others, learning to detect prejudices and recognizing certain practices derived from them. That is to say, new abilities are required, among which intercultural competence can be emphasized (Shi-Xu, 2001; Stier, 2004).

Nor can we forget that the very concept of intercultural competence or global competence is a controversial concept, inasmuch as it is linked to an inequitable ideology and an exclusively economic interest. Nevertheless, a more considered analysis of this concept reveals that it is one that integrates diversity and which has expanded its focus of interest to other areas, beyond that of business, such as education, social work or health.

By intercultural competence, we understand a form of social competence or ability of life applied to surroundings or contexts of cultural diversity. That is to say, it refers to the capacity of realising the needs of the interpersonal context and adapting the response to it. The following definitions emphasize the main characteristics of this term: its complex social nature, as well as its direction centred on the effectiveness of communication:

— The ability to act of successfully with people of other cultures and in a variety of situations and contexts. It would be the concept of social competence applied to intercultural environments (Crawshaw, 2002)
— It is the general capacity of an individual to handle key aspects of intercultural communication, such as unfamiliar cultural differences, intergroup dynamics and the tensions and conflicts that accompany these processes (Boom, 2002).
— They are the cognitive, affective and practical abilities necessary to develop effectively in an intercultural environment (Aguado, 2003: 141).

To speak of competence, both in professional and social surroundings, inevitably makes reference to concepts like effectiveness, qualification, capacity and sufficiency. An effectiveness that is always based on

respect for one's own identity and for diversity. It also alludes to the positive consequences of this effectiveness such as social adaptation, cultural integration, the increase in professional ability and psychological health (Aneas, 2005). Although some authors are focussed more on the behavioural dimension and talk about this using the term intercultural competence or global competence (Aguado, 2003; Boom, 2002; Crawshaw, 2002; Fantini, 2007), others place more emphasis on its affective dimension, calling it intercultural sensitivity (Bennet and Hammer, 1998; Chen, 1997; Chen and Starosa, 2000). In this case, it emphasizes the need to develop not only communicative skills but, fundamentally, an attitude, a positive emotional sense of esteem, interest and respect for different cultures.[3]

In the educational field, its beginnings go back to language classes and projects of international interchange. In this sense, the present positionings recognize that it is necessary to understand not only the culture of the language but to accept how our own culture can influence communication (Liaw, 2006). It has been demonstrated that the way of thinking and seeing the world is intrinsically bound to language and the culture in which the language develops. For that reason, to obtain a suitable communicative competence in another language, we need to capture the cultural subtleties that imbue this language.

From a pedagogical direction, intercultural competence makes reference to "*the mode of relation with the students and other people in a school environment to favor pupil learning*" (Jokikoko, 2005:78). As one can see, this definition affects educational work and objectives of a quality education. As a result, teacher training must develop critical conscience and sensitivity towards others, learning to detect prejudices and recognizing certain practices derived from them (Shi-Xu, 2001). This is the intercultural competence defined as "the valour to think and act interculturally".

Research in other countries, like that carried out by Katri Jokikoko (2005) in Finland, show that the teachers perceive visible and invis-

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[3] Traditionally four dimensions of intercultural competence are recognised (Santibáñez and Maiztegui, 2005; Santibáñez, Cruz and Eizaguirre, 2005):

— Intercultural awareness is acquired through awareness of one's own positions, attitudes and values, as well as cultural recognition.
— Attitudes and values for interculturality: incorporates awareness of difference and the need for minimum rules or standards as a base for intercultural relations.
— Intercultural knowledge: cognitive aspects that allows for knowledge of present-day cultures in a social context.
— Intercultural abilities or skills: these are the basis of all the previous elements.

ible differences in people and in certain groups. At the same time, they express their need not only to have more knowledge about other cultures but also to develop abilities to facilitate communication with students coming from other cultures. In this sense, in the interviews on their training needs, the teaching staff mentioned three recurrent subjects. The first refers to knowledge of *learning difficulties*, especially the understanding of the reasons that make this learning more difficult (language, culture, experiences, etc). The second theme is a general area denominated *differentiation;* the teachers feel that they need a scientific and professional knowledge to provide a suitable learning atmosphere. The third area of professional competence is *the ability to make contact with the families*, mainly when the values and the perspectives are different from those of the teachers and when even the same language is not spoken. As Katri Jokikoko recalls (2005) these demands do not much differ from those expressed by other teachers in the first years at work. However, the difference comes from the complexity of the intercultural contexts, where the same needs become more complex and their challenges require certain specific knowledge and abilities.

It is a big challenge, especially because the studies carried out by different experts agree that neither the initial nor continuous teacher training, provides specific preparation in intercultural education (Besalu, 1994; Sales and García, 1997; Soriano, 1997). Especially, they question their incidence on the system of beliefs and attitudes with respect to diversity (Pereda, 2005). Research on the demands of the teaching staff involved in intercultural educational projects, also show their demand for training, especially in primary teachers (Marín Gracía, 2001; Vicente, 2006).

It is a logical demand, because many of the teaching staff have been trained with plans that did not even touch upon on this topic. In addition, the studies on the models that are applied in the different schools, show the differences between the theoretical model postulated by interculturality, and a practical model that varies between assimilationism and compensatory education (Bartholomew, 1997). For that reason, various authors recall that a specific training should be offered to teachers to enable them to adapt to contexts of diversity.

A difficulty with education in this context is that tendencies coexist which are to a certain extent contradictory. On the one hand, there is a tendency to emphasize the values and necessities of each student and/or their sociocultural group. On the other hand, the teaching staff are conscious that it is necessary for all the pupils to obtain a quality education based on such content and on the transmission of certain traditions.

Intercultural competence is related to a competence related to an effective guidance on how to relate with others and face diverse situations successfully (Jokikoko, 2005:79).

3. **Teacher Training in Policies of Integration for Migrants**

In recent decades, and parallel with the increase in immigration, policies on integration and migration have received greater attention. This is a first normative approach, that values diversity and seeks equal treatment for all citizens, native or foreign. In this section, we present a review of the role given to teacher training in the various plans for integration of the immigrant population. In analysing this subject, the Law of Education constitutes a main element of reference. [4] The LOE recognizes the need to review the model of initial teacher training (mainly in relation to the European framework) and to obtain a continuous training appropriate to their educational practice. Up to here, everything seems to indicate that this law, aware (among many other things) of diversity and multiculturalism, supports intercultural education in contemplating the principles and aims that support it.

The diverse plans at national and Autonomous Community level, generally knows as Strategic Integration Plans for Immigrants, also include teacher training as one of the measures (CC.OO. 2004). At national level the main document is the recent *Strategic Plan for Citizenship and Integration* 2007-2010 (February, 2007), prepared by the Secretariat of State for Immigration and Emigration and the Main Directorate on Integration of Immigrants. This plan, aimed at all citizens of both native and immigrant origin, seeks to become an element promoting the process of integration or mutual adaptation of native and immigrant people, based on consensus, dialogue and participation. The plan includes a chapter dedicated to education.

Taking as a starting point the Law of Education (LOE), this plan recognizes the role of education and, by extension, of the school in the fight against social exclusion, emphasizing the budgetary limitation since this is one of the EU member states with a below-average public expenditure in education. It is important to remember the exponential growth in the population of immigrants and pupils of immigrant origin within the educational system to understand the difficulties and the enormous effort made. For example, between

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[4] Ley Orgánica de Educación (LOE) 2/2006, of 3 May.

the years the 2004 and 2005 the number of immigrant pupils was doubled with respect to the previous year. According to data from CIDE the number of foreign pupils registered in non-university education was 63,044 people, in the year 1996-97. Ten years later, the number reached 608,040 people. That is to say, it has been multiplied by ten, reaching nearly 10% of the total number of pupils registered in the Spanish State. In the Basque Country, a similar path has been followed, although not reaching the high percentage seen in other communities. Thus in the academic year 2006-2007, there were 6,127 registered students of foreign origin in primary school and 3,866 in secondary education in the Basque Autonomous Community.

In the section focussed on the teaching staff, the Plan of Integration and Citizenship recognizes the fundamental role of the teaching staff in the integration of pupils and indicates, as one of the main challenges of the Spanish educational system, improving the initial and continuous training of the teaching staff and the support personnel. Among the needs that are diagnosed, it emphasizes those related to teacher training, the subject of this chapter:

> *"One of the challenges of the Spanish educational system is improving the initial and continuous training of its teachers and personnel who carry out supporting activities related to education and training, so that their knowledge and competences serve to respond to the changes experienced in society and to the specific needs of immigrant pupils"* (p.144).

Specific training in interculturality, is repeated across all the objectives and educational measures, whether for educational or non-educational personnel in cultural centres, sports centres, workers with children, etc. The measures of action intended to improve the situation are diverse. In the first place, it is considered necessary to generalize "*dynamics of training-reflection-action, by means of critical analysis of daily, personal and institutional performance to incorporate new theoretical frameworks and new ways to manage diversity*" (p.144). Secondly, the importance of the expectations of the teaching staff as regards school integration and academic performance is emphasized as an conditioning factor. Consequently, it is recommended to develop expectations based on "*a non-stigmatised understanding of social and cultural differences, in a knowledge that is not stereotyped, nor based on prejudices about the different cultures present in the classroom*" (p.144) From this perspective, teacher training must consider the need to reframe knowledge, the fragmented vision of educational problems and their solu-

tions. Finally we would like to emphasize some of the objectives and measures proposed:

— "Objective 3. - *To appropriately adapt the educational system to the diversity of pupils, managing this diversity and promoting acquisition of intercultural knowledge and competences.*

Program EDU 8.—Support for the initial and continuous training of education professionals for attention to management of diversity.

Measure 8.1. - Support for training of educators in interculturality, respect for diversity and prevention of racist and xenophobic behaviour and attitudes.

Measure 8.2. - Promotion for the creation of networks of educational personnel with the aim of interchanging knowledge and good practices in the matter of intercultural education and attention to immigrant students.

Measure 8.3. - Inclusion, within the curricular training of teachers, of strategies in the scope of interculturality and the management of cultural diversity in educational centres.

Measure 8.4. - Support to innovative programs of training-reflection-action of intervention in the classroom (p. 149-150).

On the other hand, the principle of interculturality is consolidated as a mechanism of interaction, based on respect, between people of different geographic and cultural origins. It is a transversal principle, which, as explained in the Strategic Plan of Citizenship and Integration, is included in different areas (housing, education, social services and health). In this way, intercultural education occupies an important place among measures in educational scope of the different autonomous plans (CC:OO, 2004). In all of these, some reference is made to interculturality in different sections: development of the school project, curricular design, training of the teaching staff, development of supporting materials, research and attention to minorities. In some cases, like in Navarra, it is explicitly stated that the activities and programs of improvement of teaching staff will include activities aimed at the acquisition of abilities and criteria for attention to cultural diversity. In addition, the Universities are urged to include these topics in their curricula (CC:OO, 2004 p.130).

In the immediate environment, we must refer to the 2nd Basque Plan of Immigration 2007-2009. Like its predecessor, the Plan incorporates different directives related to the areas of education and interculturality. In the educational area, it proposes developing *"interventions aimed at assuring the full right of foreigners to education as one of their basic cultural rights within the framework of the*

principle of normalization" (p. 94). In the area of interculturality it is a question of assuring and facilitating access of foreigners to the Basque culture, to the learning of both official languages as part of the process of integration, on the one hand, and to the maintenance and development of their own cultures, on the other hand. This plan incorporates *"directives aimed at the empowerment of the organs of representation so that they can have a framework of autonomy with public support for the free development of their cultural identity in Basque society"* (p. 94).

Among their proposals, and paying attention to the same criteria as in the previous strategic plan[5], it emphasizes the following:

1. *Consideration of interculturality and schooling of immigrant pupils as one of the main axes of the Plan of Permanent Training of CAE (GARATU): provision of courses, seminars, workshops and days of reflection for the teaching staff*. (measure 4).
2. *Beginning of training plans on attention to cultural diversity in the Berritzegunes* (measure 5).
3. *Organization of seminars and training courses for the teaching staff on teaching of second languages to immigrant pupils (*measure 6*)*
4. *Specific aid to public and private organizations for organization of courses and seminars on schooling of foreign pupils, interculturality, attention to diversity in schools... (*measure 7).

Finally, we should mention that the law of the Basque State School[6] (LEPV), without mentioning interculturality, defines the Basque state school, and each of its centres, as "plural, bilingual, democratic, at the service of Basque society, socially and culturally rooted in its surroundings, participative, compensating for inequalities and integrating of diversity" (art. 3.1.). The incorporation of immigrant pupils has led to new responses from the Department of Education, Universities and Research, such as the Program for Attention to Immigrant Pupils, initiated in the 2003-04 school year. This program is the result of reflection on the new situation and it has been implemented following the recommendations of the Plan of Immigration of the Basque Government (2003-07). It includes the backing of the Basque Government for an intercultural and quality education for all pupils, based on the principles of integration,

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[5] Because we have not managed to gain access to the measures derived from the present plan, we have analysed those of the previous plan, since the objectives have not varied substantially.

[6] Ley de la Escuela Pública Vasca 1/1993, 19 February.

equality, interculturality and quality.[7] Initially guidelines were published for integration of immigrant pupils, and later other materials were published that serve as a guide for teaching staff in primary and secondary education.

In addition, public and grant-maintained schools may seek support to incorporate teaching staff for linguistic reinforcement and personnel dedicated to supporting the acquisition of a second language, primarily Basque. Recently, the Department of Education has proposed the introduction of a new service whose main aim would be to help with the integration of immigrant students.

In summary, analysing laws, plans and strategies, one could affirm that there is a clear intention to promote intercultural education. Principles like equality, equity, values like solidarity, respect, tolerance and justice, recognition of interculturality as an enriching element of society are mentioned. Also reference is made to the role of the teaching staff, with the need for training to manage diversity and to harness intercultural competence being clear.

4. **Analysis of the Training Plans of the Teaching Staff**

The objective of the present study is to analyse the training received by the different levels of teaching staff: The initial training in Infant Education, Primary Education and Secondary Education, as well as the proposals for training and improvement offered by the competent Public Administration in education. After studying the initial training, to compare it with the proposal of new training plans for European convergence.

This general mission can be detailed in three specific objectives:
1 - To analyse the currently applicable curricula for initial training of teaching staff.
2 - To examine the public provision of training and retraining of teaching staff.
3 - To compare the proposal of effective training plans with the proposals made for reform.

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[7] See the information available on the Web of the Basque Government on attention to immigrant pupils: http://www.hezkuntza.ejgv.euskadi.net/r43-5473/es/contenidos/informacion/dif8/es_2083/f8_c.html

4.1. *Methodology*

For first and the third objectives, we take the initial plans of teacher training as a starting point, effective in the public provision of the whole BAC. For the third objective we will compare the results of the first with those proposed at the level of the whole state, according to the *White Book for the Teaching Degree Qualification* (ANECA, 2004), and Technical Files of the Proposal for the Degree Qualification in Teacher of Primary Education, Master of Infant Education and Postgraduate Degree in Secondary Education (according to RD 55/ 2005). [8]

Table 1 represents the procedure to be followed for the first and third objectives.

Table 1

Comparison of Curricula of initial training of teaching staff

TRAINING PLANS IN EFFECT	TRAINING PLANS EUROPEAN REFORM
Teaching Infant and Primary	Teaching Infant and Primary
Secondary - CAP (Course of Pedagogical Adaptation)	Official Postgraduate in Secondary Teacher Training

While setting up the reform of the European Convergence, proposed for 2010, it is hoped that retraining for teaching staff is a "*sensitive thermometer*" to these social changes that affect the school and are reflected in the provision of retraining. For that reason, for the second of the proposed objectives, the plans of training and retraining of teaching staff, which the Basque Government offers through the Garatu Plan, are analysed. [9]

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[8] It is important to remember that after the approval of RD 1393/2007, regulating official university classes, the universities were given autonomy to establish training content. Nevertheless, these curricular proposals were developed and agreed by all the members of the Conference of Deans of Education and Teaching prior to the approval of this law (available at www.uned.es/decanoseducacion)

[9] We are aware that this provision is complemented by that offered by the Berritzegunes available to the schools by zones, since they offer advice and training in intercultural topics to linguistic support teaching staff and to the managers of the schools.

Table 2 locates these plans as an intermediate element between the plans in effect and the imminent reform.

Table 2

Plans of training and retraining of teaching staff. Garatu Plan

TRAINING PLANS IN EFFECT	PLANS OF TRAINING AND RETRAINING	TRAINING PLANS THE EUROPEAN REFORM
Teaching CAP (Course of Pedagogical Adaptation) Secondary	Garatu Plan (Basque Government) 2002 - 2007	Teaching Infant and Primary Official Postgraduate in Secondary Teacher Training

A) CURRICULA IN EFFECT IN INITIAL TRAINING

For the first objective, the curricula of initial training of teaching staff are analysed. In table 3 we collect the plans analysed: The Teaching curriculum for the levels of Infant and Primary Education in the three territories of the community: Bilbao Campus, Donostia - San Sebastián Campus and Vitoria—Gasteiz Campus. Equally, for the level of secondary teaching, the teaching staff have had, in addition to a university degree, the specific training of the Course of Pedagogical Adaptation (CAP), which equips them with the tools of teaching, organization and planning for teaching the subject of their degree as well as the necessary competences to face different teaching—learning situations, like coexistence, diversity or learning difficulties.

Table 3

Plans of initial training of teaching staff in effect

TRAINING PLANS - INITIAL TRAINING
Teaching Curriculum Specialties: Infant education and Primary Education. University school of Teaching. UPV/EHU. 2006-2007. (Campuses Bilbao, Vitoria - Gasteiz and San Sebastián - Donostia)
Curriculum: Course of Pedagogical Aptitude (CAP). Secondary Education Educational advisory service (SAE) UPV/ EHU. 2006-2007

The analysis of content of the different training plans and the programs that comprise them, through the location of *key words* related with training in cultural or intercultural material, has been the main methodology used. As regards the *descriptors* or *key words*[10] that have been used to analyse this training, they are as follows: interculturality, multiculturality, cultural diversity, intercultural, sociocultural competence, and any other term that contemplates the cultural variable in its title, objectives and/or contents of the course programs. The following table (table 4) summarises the initial training qualification, the courses with specific contents as well as results obtained, by number of references, number of topics and specification of terms.

Table 4

Quantification of the number of appearances and terms presented in the Curricula in effect in initial teacher training (Infant and Primary Specialties) and Secondary teacher training

Initial training	Subjects	Results
Teaching: Infant Education	TRAINING CONTENTS (Topics in which it appears): General Didactics Present Reality of the Basque Country and Education. Sociology of Education	*2 references* *3 topics* Sociocultural Cultural
Teaching: Primary Education	TRAINING CONTENTS (Topics in which it appears): General Didactics Present-day reality of the Basque Country and Education Sociology of Education	*4 references* *3 topics* Interculturalism Ethnic group and educ. Sociocultural Cultural
Secondary Education Degree + (CAP)	TRAINING CONTENTS (Topics in which it appears): Sociology of Secondary Education	*3 references* *1 topic* Ethnic group Multicultural education Social and cultural change

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[10] We have not included the term "diversity" to avoid confusion with themes more directly related to the area of the NEEs, despite being aware that the treatment of cultural diversity is carried out, on many occasions, in this context.

From the observation in table 4, we note that only three topics make reference to the subject studied at the levels of infant and primary, whereas in secondary, only one topic reflects it. Certainly, this difference in the number of terms that appear should be interpreted based on the total length of the studies; whereas the levels of infant and primary are of three years' duration, the CAP is an intensive course of one year's duration. The most frequently used terms are *sociocultural* and *cultural*. An especially important question at secondary level is that in the only topic where the subject of cultural diversity is approached, it is dealt with from a negative perspective, in alluding to social and cultural change as elements of debate in conditions of educational malaise.

As a first conclusion, we can affirm that *the cultural / intercultural* element generates little interest in the initial training of teaching staff, with very few references to the topic appearing in its training objectives and contents.

B) PUBLIC PROVISION OF TRAINING AND RETRAINING OF TEACHING STAFF

In this second section, we analyse the Plan of Training and Retraining presented by the educational administration in the scope of the autonomous community in recent years through the Garatu Plan.

Table 5
Garatu Plan. training and update of the teaching staff

TRAINING AND RETRAINING OF TEACHING STAFF
Garatu Plan. Department of Education of the Basque Government. 2002-2007.

The period studied includes last the five years, from 2002/03 to 2006/07 (tables 5 and 6). The information to which access was obtained consists of: number of hours of training, title of course, territory / city of teaching, language, target group and number of places.

Table 6 reflects a general panorama of the situation of the provision of training, both generally and specifically in *interculturality, cultural diversity and competence*. In the general provision, it starts with a large number of courses, being reduced to the lowest level in 2004/05, starting from which the tendency is in clear ascent. Nevertheless, if we analyse the specific provision of the topic *diversity, interculturality* or *competence*, the academic year in which the general provision has been

lowest, (2004/05), is the year with the highest proportion in specific terms. Comparing the specific provision to the general, we can again conclude that the theme of immigration only represents 4.8% of the total volume.

Table 6

Global data of the Plan Garatu 2002/03 -2006/07

	General Provision - Total		Specific Provision Cultural diversity, interculturality and competence	
	N° courses	N° hours	N° courses	N° of hours
2002 - 2003	205	8,775	9	330 (3.8%)
2003 - 2004	146	6,571	9	330 (5.0%)
2004 - 2005	116	4,702	7	360 (7.6%)
2005 - 2006	212	7,285	7	250 (3.4%)
2006 - 2007	279	8,536	14	475 (5.5%)
Total	958	35,869	46	1745 (4.8%)

In table 7 we present, in a detailed way, the courses in the five last academic years.

Table 7

Garatu Training Plan. Specific provision detailed for the period 2002/03 - 2006/07

Course 2002/03	Hours	Places	Place	Target
Interculturality and Immigration in EPA centers.	30	20	Bilbao	EPA Teachers
Intercultural Education	45	20	Bilbao	Primary and Secondary T.
Kulturarteko Heziketa	45	20	Donostia	Primary and Secondary T.
History and culture of the Gypsy People	20	20	Bilbao	Infant, Primary and Secondary T.
History and culture of the Gypsy People	20	20	Donostia	Infant, Primary and Secondary T.
Interculturalism: Schooling of immigrants.	20	25	Ortuella	Infant, Primary and Secondary T. Management Teams
Hosting of immigrants with languages not known by the teaching staff	20	24	Leioa	T. in general
Globalization, development and cooperation	45	20	Gasteiz	T. in general
Globalizazioa, lankidetza garapen eta	45	20	Bilbao	P. in general
Course 2003/04	Hours	Places	Place	Target
Heziketa Kulturarteko	45	25	Donostia	T. that work with immigrant pupils
Heziketa Kulturarteko	45	25	Gasteiz	T. that work with immigrant pupils
Heziketa Kulturarteko	45	25	Bilbao	T. that work with immigrant pupils
Knowledge and development of the gypsy culture	20	25	Donostia	Primary and Secondary first cycle T.
Knowledge and development of the gypsy culture	20	25	Gasteiz	Primary and Secondary first cycle T.
Knowledge and development of the gypsy culture	20	25	Bilbao	Primary and Secondary first cycle T.
Kulturarteko hezkuntza: ikast. kudeaketa	45	25	Donostia	Secondary and Baccalaureate
Intercultural education: management of the center	45	25	Gasteiz	Secondary and Baccalaureate
Intercultural education: management of the center	45	25	Bilbao	Secondary and Baccalaureate

Course 2004/05	Hours	Places	Place	Directed
Ijitoen history eta kultura ikastetxeetan	20	25	Bilbao	Primary and Secondary first cycle T.
Ijitoen history eta kultura ikastetxeetan	20	25	Donostia	Primary and Secondary first cycle T.
Gypsy history and culture in school	20	25	Gasteiz	Primary and Secondary first cycle T.
Kultura artekotasuna Euskal Herrian (inmigrazioari erantzuna)	90	30	Bilbao	T. in general
Kultura artekotasuna Euskal Herrian (inmigrazioari erantzuna)	90	30	Gasteiz	T. in general
Kultura artekotasuna Euskal Herrian (inmigrazioari erantzuna)	90	30	Donostia	T. in general
Kultura arteko hezkuntza	30	20	Bilbao	T. in general
Course 2005/06	**Hours**	**Places**	**Place**	**Directed**
Linguistic diversity: its treatment in the classroom	10	25	Bilbao	T. Secondary
Gypsy history and culture in school	20	25	Gasteiz	T. in general
Strategies of socioeducational intervention with gypsy pupils	20	25	Donostia	T. in general
Strategies of socioeducational intervention with gypsy pupils	20	25	Bilbao	T. in general
Kultura arteko hezkuntza: Inmigrazioari erantzuna Euskal Herrian	60	30	Donostia	T. in general
Kultura arteko hezkuntza: Inmigrazioari erantzuna Euskal Herrian	60	30	Bilbao	T. in general
Harrera-hizkuntzen irakaskuntza (eusk./gazt.) eta ikasle etorkinentzako kurrikulu egokitz.	60	25	Bilbao	T. in general

Course 2006/07	Hs.	Plz.	Place	Directed
Adolescent pupils from foreign immigrant and ethnic gypsy groups: exclusive and inclusive elements	20	20	Donostia	Secondary T.
Coexistence and interculturality: intercultural conflict	60	25	Gasteiz	T. in general
Coexistence and interculturality: intercultural conflict	60	25	Bilbao	T. in general
The educational environment and gypsy pupils	20	25	Gasteiz	T. in general
Equity and underprivileged environments	60	25	Bilbao	T. in general
Strategies of socio-educational interv. with gypsy pupils	20	20	Bilbao	T. in general
Strategies of socio-educational interv. with gypsy pupils	20	20	Donostia	T. in general
Harrera-hizkuntzen irakaskuntza (eusk./gazt.) eta ikasle etorkinentzako kurrikulu egokitz.	60	25	Bilbao	T. in general
Hezkidetza: erronka berriak	60	25	Bilbao	T. in general
Kultura arteko hezkuntzaren hastapenei buruzko ikastaroa	40	25	Donostia	T. in general
Training in intercultural education	30	20	Donostia	T. in general
1st conference on languages, currícula and al. immigrant	15	-	Bilbao	University of Deusto
New educational roles to educate in the cap. of initiative		20	Bilbao	Days
V Mintegia: Hezkuntza etorkinekin. Praktika onak euskaren irakaskintzan	10	200	Gipuzkoa	Days

Both for the number of specific hours dedicated to cultural topics and the number of places available for the training (table 7), the last academic year, 2006/07, is outstanding, with an important difference with regards to the rest of the calls. The academic years 2003/04 and 2004/05 follow.

Spanish is the language that predominates in the training provision (table 8), with 46 courses offered altogether, 27 (58.6%) in Spanish compared with 19 (41.3%) in Euskera. If it is analysed by years, in all years the Castilian language is more common with the exception of the provision in the academic year 2004/05, where Euskera predominates.

Table 8

Garatu Training Plan. Specific provision by teaching language.
Period 2002/03 - 2006/07

	Castilian	Euskera
2002/03	7	2
2003/04	5	4
2004/05	1	6
2005/06	4	3
2006/07	10	4
Total	27 (58.6%)	19 (41.3%)

Table 9

Garatu Training Plan. Specific provision by Basque capitals.
Period 2002/03 - 2006/07

	Bilbao	Donostia - San Sebastián	Vitoria - Gasteiz
2002/03	6	2	1
2003/04	3	3	3
2004/05	3	2	2
2005/06	4	2	1
2006/07	7	7	2
Total	23 (47.9%)	16 (33.3%)	9 (18.7%)

By territories (table 9), a greater call is observed in Bilbao, with 47.9% of the total provision, although in some calls an attempt is made at an egalitarian distribution; for example, in 2003/04 and 2004/05, the

three capitals practically offer the same provision, whereas in other calls, Bilbao is the place with more provision of training.

Analysing the group to which it is aimed, the tendency is very clear to open the provision of courses to all the teaching staff in general; of any level and educational context (including education of adults). Whereas in 2002/03, the educational levels are clarified and specified and only 3 courses of the 9 are aimed at the teaching staff in general, in the last year (2006/07), of the 14 courses offered, 13 are for teaching staff in general. It is worth mentioning the course aimed at the teaching staff of the EPA, the courses aimed solely at the teaching staff who works with immigrant pupils and the courses aimed at baccalaureate teaching staff as well as a course aimed at the managing team.

Finally, if we pay attention to the topics, we see a development in two directions, from more general topics like intercultural education, globalisation or coeducation towards more specific ones, like questions of language and hosting, problems of intercultural coexistence, specific aspects of developmental periods like adolescence or the role of inter-cultural mediation. On the other hand, the immigrant group is incorpo-rated and, at times, displaces the gypsy group.

In conclusion, although we might have hoped that the provision of training and retraining of teaching staff would serve as a "*thermometer*" to measure sensitivity to the change that is taking place in society in general, and our schools in particular, it does not seem to be one of the subjects that is generating most interest. Between 2002/03 and 2006/07, 46 courses on the specific topic of intercul-turality, cultural diversity and immigration have been provided, out of 958 courses that have been provided in general, which represents only 4.8% of the total provision. The provision is mainly in Spanish (58.6%), and mainly in Bilbao (47.9%). There is a tendency towards more openness in the provision as regards the target group, towards teaching staff in general, whereas we note an inverse tendency, to focus the topics more and to concentrate on specific questions of language, developmental stages, coexistence and mediation, com-bining immigrant and gypsy groups.

C) Proposal for Plans in Effect and Proposal for the Reform

The reform of degrees in the European space constitutes an important opportunity to integrate new high-profile and controversial subjects that until now have not been incorporated. It has been affirmed that teacher training in its different levels is a key element to guarantee equity in educa-tion as well as the integration of immigrant and ethnic minority groups.

The Bologna process has been configured since the start of the year 2000 by the Tuning project. Since then, work groups have been created in different knowledge areas around Spain. In the area of education, the Conference of Deans and Directors of Teaching and Education has been formed. One of its first actions was to prepare white books for the ANE-CA, on the degree in Teaching, Pedagogy and Social Education. Below we give the proposed contents that would comprise the various degrees.

On this point, we analyse the transverse and specific competences in the "White Book" of the Degree in Teaching (ANECA, 2004), and the proposed contents of the Degree of Primary Education Teacher, Master of Infant Education and Postgraduate Degree in Secondary Education (according to RD 55/ 2005). In table 10, we specify the transverse or general and specific competences that are associated with the profile of each of the teachers in their different frame of action.

Table 10

Transverse and specific competences of the professional profile in teaching in relation to cultural diversity

Type of competence	Competence	Ranking of importance	Results
Transverse competences	Recognition of diversity and multiculturality		*3 references* *2 competences* (of 23 total) Diversity Multiculturality Cultures
	Knowledge of other cultures and customs	3ª	
Specific competences (common to all the teachers)	1. Capacity to understand the complexity of educational processes in general and the processes of teaching-learning in particular (... the cultural and social environment...)	2ª	*4 references* *4 competences* (of 23 totals) Cultural environment Cultural Sociocultural
	3. Solid scientific-cultural and technological training		
	4. Respect for cultural and personal differences of the students and other members of the educational community	3ª	
	6. Design and development of educational projects and programming units that allow the curriculum to be adapted to the sociocultural context	4ª	

Source: ANECA, 2004

We see that there are two transverse competences referring to cultural diversity, of the 23 that form the generic profile; one classified among personal competences: *Recognition of diversity and multiculturality* and another, as a systemic competence: *Knowledge of other cultures and customs*. Nevertheless, if we pay attention to the valuation or importance given to them, only one of them appears as such: *Capacity for recognition of diversity and multiculturality*, together with *Capacity for oral and written communication in the mother tongue*, *Capacity for organization and planning*. The four specific competences are among the 9 most valued competences. Therefore, there is still a tendency to outline a conventional role of the teacher as a person able to express themselves appropriately in their own language and as an organizer of learning processes, although with small additions as educational goals.

The proposed contents of the Degree of Primary Education Teacher, Master of Infant Education and Postgraduate Degree in Secondary Education (according to RD 55/ 2005) contribute more detailed information on the topic. Table 11 shows the subjects with their specific contents as well as the results: number of references, number of topics and specification of the terms.

Table 11

Number of appearances and terms present in the Curricula of degrees in
Infant, Primary and Secondary Teaching

Initial training	Subjects	Results
Infant Education	OBJECTIVES OF THE DEGREE (Selected ones that appear) — To design and regulate spaces of learning in diverse contexts that pay attention to equality of gender, equity and the particular educational needs of the students. — To effectively approach situations of language learning in multicultural and multilingual contexts. COMMON TRAINING CONTENTS (Topics in which they appear) Learning of Sciences and Mathematics Learning of Languages, Reading, Writing Foundations of contemporary culture Practicum	*7 references* *4 topics* Multilingual and diverse contexts Multilingual and Multicultural Culture Sociocultural knowledge Cultural means
Primary Education	OBJECTIVES OF THE DEGREE (Selected ones that appear) — To effectively approach situations of language learning in multicultural and multilingual contexts. — To promote reading and critical commentary on texts in the diverse scientific and cultural areas contained in the student currículum. — To discern the audio-visual information that selectively contributes to learning, civic education and cultural wealth. COMMON TRAINING CONTENTS (Topics in which they appear) Education and learning of Experimental Sciences Education and learning of Social Sciences Educational processes and contexts Education and learning of Physical education Education and learning in the musical, plastic and visual areas Family and school Practicum	12 references 7 topics The cultural fact Cultural Coexistence between peoples Multicultural contexts Cultural training Multiculturality and interculturality
Official Masters Secondary Teacher Training	OBJECTIVES OF THE DEGREE (Selected ones that appear) — To design and carry out formal and informal activities that contribute to making the school a place of participation and culture. COMMON TRAINING CONTENTS (Topics in which they appear) Society, family and education Practicum	4 references 2 topics Culture Intercultural Ed. Multicultural Society Cultural framework

After analysing the three curricula initially proposed for the reform of higher education for the teaching degrees in infant, primary and secondary education, there are clear improvements in this second proposal. In table 12 we can see the development: In teaching Infant Education, we have gone from 2 references in 3 topics to 7 references in 4 topics. In Primary Education we have gone from 4 references in 3 topics to 12 references in 7 topics and, finally, in Secondary Education, we have gone from 3 references in 1 topic to 4 references in 2 topics.

Table 12

Comparison of results between training plans initially in effect and proposals for reform

Initial training	Plans in effect 2007	Reform of Plans	Result
Infant Education	2 references 3 topics	7 references 4 topics	+
Primary Education	4 references 3 topics	12 references 7 topics	+
Secondary Education	3 references 1 topic	4 references 2 topics	+

In conclusion, we can affirm that the reform is incorporating the topic of cultural diversity in the various documents of the proposal. The White Book recognizes as one of the three most important generic competences *Recognition of diversity and multiculturality*, and also specifies four more competences, such as having *solid training in key cultural elements* in addition to technological and scientific elements, and *understanding the complexity of educational processes*, including cultural and social surroundings, *to design educational projects adapted to the sociocultural context* and *to respect cultural differences*. On the other hand, the proposed curricula at the three levels of training have increased notably in their references to interculturality, although the change is greatest at primary level.

Conclusions

The ever-growing increase in the immigrant population integrated in the educational system requires a holistic response that favours the development of an intercultural, critical and quality education. As

mentioned in the diverse documents and integration plans recently approved. Teacher training is a transverse strategy that reinforces and supports other types of proposed measures like plans for integration, classes of linguistic reinforcement, etc. We might say that a positive attitude and the capacity to communicate in an appropriate way with people of different cultures are a first step for better learning by the pupils and to achieve quality education.

In order to achieve this goal, the plans of teacher training need to be adapted. For this reason, different institutions have committed themselves to training teachers and other workers in the educational world (social workers, sports workers, etc). The teaching staff is a central and essential element of this change and adaptation. The question that we consider here is whether it is prepared to confront this cultural diversity, whether there is a sufficient level of intercultural competence to develop in this new scene: whether we have intercultural awareness, sufficient knowledge of other cultures, welcoming attitudes and values, as well as social and communicational empathy and other abilities.

In this contribution we have analysed the plans of the Basque Government, through the Garatu plan, and the teaching curricula in effect, as well as those of the proposed European educational reform. Although this is an incomplete, preliminary exercise, we are conscious that an important part of teacher training is carried out from the berritzegunes. This is a first approach to a subject of considerable interest in the educational field, whose conclusions allow us to present a preliminary map of this subject.

In conclusion, we present a brief commentary on the data that have been presented here. At the start of this empirical part, we asked whether the teaching staff at the different educational levels were trained to deal with cultural diversity and to competently teach interculturality. Following the training plans in effect at Infant, Primary and Secondary Education levels, we can state that *the intercultural / cultural* element is not an object of interest for initial teacher training, since there are very few references to the topic in the curricula. In other words, the multicultural society has still not been able to filter into the curricula of the initial teacher training.

Nevertheless, the number of immigrant pupils continues to grow; in 2005/06 the number rose to 13,599 immigrant students, which represents 4.4% of the total number of pupils. These pupils are distributed throughout the region of the Basque Autonomous Community, at the different educational levels and registered in different linguistic models in both public and grant-maintained schools. These pupils present very diverse challenges wherever they end up; they are incorporated

throughout the school year, with a lack of linguistic knowledge, communication problems, complicated family situations, and problems of school integration, among others.

Therefore, we have consulted the Garate Training Plans of retraining and improvement of teaching staff. Analysing the last five years, from 2002/03 to 2006/07, we do not see an effort to adapt to this reality and new demand. Between 2002/03 and 2006/07, 46 courses have been provided on specific themes of interculturality, cultural diversity and immigration, of the 958 courses that have been provided in general, which represents only 4.8% of the total provision. A trend towards increasing openness in the provision is seen the target collective, when making it towards the teaching staff in general, whereas an inverse tendency is detected, to focus and to make specific plus thematic in specific questions like language, developmental stages, coexistence and mediation, combining the immigrant and gypsy groups.

Finally, we can contemplate hoped-for changes in the plans for reform, since the reform is incorporating the topic of cultural diversity in the various proposed documents. The White Book values *Recognition of diversity and multiculturality* as one of its three most important generic competences, and it also specifies four more competences such as *solid training in keys cultural elements* in addition to technological and scientific elements, and *understanding the complexity of educational processes*, including the cultural and social environment, *to design educational projects adapted to the sociocultural context* and *to respect cultural differences*. On the other hand, the proposed curricula at the three levels of training have grown notably in references to interculturality, although the change is greatest at the primary level.

This panorama will make us reflect on the importance of being prepared to confront the changes and new challenges presented by society. Not only as regards training contents but also the methodologies used. Only in this way we will be able to progress towards a "global village" in which each person is recognized as a citizen with full rights and where coexistence is possible.

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Multicultural Citizenship and Intercultural Education. The Role of the School Classroom

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Introduction

The presence of pupils of immigrant origin in the educational systems of many countries of the European Union implies that there is a need to search for a primary form of social integration between young people of different origin. The statistics emphasize an ever-growing percentage of foreign pupils with respect to the total number of students: in Spain the average is 8.4%, in France it is only 3.9% (due to the assimilation policy), in England it reaches 18.7%, in Holland 11.7% and in Italy, 5.6%[1].

In order to deal with this situation, the design of educational policy and the scientific research that has traditionally developed in countries with great experience in immigration (England, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden) as well as the more recent host countries (Spain, Italy, Portugal, Denmark), has focused attention on the aspects of cultural belonging, learning the language of the host country, and the relationship between diverse anthropological and religious customs. In addition, attention has been paid to the school performance of immigrant

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[1] Source: data from the official pages of the Ministries of Education.

children and on the formation of foreign-dominated schools, which leads to the phenomenon of "ghetto" schools.

All these specific aspects are based on, at least, three theoretical approaches: Anglo-Saxon multiculturalism; the French model of ignoring differences; and the proposal for intercultural education based on a dynamic conception of culture and seeking a fruitful interaction between differences, so that these neither have to be ignored nor remain as pieces of a puzzle that can never fit together.

However, the scientific research coming from different disciplinary perspectives allows a critical review of the theoretical assumptions of intercultural education and, on the other hand, has enabled empirical surveys to be conducted that focus on educational, linguistic, social and communicational dynamics in the school classroom. The unit of investigation is not, therefore, the school or the educational system as a whole, but the school classroom as a group of students who are related both with each other, with the teaching staff and with the school institution. This approach is the basis of the present article and it is developed by means of analysis of different scientific contributions from several European countries. These investigations are proposed as a critical resource for the renovation of intercultural practices and also as a contribution to a new design of educational policies. In the present article we will identify the crucial aspects that are derived from the results of empirical research which are available.

In first instance we will emphasize the methodology adopted in these investigations, because the type of investigation and the methodology used have a particular importance and open new paths for the analysis of educational models and practices. Particular attention will be devoted, of course, to focussing on the different contexts of origin of the results, because, in fact, we are dealing with research that comes from different countries of the European Union.[2]

The diverse origin of the results does not imply confusion or dispersion, but rather, a raised awareness from which, together with the particularity of each context, we can learn about the question of the impact of each pupil, and fortify our awareness that we are dealing with a task that involves the whole of the European Union. We will later proceed by

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[2] An aspect that differentiates the countries of the European Union with respect to the presence of foreign citizens in its territory is the way of defining and grouping this part of the population. In England "Ethnic Minorities" are spoken of, in the Netherlands "non-Western Population", in Spain the definitions distinguish the inmigrant / foreign pupils, as in Italy. We should to reflect on the language that is used, because this is already one form of exclusion and segregation, that the unique personality of each person is forgotten and, in on a political and social level, the fact of their being a citizen of another country and their eventual desire to be a citizen of the host country.

emphasizing the subject of the relationship between pupils and teaching staff. This aspect is one of most important in a school classroom: the educational relationship between a professional and their students influences the development of didactic and educational proposals. In this framework it is necessary to detect the role played by the insertion of the variable of cultural difference. Subsequently we will analyse the relational dynamics within a school classroom: relations that are procedural and in continuous construction, which implies a permanent negotiation of personal identity. This negotiation is done by resorting to language: How to balance the learning of the host country language with the presence of a multilinguistic context in the school classroom?

On the basis of the review of evaluated experiences we will proceed to emphasize the possibilities for critical review of the theoretical basis of intercultural education.

In the conclusion of the article, we will consider the steps to take in a critical review of the design of intercultural school policies: a reinforced awareness that we are faced with a task that requires us to be migrants with the immigrants; that is, professionals (at different levels: political managers, school directors, teaching staff, scientific researchers), who, if they wish to achieve their educational, social and institutional objectives, will have to do so by being open to change and the organization of innovative practices that can be converted into effective and common practices. This means knowing how to listen to what is expressed by a reality in constant movement, such as the school classroom, and to inspire specific measures rooted in this type of context, and not merely starting from a theoretical level or, worse, taking for granted what is involved in running a school with multicultural pupils.

1. The School Classroom: What Methodological Approach?

Although this article does seek to focus on methodological approaches, since we do not intend to review epistemology, nevertheless, to present this theme in a scientific way, it is necessary to present this aspect in general terms.[3]

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[3] Often articles focussed on public policies deal with the methodological aspect, but merely as if paying a toll to certify the scientific quality of the work. Epistemologic themes are considered still less often. On the other hand, I believe that being conscious of the criteria with which we approach what we want to study and to understand is at the heart of the scientific enterprise and in addition raises an ethical quesiton: do we respectfully approach the other that we meet with in our attempt at understanding?

All the investigations that will be presented in this article were developed with qualitative methodologies. At this point, it is worthwhile stopping and looking at two aspects: Firstly, the context in which the investigation takes place and secondly, the type of methodology selected. The first point will be dealt with when we review the results of each particular investigation. Now I will focus on the methodologies used and their epistemological assumptions.

One thing that must be emphasized is that, to find out what happens in a school, it must be possible to go inside and become just another actor, through participant observation. This is what French researcher Elena Roussier-Fusco experienced. She carried out her research in the region of Paris (Ile-of France), in two primary schools, during a period of two years. Her object of research was the interaction between students and teachers. In order to carry out this type of research she made contact with the actors in school life, in the places where these interactions took place: classroom, dining room, playground. This is a common characteristic to the research that we are going to review in this article.

This raises the subject of how the researcher becomes integrated in the field of research: are they a factor distorting reality or do they offer the possibility of opening a new window on a public space as unique as a school?

The research reveals that there are two possibilities: of good or bad relations developing, between the researcher and the school in which they are working. We must take into account the variables that are involved: the attitude of the school in welcoming or rejecting the researcher, both from the institutional actors (administrators and managers), and the actors who work in the field (teaching staff, pupils and families). The experience of the French researcher was divergent: in one school, a good welcome and signs of interest towards her work; in another school, because of bad relations between the head of the school and the team of professionals, the situation was more difficult.

On the other hand a reflection is developed that goes from empirical research to theoretical approach, that sets out to bring to light the positive role played by the researcher who arrives from an external space to the space of study. The researcher is revealed as a new key for access, a new point of view and also, a sort of new pair of ears that can analyse, without too many prejudices, the social reality that they approach, weave new relations, and realize, with a very positive freedom, what is in their surroundings.[4]

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[4] In this aspect I would like to emphasize the work of F. Fava, Banlieu de *Palerme.une versión sicilienne de la exclusión urbaine* , L'hartman, Paris, 2007 and his epistemologic reflection on the role of the social researcher and his ethical-political value

The methodologies used, as a result, consist of methods and tools that allow face-to-face contact, the observation of specific cases and of interactions and relations under continuous change. Thus the most widely used tools are: in-depth interviews, participant observation, research-action, recourse to a focus-group, and analysis of conversations in a classroom through an ethnographic or microsociological approach. Beyond the delineations and methodological characteristics of each social science involved in carrying out school research, what I want to emphasize here is its philosophical basis. It is a question of identifying the epistemological basis of such a varied qualitative methodology.

The hermeneutical perspective, which can be emphasized as underlying the methodological approaches used, is based on the assumption that the pupils are competent social actors. They intervene in an active and constructive way, through daily interaction in the school classroom; in this way they form the culture of their age group, but also at the same time contribute to the construction of society as a whole. In addition, the period of infancy and adolescence is a transitory period that involves many changes and modifications.

It is necessary to consider the complexity of the communicative processes in order to carry out empirical research in an appropriate way. Observing communication means identifying the theoretical distinction that allows the production of sociological knowledge. Communication can be divided into three phases:

1. How participants are treated and observed (like people or as social roles)
2. How reciprocal expectations are manifested (at a cognitive, normative, or affective level)
3. The semantic distinctions made when dealing with different subjects.

After this review we can emphasize three fundamental aspects that we propose regarding field research in the school classroom:

1. The positive role played by the external researcher, who can open new windows and fields of experience in the context of study;
2. Awareness of the attitude of deeply listening is the soul of a hermeneutic and qualitative approach. Not because it has a magical virtue that reveals the knowledge that we are looking for, but because it is the most appropriate and truly respectful approach to the phenomenon which it approaches, in this case the school classroom: a full field of tensions, always in movement, dynamic and, of course, complex. For that reason a sufficient period of

study is required, sharing contexts and activities, in order to truly enter the space of study;

3. It is necessary to emphasize the potential of having access to investigations with different disciplinary approaches. This is once again the test of the need for a convergence of the variety of human sciences; to manage to develop coordinated works serves, at least, to assume two tasks: one, to improve the understanding of the phenomena that affect the contemporary human condition or social level, for the elaboration of more and more accurate theoretical models; and, in addition, to contribute to an ever more precise evaluation of the practices and designs of public policies.

2. **The Relation between Pupils and Teaching Staff**

The relation between pupils and teaching staff will be examined through two research studies. First we will present results from an empirical research study carried out in France. The French context presents a peculiarity: the declaration of principle that animates all public policy in this country. This declaration of principle is called the *republican ideology*. It is a model of a constitutional state that has been developed historically throughout the third French republic (1870-1940) and which emphasizes the role of knowledge and rationality to gain access to a national but universal citizenship.[5] This takes shape in an individual participation in political life, a separation between the public and private sphere, and a key role played by the institutions, and in particular, by the school.

The declarations of principle of the French republican school, free, secular and obligatory (in its primary level), propose integration through the diffusion of the national culture in schools, and labour integration by means of selection based on individual merit. The teaching staff are called *instituteurs* because their mission is to institute the republic by means of the transmission of national culture.

This model has easily become a resource for the integration of foreigners. After World War II immigrants came to France from the ex-colonies (especially from the Maghreb and Central Africa). These groups of immigrants were concentrated in peripheral urban zones, and their children began to attend the schools of the districts where they lived in great num-

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[5] Todorov in its work "Us and the others" analyzes, based on the approach of Rousseau, the contradictions that lead to the tension between *Man and citizen.* The first represents the universal level; the second, the particular national level. Cf. Todorov T., *Nosotros y los otros,* siglo XXI editores, Madrid,1991, p. 21

bers. This created a particular phenomenon of segregation. During the 1980s priority educational zones (ZEP) were instituted, that is to say, urban zones were identified with particular educational needs. One of the criteria to define a ZEP is that of finding a percentage of foreign students in the schools of a given district. Nevertheless, this educational policy design did not improve the schooling of disadvantaged children, nor of the children of immigrants. As has been very well pointed out by the researcher Lorcerie (1995), although the ZEP set out to be an innovative experiment in pedagogical mobilization, it stayed on this level and did not become effective public policy at a national level. Nevertheless, pedagogical-didactic changes and experimentation still take place thanks to the teaching staff. We will see, through the research of the scientist Elena Roussier-Fusco[6], how these teachers, with their expectations and educational style, can assist, or block, a process of integration.

The first style that was demonstrated is one that appears neutral with respect to ethnic diversities. In this type of approach, the relations between teacher and students are strongly conditioned by formal aspects imposed by the teacher. This clearly delimits the academic and non-academic field, just as the republican ideology separates the private sphere from the public sphere. Another type of relational style could be called "informal style". This sets out to take into account ethnic differences, through references and jokes throughout the school year, without paying attention to the possible effects.

The researcher evaluates the informal style as follows: "I think that all these allusions had an impact on pupils which, of course, is very hard to measure, but which leads me to make the assumption that pupils got used to seeing their origin underlined (…) in a way which was more negative than positive".[7]

It is necessary to understand more deeply why emphasizing cultural differences plays a negative role. We again give the word to the French researcher: "This is a teaching style where strong classification and flexible framing are coupled with the underlining of pupils' ethnic origin through alternating reproaches and jokes with pupils' ethnic characteristics as a subject, sometimes used to restore order, and sometimes to defuse the atmosphere. This style seems to lead to a negative ethnicity at a formal level which was taken as ordinary at a formal level of the relations among pupils".[8]

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[6] Roussier-Fusco E., *Adjusting the French model of integration to deprived suburbs : the example of interethnic relations in two primary schools*, in E*ducation and intercultural narratives in multicultural classrooms,* Officina edizioni,2006.

[7] Roussieur- Fusco E. , *ob. cit.,* p. 77

[8] Ibid. p.77

The results of this observation are that neutrality towards difference generates a negative perception of ethnic difference, which leads to insults between students but not to conflicts outside class. On the other hand, where the teacher emphasizes ethnic differences in an inappropriate way, it leads to difficult relations both inside and outside class.

The French researcher, emphasizes a third relational style: in which teachers clarify ethnic differences as a positive evocation, without disguising a critical presentation of the difficulty of interethnic relations. This style, nevertheless, causes a reinforcement and politicisation of conflicts between students.

None of these styles positively guarantees the task of the school as an actor for social integration: we need to invent new practices so that the educational institution can achieve its social work without losing its autonomy as an educational agency, but rather by increasing it.

We have begun to notice that the relation between students and teaching staff has great importance. Another research study, carried out by Dieneke de Ruiter of the University of Utrecht[9], evaluates this aspect in depth. In Holland, there are four main groups of immigrants: Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Dutch Antilles. In the Dutch educational system the gulf between students of foreign origin and those of Dutch origin is profound, both in terms of school success at primary level and, in secondary school, by the high dropout rate. The explanation that is given to explain this gulf focuses on the background of the foreign pupils: their individual characteristics, their socioeconomic environment of origin and the cultural resources at their disposition (language). However, a factor that is not sufficiently emphasized is the relationship between teachers and students and, specifically, the opinions of the teaching staff toward the pupils. Through 14 interviews (a limited number, but one which says something about a possible and real attitude of the teaching staff) we find that the opinion of the teaching staff towards foreigners in general influences their educational work negatively.

In the first instance we will take into account the opinions of the teachers about the foreign students. The dominant opinion is one that places the condition of being foreign as a deprivation: in the first place because the new language of the host country is not practiced; secondly, because the family environment does not support minors in the assumption of new cultural customs. These opinions can lead to exclusion in the school classroom; in addition, these opinions are based on

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[9] De Ruiter D., *Teacher's opinion's about ethnic minority pupils : sources of inclusion or exclusion* ?, en *Education and intercultural narratives in multicultural classrooms*, Officina edizioni, 2006, Roma

stereotypes and prejudices from monocultural criteria. The impact of this type of opinion leads to a lack of motivation towards the learning of pupils belonging to ethnic minorities.

Another possible source of exclusion is the superficial attention that the teachers give to the subject of culture as a topic that can be raised in class. In this way, students cannot be faced with a critical view of the relation between the different national or ethnic identities and positions of power, so as to contrast the strong dependency on existing structures and the processes of assimilation.

The second instance that is analysed is the influence of opinions on pedagogical practices. All the teachers make changes based on their opinions on the linguistic and cultural background of the pupils. Most of the teachers placed the main emphasis on the sense that the learning process becomes slower and the specific objectives are reduced to a more basic level. The curriculum, the programming, is not modified, the culture as subject of one or more classes is not taken into account. In short, a proactive dialogue with the families is not undertaken.

The third aspect considers the reflections that the teachers make on the didactic practices after seeing the slow advances in learning by students of other nationalities. The opinion of the teachers is that, despite their efforts, it will be more and more difficult to bridge the gulf that divides the native pupils from the foreign pupils. Lamentably none of the teachers interviewed reflects critically on their responsibility in the limited learning success. This is because they consider that educational disadvantages are based more on cultural and socio-economic factors, considering these not as variables, but like something immutable, impossible to modify.

Instead of drawing negative considerations from these results, we can affirm the importance of the role of the teaching staff as possible agents of cultural and social change: A role that needs help and support from institutional education policies.

3. **Intercultural Narration: Construction of Identities in Multilingual Environments**

One of the experiences to be found in the school classroom is the encounter, interaction and relation between children of different territorial and cultural origins.

How do pupils think about ethnic identity and belonging? How do they elaborate the experience of migration in the construction of identity in the school classroom? In what terms do they talk about this as-

pect? How do they experience the wealth of linguistic difference, if it is valued? How can the communicative process be helped in a school classroom? We will try to answer these questions through the results of research carried out in Italy, Spain and Scotland.

The scene in which Sabina Rapari carries out her research in some schools in the centre of Italy is very particular.[10] This is because the diffusion of the population of immigrant origin has not been concentrated exclusively in the great metropolitan areas but has also been distributed among the smaller cities.[11] This means that relations between a population that usually does not have the same resources as a metropolitan city faces a completely new phenomenon and that a careful analysis is required. Government statistical studies speak of diffuse and polycentric scenes. In addition, in the multicultural scenario of the Italian school 191 nationalities of origin are emphasized, which reveals the presence of a particularly varied cultural and linguistic diversity.

However, the results of this investigation reveal how children with migratory experience receive a positive image of themselves; in certain aspects they perceive that they have an existence that is not too different from that of their peers. Nevertheless, this is not the only perception. There are situations where difficulties emerge from the children with migratory experience related to socioeconomic deprivations.

Through participation in discussions on the perception of their own identity it is outstanding how the students show a network of identity models woven in the tension between the places of origin of the parents and the country where they now live and study, revealing the complexity of developing one's own personal and cultural identity.

The discussions collected in organized focus-groups confirm a positive image of the context of the school classroom: it emphasizes the role of the school environment for learning new things and the language. Peer relations emerge as a problem.

The experiences of welcome to the country have been very varied: there are experiences where religious differences are determining, for example between Catholics and Muslims; others have received help and have been welcomed, while in other cases, on the contrary, there has been a total lack of help.

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[10] Rapari S., *School and migration: a look at two multicultural scholastic contexts in the central-north Apennines*, in *Education and intercultural narratives in multicultural classrooms,* Officina edizioni,2006, Roma pp. 127-146

[11.] As happens for example in Holland, where citizens of other nationalities are concentrated in the main four cities of the country.

The perception of the students is often very positive towards the school environment; nevertheless, the institutional level of the school organization does not take into account in an appropriate way the presence of pupils with migratory experience and they do not value this within school daily life.

A very important contribution when analysing the multicultural and multilinguistic dimension in the classroom is one that is notable in a study led by researcher Luisa Martín Rojo together with a broad team of researchers, who have carried out an investigation in educational centres of the Community of Madrid, during a period of two years and with an interdisciplinary approach, based particularly on linguistic and anthropological specialization. The theoretical framework of the research is based on the sociolinguistic and ethnographic[12]: in order to investigate and understand linguistic difference in school classrooms this is valued and then examines how this valuation or lack thereof affects school performance. This approach aims to focus attention on a critical analysis of discourses, that is to say, of the effective dynamics that are developed in the school.

The legal-political framework of education leaves the management of the public policies up to the Autonomous Communities. The situation that is noted in the study which we are reviewing is that since "the legislative framework refers to a concept of integration which seems to respond to a vision compatible with an ideology and an intercultural model, that appeals to "respect for difference, which implies mutual recognition of the expressiveness and the creativity of the different cultures that the plural and democratic coexistence demands in the Community of Madrid, to establish a framework of balanced social interaction" (Regional Plan of educational Compensation: 12-13). Nevertheless (...) this term includes different and even contradictory meanings".[13]

And the fact is that even in the declaration of principles, the adoption of an intercultural model is revealed: a model that involves all the actors in maintaining proposals of "compensatory education", although these are solely aimed at "the sector of the pupils who are considered to need compensation and not to the whole of the educational community, which is why forcing intercultural education into this framework indicates that it is not understood as a development that needs to involve changes in the various dimensions of life in schools".[14]

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[12] The study that is being reviewed presents a very strong theoretical approach that lead with great precision to the empirical research. Cf. Martín Rojo L., *Asimilar o integrar? Dilemas ante el multilingüismo en las aulas,* CIDE, 2003, pp. 31-58

[13] ibidem p. 60

[14] ibidem p. 59

The results of these case studies, in the area of language teaching, show us that, fundamentally, school classrooms remain monolingual communities, despite the multilingualism of the students. Native students often show interest in languages, but have no way to channel interest as a curricular or extracurricular activity. On other occasions, they feel excluded when other languages are used in school. On the other hand, students of foreign origin make an effort to incorporate the language of teaching, which is often considered excessively utilitarian. Those who show positive attitudes towards the language of the host country still complain of pressure to assimilate. The risk is losing their language of origin.

Luisa Martín Rojo concludes: "maintaining the maternal language also contributes to its integration, not only due to the role it plays in the construction of identity but its usefulness and, consequently, the social capital that it implies. As long as this balance is found, it safeguards bilingualism and the dynamic multiple identity of those people who, as a result, will be able to act as a "bridge" or "link".[15]

The search for strategies to value the multicultural and multilinguistic classroom and the way of promoting communication dynamics, their particular cultural and linguistic origins, is what energizes the research of John Corbet of the University of Glasgow, which is based in the field of microethnography.[16] His research consists of analysing interviews with celebrities from television, cinema and spectacles in general, to understand in a more appropriate way the processes of communication that take place in a multicultural classroom where there is the intention of being intercultural. In the first place, the importance of taking care with the various guidelines of communication must be emphasized: the roles of the participants, the division of speech acts, participation and negotiation of what is important in a conversation, of what is serious and what is a joke, and the awareness of how what appears as sincere and spontaneous is constructed based on the function of entertaining the public through the topical moment of the discussion. According to Corbett, with care one can use the different social construction of the entertainment spectacle from different contexts. Nevertheless, the most useful resource for an intercultural classroom that is derived from the microethnographic approach is the practice of *role-playing*. This tool is a valid aid to learning that enables individuals to construct a public identity via a context created by various mediations. It also allows role-

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[15] ibidem, p.233
[16] Corbett J., *Celebrity ,Culture, language and learning*, in *Education and intercultural narratives in multicultural classrooms*, Officina edizioni, 2006

playing to be used as an integration of the traditional, direct ways of teaching a class.

It is not a question of proposing a revolutionary new method of education, but rather integrating in the basic curriculum the varied role played by language. It is an aid to raise awareness of how, by means of verbal language (and with the first, maternal, language, or the second, learned in the host country) and with non-verbal language, the public and private identity of each student is constructed and negotiated (or, in turn, denied).

4. **The Involvement of Pupils in School Life**

It is often assumed that intercultural learning occurs automatically in educational establishments and the school classroom.

Boys and girls who find themselves in a school context characterized by cultural differences are stimulated in a particular way to assume different perspectives and opinions. A multicultural school classroom with pupils of various cultural origin is an important opportunity to experience what it means to live in a democracy and to learn to practice citizenship. The classroom constitutes, in effect, a place in which to learn to handle divergences of opinion and to resolve conflicts through tools of dialogue and mediation without violence. As the researcher Parker (2003) maintains, the class group, due to its nature as a group that is not chosen with complete freedom, allows us not only to meet with the differences of "others" of cultural origin (geographic, cultural, religious, of opinion), but also differences in character, that is to say, people with whom empathy or affection is not previously assured. When one considers an educational path inspired by interculturality, one must take on a double task: to facilitate for all the actors involved the possibility of communicating in the most appropriate and participative way; and, in addition, to evaluate whether this communication and participation is effective and how it happens. This is a process that requires follow-up to review the attitude of different cultures, as well as the precise context in which school life and coexistence take place. The criterion underlying this process is human rights.

Intercultural education does not take place in a completely empty framework. The European Union (differently in the context of each state) presents itself as a multicultural whole, affected in many ways by the phenomena of migration. Social policies, more and more, assume awareness of this factor and, in particular, of its negative image; that is to say, racism.

In the 1997 the Council of Europe launched the project "Education for Democratic Citizenship" (EDC). [17] The objective of this program was to promote best practices and to develop new models for democratic citizenship, and also to obtain a common European framework for this aspect. Another objective was to fight xenophobia, intolerance and nationalisms. Thus, the European Committee of European Ministers of Education has emphasized the important role that this project plays in achieving greater social cohesion and capacity for coexistence.

This project is evidently based on the key role of education in fighting racism and xenophobia for a new citizenship. However, the weakness of this starting point is represented by the failure to deal with the problematical issues of what is being proposed: What does citizenship mean? What does it imply to be citizen in a multicultural context? The fact is that these are not merely theoretical questions, in fact that there is no harmony between these factors, which greatly limits the effectiveness of a project of educational policy. This is the distance between a declaration of principle and the reality of the context in which action takes place. In many European countries, pupils of immigrant origin are, for example, those who show the highest dropout rates. In this context, it is impossible to speak of democracy and equality of opportunities and of anti-racism, if one ignores this highly problematical topic.

Audrey Osler (English researcher at the University of Leeds) made an evaluation of this project that shows how attention to the specific life of the pupils and their participation in decision-making is fundamental to promote a change and a different approach towards cultural difference.[18]

In England, there are excellent data on the inequality in school results between different ethnic groups. Tikly and others (2002) have shown how in the cities where local authorities have involved immigrant communities in discussing children's school careers, they have verified a positive impact. In particular, the voice of the pupils is excellent to improve public practices and policies in educational establishments where there is also the greatest inequality in school success and an inversely proportional relation between the diversity of teaching staff and pupils.

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[17] Education for democratic citizenship.
[18] Osler A., *Multicultural schools and classrooms: using the voices of children and young people to inform policy and practice* in *Education and intercultural narratives in multicultural classrooms*, Officina edizioni, 2006

The research that we are going to review aimed to identify the strategies that primary and secondary schools have adopted to reduce exclusion. With this objective, the approach has been focussed on the relation between students and other actors in school life (teaching staff, administrators, families). Through questionnaires given to 158 students of primary and secondary schools, it was shown how they want teachers who value good behaviour, listen to the students, look for reasons why disputes happen, recognize the problems of bullying, as well as racial and sexual problems, as real problems, that are interested in the life of the children, who seek to understand before punishing and who show respect for the students.

With respect to the school directors and heads, who are in charge of managing school life, the students think that they should: to find ways of involving the points of view of the pupils (through, for example, school councils, student newspapers, school questionnaires and assemblies); using part of class time to discuss commitments for management of the school life; inviting parents to participate in the classes; organizing a tutorial service; training staff in conflict management; sanction racist teachers and involve student representatives in the decision-making of the school.

I would like to emphasize, as a contribution worth mentioning, the connection made by the pupils between discipline, behaviour and learning. It is a question of becoming aware of the links between the teaching proposal, the style of the teacher, the institutional level and disciplinary consequences.

The investigation-action carried out by the English researcher with five case studies revealed differences between the establishments that implemented formal structures to involve the students effectively. In the schools where there are institutionally recognized structures of student consultation, the pupils see that they can make the difference and implement change. In addition the students commit themselves more to learning. Through this investigation-action, he focussed attention on the techniques adopted by the teaching staff to regulate the relations between pupils within the school classroom. Thus, it has been possible to identify a protocol for action in a situation of school conflict: join together in a shared pact for learning, then work with a series of games that help with learning to listen to each other, to cooperate, to work in groups and to solve problems together. The most outstanding consequence of these results is represented in a greater recognition of student participation in schools, within the framework of the law. In multicultural contexts, attention to how the pupils feel and live in the school environment can help political decision-makers to develop a new view of this type of question.

5. **From Experience to Theory: Towards a Renovation of Intercultural Education**

In the light of what it has been shown by this tour of results coming from empirical investigations, it is very useful and interesting to review the consequences for the conceptual proposition of interculturality. We will initiate this point by analysing the main levels on which the intercultural model is developed: On the one hand, it proposes *personalised* attention; on the other hand, it aims to face up to the task of mediating between diverse cultures. These two levels can be conceptualised as follows: intercultural education intentionally aims to educate the specific person (families, teaching staff, other professionals, pupils, institutions), in respect and mutual knowledge of cultural differences; intercultural pedagogy reflects on this subject theoretically. Intercultural pedagogy assumes as a basic requirement the dynamic constitution of culture and proposes inspiring the empirical practices of intercultural education.

The latter faces two main tasks: first, to know the language of the host country without penalizing the language of origin. Second, to empower and enable respect for the various cultural distinctions.

For both tasks, we have seen that a fundamental role is played by the relations that are experienced and the communicative forms that are used. The best way to undertake and favour intercultural education is dialogue. The latter should guarantee an effective encounter between cultural forms, creating the conditions for mutual openness, allowing the participants to construct new cultural symbols together. Dialogue requires two basic conditions to be developed: first is the equal distribution of opportunities for active participation and the possibility of mutual expression. The second condition of dialogue is empathy, that is to say, the ability of those engaged in a dialogue to decentralize themselves from their own perspective so as to listen and assume the point of view of the other.

What are the effects of the dialogue dynamics that we have found in the first part of this article? At a conceptual level the effects can be expressed as follows: intercultural learning is neither adaptation nor assimilation, since it means the application and new construction of knowledge, thus making a leap from assimilation to creativity, including active participation, respect and empathy. Dialogue represents the cultural foundation of intercultural learning.

The final result of a intercultural or dialogue-based education, together with intercultural abilities and the development of a positive sensitivity towards the differences, is multicultural identity, also defined as intercultural identity or *transculturality*.

Multicultural identity has been defined through the following concepts: flexibility, reflexivity, creativity and autonomy. In the light of the research presented in the article, these concepts are insufficient and can even reveal a concealed conception of ethnocentrism, because it makes it seem that identity can be multicultural only if the autonomous *being* is constructed by putting several cultural pieces together. On the other hand, a multicultural identity in the deep and rich sense is a personality that mixes its own originality with the interdependent sociocultural belonging and origins. Furthermore, originality and autonomy, on the one hand, phenomenologically are data without empirical existence; on the other hand, they are formed and shaped by reworking all the experiences and encounters with different social and cultural realities.[19] Now, the debate that arises around this topic can be reflected in this question: Are there viable alternatives to the model of intercultural education, within the school, to achieve the construction of a multicultural citizenship? One of the alternatives proposed by social scientists is intercultural mediation[20]. We have seen how in the specific school classes, the topics of relationship, dialogue and participation are central for the development of dynamics appropriate to the school context and its educational function. Intercultural mediation is a concept that serves to better define a practice, an intervention in a context of conflict in the presence of inequality and/or discrimination against cultural minorities. Intercultural mediation, unlike simple mediation, emphasizes in a clear, explicit and appropriate way, the mutual and reciprocal possibility of learning starting from different cultural positions. It is a concept based on empowerment of the actors involved in the act of communication and education. In effect, the aim is to construct, from a common and equal plan, a new way of dealing with communicative and cultural symbols. This is so that intercultural forms of education are not easily converted into attempts to impose the vision of the dominant group. In order to avoid this risk, Pearce (1989) proposes a new concept to define this paradigm of confrontation-mediation: cosmopolitan mediation. This concept understands intercultural dialogue as a coordination between several very different cultural forms, which are seen as incommensurable and which are accepted *a priori* as legitimate; in addition, it is a question of handling conflicts by means of a dialectical comparison in the various social spaces.

The most important difference with the transcultural approach is the rejection of the proposal of *conjunction* in favour of that of *coordina-*

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[19] Cf. Ricoeur P., *The Model of the Text: Meaningful Action Considered like a text*, PDF, 1979

[20] This is an idea that only partly coincides with and is equal to the practices of cultural mediation which take place in several public spaces, including the school.

tion: maintaining differences, but it does not reach agreements to satisfy the needs and desires of those who participate in the social game.

According to the Italian scientist Baraldi, in a functionally differentiated society, cosmopolitan mediation is inevitably less popular than the intercultural proposal. [21] The prerequisite of accepting cultural forms as incommensurable is considered a high social risk. But it is necessary to clarify that cosmopolitan mediation will not abandon harmony between the various symbolic-cultural forms; on the contrary, it seeks a positive coordination through dialogue to construct a multicultural citizenship.

Can this type of citizenship be achieved with the cosmopolitan proposal instead of intercultural education? The latter is undergoing a period of crisis: its statements are quite clear in the scientific literature but not in specific practices.

The experiences that we have seen in this article can make a very important theoretical contribution, initiating the treatment of intercultural education not only in its systematic aspects (at the communicative level) but as an implication and commitment of specific people who speak and act. This implies that cultural systems are not automatically and completely reflected in each person from a given cultural context, but rather that each individual is an original synthesis of new and unique cultural origin and personal development.

To be listened to among unique, equal but different people is the old, yet always new, task of education. To know oneself through the contribution of the others who find themselves in a public space like the school classroom, is to become aware of not having a monopoly on points of view about the world. It means re-dimensioning cultural contexts, becoming aware of personal individuality and seeking how to live together so as to respect ever more the human beings with whom you share this world, and in particular the space of the school classroom. Through respect for personal life and the constant review of their own starting positions, sharing effective experiences of life, it is possible to move towards a form of education that is ever more personal, open and unprejudiced.

Conclusions

We have seen the limitations and difficulties that can be found (in different European countries) in giving a positive and adequately recog-

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[21] Baraldi C., New forms of intercultural Communication in a globalised world in Gazzette 68 (1), pp. 53-69, 2006

nised role (at the level of cultural and social practices) to multicultural classes within educational establishments.

In addition, the gulf between school policies (in particular at the level of declaration of principles and theoretical expositions that inspire them) and daily practices can be emphasized.[22]

Among the conclusions that can be drawn based on empirical studies that investigate the reality of the multicultural school classroom, at a level of public policies, we can indicate that theoretical development does not give us a magical formula to resolve the new conditions in school classrooms; it is empirical research that allows us to learn from experience in order to improve political praxis.

So far, integration is not a reality in the school classroom. This conclusion is not only based on statistical data that reflect scholastic success, failure or dropping out. Rather social integration is understood in the sense of the common life that takes place within a school classroom, that is to say, in its processional dimension (*in itinere*) and which has the greatest influence on the social profile.

This article has emphasized the importance of the relation between student and teacher. Improving quality requires that we consider reforming the professional training of teachers to ensure that the people involved in education have the theoretical and practical tools to work in a multicultural psycho-social context. In particular we need to move towards a new approach to forms of relationship.

The proposal of intercultural education runs the risk of remaining as a Kantian "empty concept" if it is not based on an effective *recognition* of the singularity of a person of different origin, who, at the same time, does not find, in the educational relationship, awareness of the *interdependence* of cultures.

We have seen, then, that observing the experience of the multicultural classroom raises a theoretical debate about the elaboration of concepts more adapted to reality and to its improvement. On this same point, there is another aspect that should be brought to light: the *condition* of a multicultural school classroom: focussing on promoting mediation and dialogue in the classroom, together with active participation of the pupils.

The research that has been presented highlights the positive role played by participation and the narration of every student's experience and what they take home with them. This can be obtained in many

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[22] A pending task is to evaluate the real impact of the normative framework and educational policies in the intercultural direction of the European Union. We might say, in the light of this article, that forms of Eurocentrism persist in real practices.

ways. The ethnographic approach suggests the *role-playing* resource as a mode of discussion on the construction of cultural identities via the interaction between students and valuing idiomatic differences. Narration, a tool that is common to all cultures, is a resource that appears as a key to intercultural practices. Finally, we should emphasize the positive role of pupils' participation in decision making in school life. All these factors imply raising the awareness of those who design educational policies.

Institutional frameworks and political decisions should be inspired and based, not so much on a distant theoretical model of reality, but on what happens in practice. For that reason it is a good public policy option to investigate, review, and systematize good practices of intercultural education.

A school that is multicultural and intercultural is produced through a day-to-day process of constructive dialogue. The actors involved represent a multiplicity of voices and a variety of people. Sadly, public policies have lost this characteristic of personal attention. An institution is not a neutral organization but one that is composed of people who work for people who are also citizens.

In order to take advantage of the human and institutional potentiality of the educational establishment, it is important to collect good practices, this being fundamental in order to favour a virtuous circle between political decision-makers, social scientists, pupils and teaching staff. A virtuous circle that does not work without the basic assumption that each process of human communication and coexistence must develop to the maximum the act of listening, being available to recognize in the other or in the phenomenon that is being experienced, an interlocutor worthy of attention: it is in this act that the formation of a new multicultural citizenship is at stake.

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Part III

Transitions and Transformations in the Migrant Self

Creating Tools for Cultural Survival in a Transnational Context: Cape Verdean-American Communities in Providence, Rhode Island, and New Bedford, Massachusetts.

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> *We have to be the architects of our own history—past and present, or the future will not be ours.*
>
> *Being Cape Verdean is not just a location or geographical location, but a state of mind. Once you have it in your mind and heart, it is there forever and goes with you wherever you go.*
>
> Claire Andrade-Watkins[2]

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[2] http://www.caboverdeonline.com/contents/my_community/2005/08/04/cw283105.asp

Introduction

Some of the oldest Cape Verdean-American communities in the United States are to be found in the southern coastal regions of New England, in Providence, Rhode Island and in the New Bedford area, in Massachusetts.[3] Like many other communities in the Cape Verdean diaspora, these tightly-knit and self-contained Cape Verdean-American communities are small but vigorous and still growing.[4] The warmth and the strong sense of community and hospitality found at the core of all Cape Verdean populations is still apparent in these communities, and firm transnational links are still maintained with the Cape Verde islands. For Cape Verdeans, like many other diaspora communities, identity formation appears to be inseparable from questions of space, location and community formation and there will always be a sense of a "doubled relationship" or dual loyalty to the place they are currently living in and their continuing connection with the world they have left "back home". It could be suggested that they live in an "imagined community", one that is driven and enjoined by "a shared sense of connectedness and belonging."[5]

However, it is not easy to be a Cape Verdean in the United States. As Gina E. Sánchez points out, "Like other immigrants, Cape Verdeans and their descendants have had to constantly negotiate their cultural, political and national identities in light of new social forces impacting their lives in the United States".[6] It is a difficult negotiation and for many Cape Verdean-Americans living in these New England communities, "social

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[3] Like Gina E. Sanchez, I am using the term "Cape Verdean-Americans" throughout this paper, as a general descriptor of a community whose members identify themselves as such, or who are seen by others to be such. Most of them can they trace their ancestry back to the Cape Verde Islands. The use of "American" in this descriptor helps to differentiate the second and later generations of Cape Verdeans born in the United States. The term is also used to describe a racial/ethnic community made up of both native and naturalised citizens and both legal and illegal residents who are at present living either temporarily or permanently in the United States.

[4] The Cape Verdean diaspora, for example, reaches far out from the Cape Verde Islands to New England and California, to the Netherlands and France, to Senegal and Argentina, even to Hawai and elsewhere.Today, in New England, the fastest growing new immigrant communities in the United States can be found in Dorchester and Brockton, Massachusetts and in Pawtucket, Rhode Island.

[5] Anderson, Benedict. (1991. [1983]) Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin *and Spread of Nationalism*. 2nd ed. New York: Verso Press. Cape Verdeans have frequently self- identified themselves with an "imagined" island homeland.

[6] Gina E. Sánchez, The Politics of Cape Verdean American Identity, *Transforming Anthropology*, Volume 6, Numbers 1&2 1997, p 54.

identity can never be assumed and is never a given. Rather, the issue is continually being reformulated, sometimes at critical personal cost".[7] To be a Cape Verdean-American is to be living in what Claire Andrade-Watkins calls "a hyphenated space", an ambiguous and often paradoxical space that lies at the intersection of race and ethnicity. As a result, "the presence of Cape Verdeans, like other 'hyphens' in America's cultural, ethnic, and historical landscape, is often overlooked".[8] Cape Verdean-Americans have always had to cope with the challenge of maintaining and preserving a strong and vibrant cultural identity shaped by transnational links to the Cape Verde archipelago whilst, at the same time, adapting and integrating socially, politically, and economically in the New England environment. The challenge continues to be a tough one. Cape Verdean-American cultural identity is still undergoing processes of transition and transformation, of revision and revitalisation.

The main intention in this paper, however, is not to examine the ways in which Cape Verdean-American culture is formed and transformed or to discuss what kinds of social purposes are served by the construction of culture or even to explore the relationship between culture and ethnic identity. Neither does the paper explore the dual sense of peoplehood so often felt by Cape Verdans. These issues have already been broached in depth by Joane Nagel.[9] There are also two excellent accounts of the changing cultural identity of Cape Verdean-Americans in New England by Marilyn Halter and Gina E. Sanchez.[10] Rather, the primary aim of this paper is to show how contemporary Cape Verdean-Americans are seeking for ways to assert their presence and to preserve their cultural identity by searching for "tools for cultural survival in a transcontinental context".[11]

In order to do this I have taken two examples of the many ways in which Cape Verdean-Americans are making their communities, and the transnational links between their communities and the Cape Verde Is-

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[7] Marilyn Halter (1993). *Between Race and Ethnicity: Cape Verdean American Immigrants, 1860-1965*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, p. 173

[8] Interview with Claire Andrade-Watkins, *Nos Jornal newspaper (USA) September 1, 2005. http://www.caboverdeonline.com/*

[9] See Joane Nagel, Joane. (1994). Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture. *Social Problems* 41(1): 152-172.

[10] Marilyn Halter (1993). *Between Race and Ethnicity: Cape Verdean American Immigrants, 1860-1965*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. Gina E. Sánchez, The Politics of Cape Verdean American Identity, *Transforming Anthropology*, Volume 6, Numbers 1&2 1997.

[11] Learning from Cape Verdean Experience by John W. Franklin and Peter Seitel, Smithsonian Institution

lands, more visible and more understood to the outside world. The first example is a written testimony, "The Story Must be Told" (1999) by Querino Kenneth J. Semedo, and the second example is a documentary film *"Some Kind of Funny Porto Rican?": A Cape Verdean American Story* (2006), directed by Claire Andrade-Watkins. Both the written testimony and the documentary film might be considered to be powerful tools for advocacy. The fact that the former has been published on internet, and the latter screened through SPIA Media Productions Inc. to a large number of audiences, has meant that both have been made easily accessible to the general public.[12] Both bring back, in different ways, the experiences of Cape Verdeans living and working in New England in the early and middle years of the twentieth century, thus capturing three generations of voices and experiences that were in the process of being irrevocably lost. As Dr. Claire Andrade-Watkins points out in an interview in Nôs Jornal, it is important to establish a baseline for the history of Cape Verdeans in North America and the Diaspora and one of the main purposes of her film,*"Some Kind of Funny Porto Rican?",* has been to encourage Cape Verdeans to begin to tell their stories. "We have to be the architects of our own history-past and present,"she says, "or the future will not be ours".[13]

Querino Kenneth J. Semedo writes an in-depth account of the little-known contribution of Cape Verdean workers to the cranberry industry in New England. His account spans the years 1907-1997, from the time his father arrived in New England to the present. The emphasis in his story is to recover some of the lost voices and experiences of the many Cape Verdeans employed in the cranberry bogs in the formative years of the New England cranberry industry. In the period from 1910 to 1933 Cape Verdeans traditionally performed some of the most arduous and undesirable tasks required to build the cranberry bogs. However, the official history of cranberry growing often neglects or underplays the importance of the migrant contribution to this industry. Semedo writes a moving testimony to the lives and experiences of these people who have remained unnoticed and under-valued.

Claire Andrade-Watkins' documentary film, *"Some Kind of Funny Porto Rican?": A Cape Verdean American Story,* (2006) is an especially

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[12]   SPIA is dedicated to the documentation and preservation of the history of Cape Verdeans and the African Diaspora. Claire Andrade-Watkins started this distribution company, and in only three years has garnered success with the Cape Verdean/Brazilian/Portuguese film "Testamento," proving that this can be done.

[13]   Interview with Claire Andrade-Watkins, *Nos Jornal newspaper (USA) September 1, 2005. http://www.caboverdeonline.com/*

powerful example of how film can be used as an advocacy tool. Using an innovative "documemoir" approach, Andrade presents the untold history of the Cape Verdean community in the Fox Point neighbourhood of Providence, Rhode Island, a richly vibrant community that was torn apart by urban renewal in the 1960's and 1970's. The film chronicles the life of the community, its history, its music, the world of the longshoremen in the Port of Providence. It is humorous, full of anecdotal stories and observations, and reveals the joyful and sad moments of an uprooted community. Like Mike Costa's film *Proud to be Cape Verdean: A Look at Cape Verdeans in the Golden* State, Claire Andrade's documentary takes an insightful look at individuals and organisations and their desire to maintain and sustain cultural identity. Her purpose is clear in this film. She has been able to "document, preserve and distribute" the history of a Cape Verdean community that has, in a sense, been "erased before it was written". The film is an excellent example of an advocating tool that enables people to speak for themselves. Not only has the film given the displaced community of Cape Verdeans a chance to express their love for, and sense of identification with, Fox Point, but it has given them the means to come to terms with the loss of their neighbourhood, and it has also enabled their predicament to become clear to the outside world.

However, before looking at these two examples in detail, it may be useful just to briefly outline the sociological and historical background to the complex situation of the Cape Verdean-American community in New England. In *Between Race and Ethnicity: Cape Verdean American Immigrants, 1860-1965* Marilyn Halter gives an excellent analysis of the complex and ever-changing positioning of Cape Verdeans caught in the interstices of the intricate network of native-born and immigrant communities in the United States. Halter's book considers the important role that the beliefs in, and practice of, racism play in the way immigrant ethnic identities and socio-economic relations are formed and re-formulated. She outlines the way Cape Verdeans have at different times been classified in the U.S. census as Portuguese, African Portuguese, and as Atlantic Islanders. She describes the way they have encountered the same kind of "double invisibility" experienced by other non-white immigrants in the binary hierarchy in the United States. Cape Verdeans have been subjected to the same practices of racial exclusion as native-born African Americans but at same time have been denied recognition as a separate ethnic group. She traces the way the encounter with institutional racism actually led Cape Verdeans to place a stronger emphasis on their cultural distinctiveness as Portuguese colonial subjects and, as a result of this, disassociated themselves from native-born African Americans. However,

white Portuguese immigrants from Portugal, Madeira and the Azores refused to recognise Cape Verdean claims to global Portuguese identity, and many Cape Verdeans were excluded from churches, voluntary associations and even some job markets (the commercial fishing industry at New Bedford was an example of this). The fact that Cape Verdeans were caught in this kind of Catch-22 situation, a dilemma in which neither choice had a satisfactory outcome, actually led to the effect of "bolstering" their sense of Crioulo distinctiveness, giving "the Cape Verdean ethnic neighbourhood an even more sharply circumscribed quality than even the most provincial enclaves." (Halter 1993: 94)

Gina E. Sanchez also explores the current situation of Cape Verdean-American identity based on research carried out with the Cape Verdean-American communities living in the Roxbury and Dorchester neighbourhoods of Boston, Massachusetts. These communities are, in fact, geographically not far from the communities I have been fortunate enough to work with in New Bedford and Providence. I am particularly interested in her comment concerning the impact that the 1960's had on Cape Verdean identity construction because, "it was during this time that Blackness and African heritage in particular were de-stigmatized for most Americans of African descent, and especially for second and third generation Cape Verdean Americans, who, under the influence of Civil Rights, Black Power, and African liberation movements, began to align themselves politically and culturally with African Americans".[14] The 1924 immigration laws had restricted Cape Verdean migration into the US drastically, but 40 years later in the decade of the 1960's there was a sudden sharp increase in the numbers immigrating into the New England communities. The new immigrants found that the existing communities in the United States were very different socially, culturally and politically from themselves. The 1960's was precisely the decade when the Cape Verdean community in the Fox Point community was beginning to be displaced by urban renewal whilst simultaneously new influxes of immigrants from the Cape Verde islands were moving in to the area of Rhode Island as a whole. Some of the Cape Verdean people interviewed in *"Some Kind of Funny Porto Rican?"* make comments that reflect the conflicting alignments and sense of difference that many Cape Verdeans must have been going through in this particular decade, *vis à vis* their own community and the other communities around them.

Cape Verdean Crioulo culture has been elaborated transnationally through unique links that migrants have maintained with the Cape Ver-

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[14]   Sánchez, p 63.

dean islanders. From both sides of the Atlantic, members of Cape Verdean communities have striven in the past, and still strive, to organize different ways of coping with geographical separation from their families and communities over long periods of time. Nowadays, of course, a transnational way of life of this kind is not such an unusual condition for many migrant populations throughout the world. When the term transnational is used in the modern sense to describe such communities, it usually implies that members of these communities export themselves and their labour to other countries, and establish for themselves a new way of life in the new host country whilst sending financial support and maintaining links with the old country at the same time. In this respect, it could be said that Cape Verdeans have been "transnational" in the modern sense of the word for many centuries. The networks and cultural relationships that have formed between the communities in the Cape Verdean islands and other communities such as those in New England are quite complex, and often have an institutional basis to them. However, despite the fact that the development of modern technology and world-wide economic systems have enabled transnational communities such as these to maintain institutional links with the old country more efficiently than ever before, cultural links are still often far more fragile and more difficult to maintain than they appear to be.

Transnationalism in Cape Verdean society has been determined by a combination of historical and environmental factors. Migration from the Cape Verde Islands took place as long ago as the fifteenth century not only because the environmental conditions of the islands were inhospitable but because Cape Verde happened to be in "a strategic position in the geography of trade and empire."[15] Cape Verdeans took on dangerous and poorly-paid work as sailors, whalers, and longshoremen, and later established themselves in the textile industries and as workers in the cranberry bogs in New England. By offering themselves as workers and sending back money and goods to their home islands, Cape Verdeans became, and have continued to be, truly transnational people, " in continual cultural dialogue, participating in institutions that maintain the links between them—shipping companies, political parties, mutual aid societies and relief organizations, banking, investment, video, radio, newspapers—as well as through musical performances in clubs or on records distributed by companies often owned by Cape Verdeans themselves, and, of course, through monetary remittances".[16]

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[15] Almeida, Raymond Anthony, ed. Ca. 1978. *Cape Verdeans in America: Our Story.* Based on original manuscripts by Michael K. H. Platzer and Deirdre Meintel Machado. Boston: Tchuba: The American Committee for Cape Verde, Inc.
[16] Ibid

Part of the construction of any cultural identity comes through links with a past that is meaningful. It is necessary to recover and reconstruct the historical past of a community not only to restore and preserve that past, but to insure that this past can be reintegrated into the on-going process of cultural identity formation. As Joane Nagel correctly surmises:

> Groups construct their cultures in many ways which involve mainly the *reconstruction* of historical culture, and the *construction* of new culture. Cultural reconstruction techniques include revivals and restorations of historical cultural practices and institutions; new cultural constructions include revisions of current culture and innovations-the creation of new cultural forms. Cultural construction and reconstruction are ongoing group tasks in which new and renovated cultural symbols, activities, and materials are continually being added to and removed from existing cultural repertoire. Cultural revivals and restorations occur when lost or forgotten cultural forms or practices are excavated and reintroduced, or when lapsed or occasional cultural forms or practices are refurbished and reintegrated into contemporary culture.(1994:163)

Younger generations need to be familiar with, to identify with, and to be proud of, the experience(s) of generations that have gone before them. They need to have clear roles and life philosophies to guide them. In addition to this they also need to feel that there is a continuity of place behind their lives, that they are part of that place, whether geographical, historical or imaginary, even if the "place" spans the Atlantic as it does for Cape Verdeans for whom transnationalism has been inherent part of their lives for over 500 years. However, in the case of Cape Verdeans in New England, the contribution that their communities have made in the past to the history and economy of New England has often been undervalued, overlooked and even neglected. Despite the fact that since the 1970's a considerable amount of research has been done by historians and ethnographers on Cape Verdean history and culture, a lot of Cape Verdeans on both sides of the Atlantic are not always aware of the major contribution their communities have made, for example, to the whaling and other maritime industries, or to the part their predecessors have played in the cranberry or textile industries in New England.

It is for this reason that such contributions as "The Story Must be Told" (1999) by Querino Kenneth J. Semedo, and *"Some Kind of Funny Porto Rican?": A Cape Verdean American Story,* (2006) directed by Claire Andrade-Watkins are of seminal importance in as much as they establish ways in which periods of lost time for Cape Verdeans can be recovered. Semedo has published his story on the internet thus enabling it to be

read by a very wide reading public, and Claire Andrade's film has been screened not only in university departments, but in all kinds of centers from community halls to libraries and museums. The written testimony and the documentary film are not just concerned with the facts and events in the history of Cape Verdeans in New England. They brim over with a wealth of detail about the private (and public) lives of the communities concerned. Semedo describes the warmth of Crioulo culture in the one-roomed shanty buildings where Cape Verdeans lived whilst working in the cranberry fields. He recalls the cooking and the kitchen dances, and various traditions such as the Cape Verdean Wakes and the Canta Reis. He mentions the return visit of his mother to Brava in the Cape Verde islands, the remittances sent back to help poorer relations, the families working together in the bogs and the preparations made for the long winters. Above all, he brings back the hardship of the early years in the cranberry bogs, especially the difficult time of the Great Depression and the stoicism of the Cape Verdeans during that period. Claire Andrade gathers together the voices of the longshoremen, and the sounds of the busy quayside life in the Fox Point neighbourhood in Providence. Like Semedo, Andrade captures the warmth of closely-knit families, little social gatherings, kitchen dances, songs and anecdotes. Her film not only reaches backwards to the early years of the twentieth century but it also forges links from Fox Point through an extended network of family and friends to the Cape Verdean communities of New Bedford and Cape Cod. Both Semedo and Andrade emphasize the importance of keeping the past alive because soon it is going to be too late to gather stories directly from people who would have knowledge of the early decades of the twentieth century. Andrade has pointed out that the making of her film was, in a sense, part of the race against time to gather together the voices of the "old timers" who were beginning to fail or pass away.

The role that scholars and academic institutions have been playing in Cape Verdean cultural construction and cultural renewal cannot be underestimated. The reconstruction and study of Cape Verdean cultural history is an essential part of the process of community construction. Institutions such as UMASS Dartmouth have been doing enormously valuable work recording the voices and experiences of the older generations of Cape Verdeans before it is too late. Oral histories, written accounts and photographs are being collected. Relevant archival footage showing the lives of Cape Verdeans and the places where they have lived and worked is being acquired and stored. All of these are crucial tools for insuring continuity between generations and shaping the identity and culture of future Cape Verdeans. There are accounts by historians

such as Sena Barcelos, Antonio Carreira, and Daniel Pereira, and eth-nographers such as Felix Monteiro and Luis Romano. Valuable research and contributions have been made by academics such as Marilyn Halter, Gina E. Sanchez, Raymond A. Almeida, Richard Lobban, Deidre Meintel, George Brooks, and other contemporary American scholars, all of whom have helped to fill in parts of the rich tapestry of the Cape Verdean experience in New England. In addition to this Cape Verdean radio and TV programs, websites and newspapers such as Nôs Jornal, the printed edition of *CaboVerdeOnline.com* are active sources for the dissemination of information, and forge real links between diaspora communities and the Cape Verde islands.[17] But, even more needs to be done in order to bring Cape Verdean culture into the foreground and to prevent the past history and untold stories of these communities from simply slipping away unnoticed. In order to do this it is necessary to use every possible tool available to enable Cape Verdeans not only to preserve their identity but to be able to understand themselves within a transnational context, to make their culture known and more visible to others, both in the Cape Verde archipelago and in diaspora communities too.

1. **The Historical Background to Cape Verdean-American Migration in New England**

There are several lively, and very accessible accounts of the historical aspects of Cape Verdean migration in, for example, Raymond Almeira's *Cape Verdeans in America: Our Story*(1978)*,* and António Carreira's *The People of the Cape Verde Islands: Exploitation and Emigration*. (1982).[18] For the purposes of this paper, however, I am only going to briefly outline some of the major historical facts connected with the migration of Cape Verdeans to New England. The main focus will be on the mid nineteenth-century migration, and the migration movement that peaked from 1900-1921, in connection with large numbers of Cape Verdeans working in New Bedford and Providence in maritime occupations and as agricultural labourers in the cranberry industry.

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[17] 1978 Cape Verdean immigrant, Alcides Vicente, began the first regular radio broadcast in the United States in the Cape Verdean language. The program serviced Rhode Island. A few years later, Romana Ramos Silva joined Vicente to continue the program to the present day.

[18] Raymond Almeira's *Cape Verdeans in America: Our Story,* ed. Raymond A. Almeida. Boston: Tchuba-American Committee for Cape Verde, Inc., 1978. and Carreira, António. (1982). *The People of the Cape Verde Islands: Exploitation and Emigration*. London and Hamden, Conn.: C. Hurst & Company and Archon Books

The small chain of Cape Verde islands lies almost 500 kilometers off the west coast of Africa. It is thought that this volcanic archipelago, made up of ten tiny, islands, was uninhabited until the Portuguese arrived there in the mid-fifteenth century. The islands later became part of the Portuguese empire. By the 15th and 16th centuries, the islands became a trans-shipment focus for slaves being transported to the New World.[19] Many Cape Verdeans were slaves themselves, or were involved in the slave trade in some way or another, either in the trafficking of slaves, or outfitting ships transporting slaves.[20] The population of the archipelago became a heterogenous mixture of African slaves and European colonists and the islands developed a distinct Crioulo culture. The climate in the Cape Verde islands has always been arid and the soils are badly eroded. Natural resources are few in these drought-stricken islands. As a result, the agricultural economy has always been fragile, and inhabitants of the islands have been forced to leave in order to find work.

Even before the slave trade had ended, many Cape Verdeans were already working in whaling, or commercial shipping. As early as the 1750's American ships had been calling at Cape Verde, and by the 1840's over forty percent of Nantucket whalemen were Cape Verdean.[21] As early as the American Revolution, the connection between the Cape Verde islands and the United States, particularly with New Bedford, Massachusetts, and Providence, Rhode Island, began to become increasingly significant, and it is in these two places that the oldest Cape Verdean communities in the United States are to be found.

One of the reasons why Cape Verdeans originally came to the New Bedford and Nantucket areas was because the whaling industry badly needed crews to work in dangerous, and low-paid jobs on the whaling vessels. Nantucket was New England's leading whaling port at that time, but soon New Bedford became the foremost port and it was to this town that the majority of Cape Verdean workers went. They came from desperately poor landless backgrounds in Sao Nicolau and Santo Antão from Barlaventos (northern island group) and from Maio, and Brava in the Sotaventos (southern island group) in the Cape Verde Islands. At

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[19] T. Bentley Duncan, (1971). *The Atlantic Islands: Madeira, the Azores and the Cape Verdes in the Seventeenth-Century, Commerce and Navigation*. Chicago: University of Chicago, pp. 198-210.

[20] At the beginning of the 17th century only 12 percent of the population of Fogo and Santiago were free individuals (Carreira 1966:44).

[21] Elmo P. Hohman. (1928). *The American Whalemen.* New York:Longmans, Green & Co, p.128.

first, the numbers of immigrants were very small but by the early 1800s the Cape Verdean men working on the whaling boats began to settle in New Bedford. At first, they spent long periods of time at sea, and spent the interim time living in cheap lodging near the docks. But, little by little, it was clear that there was plenty of work available on shore associated with shipping and ship-building. Cape Verdeans found work as dockworkers or riggers, coopers or in rope-making (New Bedford Rope Works). As the old whalers and schooners were gradually replaced by steamships, the old whaling vessels were sold off at a very low cost. Cape Verdeans living and working in the New Bedford area were often able to purchase these old, and often unseaworthy vessels, which were often referred to as "floating shipwrecks". In 1892, Antonio Coelho, for example, bought the Nellie May and became the first Cape Verdean to own and operate a packet ship between Providence and Cape Verde.

In this way Cape Verdeans could not only own and operate the ships but they could also use them to bring a constant stream of immigrants from the Cape Verdean islands to New Bedford and Providence. At the end of the nineteenth century the demand for cheap labour in southern New England was steadily increasing especially in the cranberry industry, and in the textile mills in New Bedford. In 1880, there were two textile mills employing 2,700 Cape Verdean workers and by 1905 there were 15 mills with almost 15,000 workers. Packet ships (regularly scheduled ships carrying goods, passengers and mail) began to flourish, and enabled many Cape Verdeans to escape from terrible conditions back in the islands. These packet ships bought Cape Verdean workers to New Bedford or Providence in the early summer just before the cranberry season started, then in the late autumn they would return to the Cape Verde islands with household goods, clothing, and other products. Many of the ships during this period left from Brava in the southern island group, and the packet trade began to be known as the "Brava Packet Trade".

Until the 1960's these packet ships enabled the formation of intricate international social networks between the Cape Verde Islands and the New England communities to take place. Owners of the ships were even given help from American and Portuguese colonial government programs to encourage this valuable lifeline to remain open. The packets not only allowed important contacts between the various families living in the communities to be maintained, but ensured a steady stream of incoming cheap migrant labour for the United States whilst enabling migrants to return home easily for visits or to live permanently in Cape Verde as prosperous "mercanos" (Americans).

International social networks such as these are commonly found in many migrant populations today, and as Portes suggests, they provide

"an increasingly dense web of contacts between places of origin and destination".[22] Portes also suggests that the formation of these inter-national national networks permits a migration flow that sustains itself, and is one that is less subject to short-term fluctuations, and finally that it is continuous. These networks also help to make the flow of peo-ple more circular and create a greater sense of security for a migrant population in flux. This has particularly been the case with respect to the flow of migrants between the Cape Verde Islands and New England. The packet ships that regularly made the annual trans-Atlantic voyage between south-eastern New England and the Cape Verde Islands not only carried goods and passengers, but they also took packages, letters and personal messages back to the people left at home, thus helping to maintain and nurture the fragile connection between the home coun-try and the receiving country. These oral greetings known as "manten-has" in Crioulo (from the Portuguese word "mantenir" to keep up or to maintain) were essential for maintaining long-distance relationships between the extended family and friends. In many ways, these "man-tenhas" were even more important than letters, especially as many of the migrants and the families they left behind, were illiterate. These oral greetings provided intimate links between members of families. One of the major dilemmas facing Cape Verdean immigrants was, and to some extent still is, how to establish their new lives in the United States with-out cutting themselves off from those left behind in the islands.

In the very early years of Cape Verdean immigration to the United States, the majority of early Cape Verdean immigrants were men, but in 1864 the first Cape Verdean women arrived in New Bedford. This date is perhaps a crucial one in terms of trying to pin-point exactly when a "real community" of Cape Verdeans was established in New England. Clearly before this time there had been a constant trickle of migrants into the area, but at this point numbers increased dramatically. Many of them found work in the cranberry-picking industries on Cape Cod. During the winters, Cape Verdeans moved from Cape Cod to surrounding areas of New England such as Boston, Pawtucket and Providence. Although, at first, some of them still returned to the Cape Verde Islands in the winter, more and more began to settle in the winter months either in New Bed-ford or Providence, or even close to the cranberry fields themselves.

It is apparent that numbers of Cape Verdeans must have sharply increased because some uneasiness on the part of the local communi-ties was expressed about the sudden growth of these immigrant com-

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[22] +Alejandro Portes, ed., *The Economic Sociology of Immigration: Essays on Net-works, Ethnicity, and Entrepreneurship,* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1995.

munities in the early years of the twentieth century. This uneasiness is illustrated in the following examples quoted from Raymond A. Almeida's *Chronological References: Cabo Verde/Cape Verdean American:*

> 1905 Cape Cod, Massachusetts. There are public discussions about the need to establish segregated public schools to accommodate the growing number of Cape Verdeans who were "planting roots" in Cape Cod following the cranberry harvest. In Marion, Massachusetts, a town directive was issued against further employment of Cape Verdeans in public works. At the Wareham, Massachusetts High School graduation program the commencement address was entitled "Drifting Backwards" in which the valedictorian said she "deplored the influx of cheap labor" and bemoaned the fact that "our poor American girls are obliged to labor side by side (in the cranberry harvest) with these half civilized blacks." Several years later (1917) Belmira Nunes Lopes, a Cape Verdean immigrant, gave the valedictory and spoke on the theme of "The Ideal Town" as one with no prejudice. Lopes went on to be the first woman of color to graduate from Harvard's Radcliffe College. [See Laura Pires Hester, 1995] [23]

Almeida also mentions another example of early difficulties encountered by Cape Verdean immigrants. In 1905 the Portuguese Catholic congregation of New Bedford Cape Verdeans began to express their discontent with treatment which they perceived to be racially discriminatory. Cape Verdean community elders in New Bedford organized and petitioned the Bishop of the Diocese of Fall River to establish a Cape Verdean parish. Our Lady of the Assumption Church was established as the first Cape Verdean Catholic Church in the United States.

It might also be of interest to briefly look at some estimations of the numbers of Cape Verdean immigrants who entered the United States between 1820 and the present. It is possible to see four major waves of Cape Verdean immigration to the United States: 1850-1899; 1900-1924; post-1957; and 1974-present. Marilyn Halter made an analysis of passenger lists (from ship manifests) and official records which suggest that between 1820 and 1976 approximately 35,000-45,000 Cape Verdeans immigrated to the United States (1993:45). Almost all of the immigrants from Cape Verde arriving in the USA before 1922 entered through the ports of New Bedford or Providence. U.S. immigration records list 22,624 legal arrivals from Cape Verde into the Port of New Bedford and Providence between 1860 and 1930.The annual average of 913.6 immigrants have entered between 1975-1980.(1993:46). These

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[23] Taken from Raymond A. Almeida's *Chronological References: Cabo Verde/Cape Verdean American*

figures may reflect the increase of migration at the outset of independence in the Cape Verde islands, and could constitute a fourth wave of immigration that is still taking place.

However, 1922 was to become an important turning point in terms of the numbers of Cape Verdeans immigrating to the U.S. and, more importantly, in terms of the change in the kind of contact between the American community of Cape Verdeans and their families in the Cape Verde Islands. The Johnson Immigration laws of 1922 had a severe effect on Cape Verdean immigration. These laws restricted the immigration of non-European people and this meant that the Cape Verdean families living in the United States were cut off from their relatives living in the Cape Verde Islands, thus breaking the intimate contact between New England communities and their families in the archipelago. Family networks were radically altered, and the two communities were kept relatively isolated from each other for almost forty years. As a result of these restrictive immigration laws, many Cape Verdeans began to turn to other countries for immigration.[24] In this same period, some Cape Verdean-Americans migrated from the older East Coast communities to California, and southwards where they took on work on the railroads or steel mills in Ohio and Pennsylvania, and in the Carolinas and Virginia.

In 1924 the American anthropologist, Albert E. Jenks, published a report entitled "New Englanders Who Came From Afric Isles" in which he asserted that the leaders of the Cape Verdean community in New Bedford began to prefer the designation of "Cape Verdean" to describe their ethnicity rather than being classed as Portuguese and as an alternative to being known as "black Portuguese". Since the early 1920s Cape Verdeans in America have been struggling to be recognized as a distinct ethnic group with a specific cultural heritage.[25]

In 1966 Immigration laws once again relaxed, and a new wave of immigration from the Cape Verde Islands began. The new immigrants came to Boston, Brockton, and Scituate in Massachusetts, and to Pawtucket, Rhode Island. In many ways the new immigrants differed considerably culturally from the Cape Verdean-American communities already established in New England. Neither the communities of Cape Verdean-Americans already living in New England nor the new incomers from the islands knew much about each other in terms of recent history or achievements.

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[24] Portugal, Spain, Italy, France, Sweden, Norway, Spain, Luxembourg, Brazil, Argentina, Angola, Senegal, Cote D'Ivoire and numerous other countries.
[25] Halter p. 152 ff.

2. **Keeping the Past Alive : Querino Kenneth J. Semedo's " The Story Must Be Told"(1999)**

Querino Kenneth J. Semedo, now eighty years old, has actively participated in the reconstruction of the part his own family and community have played in New England history. His testimony, "The Story Must Be Told", for example, is a well-known account of the forgotten Cape Verdean cranberry bog workers, the men and women who helped to build the cranberry industry especially in the early part of the twentieth century. His story gives a detailed description of the way the cranberry bogs were constructed and worked. The life and soul of the Cape Verdean people who worked in the cranberry bogs are vividly captured in his account, and he emphasizes the need to keep the past alive and to pass on this information to future generations. What also becomes clear from his account is the transnational quality of his family's experience, their links to the homeland, their desire to continue and keep alive the customs and way of life, their love of and obligation towards those that have been left behind.

Semedo begins by outlining some interesting facts about his family. His father Antonio Cabral Semedo was born in the city of Praia on the island of Santiago in the Cape Verde Islands in 1885 and arrived in the port of New Bedford in 1907. His mother, Guilhermina Minnie Lopes Semedo, was born in 1896, on the island of Brava in the Cape Verde Islands but she did not come to New Bedford to join his father until much later in 1920. These bare facts tell us about the kinds of long-term separation families had to undergo. Semedo himself was born in West Wareham, Massachusetts in 1927. He also tells us that he had a brother John Semedo who died young of pneumonia, and that he has another brother Antone Semedo who was born in 1923. His father died, picking cranberries on one of A.D. Makepeace's cranberry bogs in 1955.

He tells us that when he retired he spent many hours visiting the cranberry bogs with the purpose of comparing the methods used by present-day cranberry workers to those used by his father and other early Cape Verdean cranberry workers so many decades ago. His story covers the period from the time his father came to America in 1907 until 1996. He particularly looks at the period from 1910 to 1933 that was a time in which Cape Verdeans performed some of the most arduous tasks required to build the cranberry bogs without bulldozers and heavy equipment of the kind used today. However, he also recognises that Cape Verdeans were not the only immigrant groups to contribute to the early years of the cranberry industry. The Finnish community, for example, also carried out many of the difficult, backbreaking and most

undesirable jobs too. But all of these communities have, in a sense, been forgotten and are barely mentioned in the history of the cranberry industry.

The first part of his story speaks about the living-quarters that the Cape Verdean workers stayed in whilst they were working in the cranberry bogs. Built close to the bogs and owned by the cranberry growers these one-roomed shanty buildings consisted of a bedroom, kitchen and living room all in one. The roofs were covered with tar-paper, and although the buildings were adequate in the summer months, they were very cold in the winter, especially when the wood-stoves went out. Conditions were particularly hard around 1912 just before World War 1. He recalls visiting some Cape Verdeans who lived in shanties like these in the Rochester area in 1947/48. They told him stories about what happened on the cranberry bogs, and would also tell him stories about the "old country," back in the Cape Verde Islands. These men, he says, were great storytellers. They would offer him some "grogo," a Cape Verdean whiskey, or " Cachupa", a thick soup made from dried corn with some kind of meat like pork in it, a Cape Verdean delicacy.

He mentions his father-in-law who was a cranberry bog worker for over 45 years. In 1957, Semedo remembers going out with him at two or three o'clock in the morning to "watch the frost." His job was to start the water pumps, in order to pump water from the reservoir on to the cranberry bog, just enough water to form a protective cover on the vines and berries so that they would not be damaged by the frost. He also remembers watching his father-in-law inspecting the cranberry vines with a magnifying glass checking if there were any fruit worm eggs on the cranberries to see if they needed to be sprayed with pesticide.

The hardest work, however, was building the cranberry bogs, and this was done by hand. Clearing the trees and tree stumps with only saws and axes, no chain saws or bulldozers, was back-breaking work. Many Cape Verdeans did the work of sanding the bogs. Sanding promotes growth in the cranberry plants. This task was done by transporting the sand in barrows and it was frequently done with teams of men all working one behind another at a ferocious pace. Semedo describes this task within the context of the Great Depression when people were desperate for work, and were prepared to work an exhausting eight hour day. There would always be replacement workers standing around just waiting to take over from the slow workers. Although Semedo describes the sanding work done by his father, he also worked wheeling barrows of sand himself and knew what a back-breaking job it could be. In addition to this, he also did some sanding on ice. The sand would be taken out on to the ice in a pick-up truck, then spread on top of the ice.

When the ice melted in the spring, the sand would sink down around the cranberry vines. He also remembered being involved in another method of sanding the bogs which involved dragging heavy railroad tracks out on to the ice so that carts full of sand could be pushed on this track. Once the carts were emptied, the workers would spread the sand on the ice. Of course, the ways in which bogs are sanded today is mechanical. Special platform boats are used and sand is released from a hopper to settle down around the plants.

Cape Verdean workers also had to do the hard work of scything down brush and tall weeds in and around the cranberry bogs and dykes. Nowadays, of course, special tractors with sickle mows are used for this purpose. In addition to this, the irrigation ditches had to be cleared of weeds and mud in order to let the irrigation water flow easily. The mud and weeds had to be shovelled out by hand from the ditches on to the bog where they would be picked up and put into barrows by other workers, then dumped elsewhere. Another method of carrying the mud and weeds was to use a "parballar". One person would hold the handles at the front of the parballar, the other person at the back. Between them they would carry the heavy load of mud and weeds and empty it out on the shore. It was exhausting work. Today, the process of ditch clearing is highly mechanized. A specially designed tractor with a side shovel scoops the mud and weeds onto a canvas which is removed from the ditch. The four corners of the canvas are attached to a central hook and lifted by helicopter to the shore where the load is dumped.

Weeding the bogs was a job often carried out by women. It was back-breaking work that involved squatting and kneeling, or stooping over to weed the bogs for long periods of time. This was a very tiring position. Semedo said he preferred to do scything than weeding, which he found a most undesirable job.

He also describes in some detail two old-fashioned cranberry picking tools used by Cape Verdean workers. One tool was the scoop and the other tool was what some called a snapping machine. The latter was a very difficult tool to use. When the scoop was full of berries, the berries were dumped into boxes. Pickers used to compete for the more favourable areas to pick berries. The cranberry season lasted from the second week of September to the second week of November, and it was during this period that many Cape Verdeans made their largest incomes in places such as Wareham and other areas of Southeastern Massachusetts. Semedo describes how he and his brother Tony, like other Cape Verdean children, got special permission by the school superintendent to begin the school term to one week late so that they could work in the cranberry fields with their parents and help to increase the family

income. However, the tough conditions of working for long hours in the cranberry bogs took their toll on many of the workers. Some of the Cape Verdeans developed bad backs and arthritis as a result of working on the cranberry bogs. Cape Verdeans picked acres and acres of cranberry bogs all over Wareham, Rochester and Carver. The major cranberry growers were A.D. Makepeace, Beaton Co., Cape Cod Cranberry in Rochester, in later years Decas Cranberry, Sales Company and others.

Semedo has a vague recollection of some Cape Verdean cranberry pickers engaging in a dispute against each other in a cranberry bog owned by Slocum Gibbs off of Route 58. His brother Tony, who was ten years old at the time, remembers it well. It was the first attempted strike by Cape Verdeans in 1933. The strike was a bid for better wages and living conditions. Although the strike failed, it was a warning to cranberry growers that living and working conditions needed to improve if trouble was not to ensue in the future. This was the first agricultural strike in the Massachusetts, and as Semedo points out, it was a small contribution from Cape Verdean workers to help other cranberry workers obtain better living and working conditions in the cranberry bogs. [26]

When the cranberry picking season was over his mother and father collected their cranberry season's earnings. Although in real terms the amount saved was small, they had to prepare for the coming winter, and stock up with food such as bags of rice, beans, sugar, canned goods, lard and corn meal. They did this in New Bedford. His parents also went to a travel agency called Guilherme M. Luiz & Co., Inc., Bankers on Rivet Street in the South End of New Bedford. They would make arrangements to send money back to their family in the Cape Verde Islands. His mother had four sisters in Brava, Cape Verde. His father had a sister in Praia, Cape Verde. This kind of generosity and responsibility towards immediate and extended family in the form of money remittances or goods has always been, and still is, very common in the Cape Verdean community.

Semedo relates how his mother made a return visit to her family in Brava, Cape Verde in 1956. The visit had a powerful impact on her. Despite the fact that her own life working in the cranberry bogs was very hard, she was shocked by the extreme poverty and hardship that she witnessed in the Cape Verde Islands. Whilst his mother was in Brava in

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[26] 1933 (September) Plymouth and Bristol Counties, Massachusetts. 1500 Cape Verdean cranberry pickers staged a strike for better working conditions, guaranteed employment until the end of the season, and the right to organize. Bog owners brought in private security guards and eventually outside "scab" workers to break the strike. This would be the first agricultural strike by Cape Verdeans in the history of Massachusetts.

1956, she paid the fare of her nephew, Rufino "King" DaSilva, so that he could travel to Dakar, Senegal on the West Coast of Africa. She did this so that King could make money there and send some back to his family in Brava. King surprised them all by paying them a visit in America in 1970. With tears in his eyes he said how grateful he was for what Semedo's mother had done for him.

Semedo does not only write about what Cape Verdean people did on the cranberry bogs from the point of view of work. He acknowledges that he and his parents were, in a sense, products of the Great Depression and he describes family life and traditions within the social context of extreme hardship and poverty. He remembers lines of men waiting around on the "shore" to get work. He also remembers how his father went to work for the WPA, the Work Project Administration, one of the projects initiated by President Roosevelt under the New Deal to get people back to work by building roads, parks and libraries. Semedo was perhaps one of the more fortunate amongst the Cape Verdean community. Before the Great Depression, his father had built a bungalow around 1920. As a result of this, Semedo never remembers suffering from hardship during the depression and always had food, shelter and clothing because his parents were hard working and industrious people. The way in which many Cape Verdeans survived the Great Depression was by growing their own vegetables. Semedo remembers that at home they had all kinds of vegetables - beans, corn, potatoes, tomatoes, lettuce, carrots, onions, beets and many other vegetables. The harvested potatoes and onions were stored in a special cellar that his father had made and his mother bottled the vegetables and fruit. They kept chickens for meat and eggs, and a goat for milk.

He likes to feel that he has tried to keep traditions alive. He has always lived in the same neighbourhood as Cape Verdeans all his life. On New Year's Day, for example, he walks down the street and visits and wishes every one of his neighbours a Happy New Year. He has continued to do what his mother did sixty years ago. He also mentions the tradition of Cape Verdean Wakes, and says that an intricate part of the Cape Verdean soul is to rally to the help of a Cape Verdean who had lost a loved one. His parents had taken him to wakes when he was a child, because they believed children should witness the bad times as well as the good times. It was an important part of Cape Verdean culture to show respect and support during another person's bereavement. This tradition is still kept up in the Cape Verdean community today.

He also describes some of the lighter activities and traditions, such as the "kitchen dances" that Cape Verdeans held in their homes in the 1930's. The idea behind these dances was that they could be held at

little expense, since everyone contributed food and drink. One Cape Verdean Club in East Providence had its origin in a kitchen dance that took place in one particular home for years. The instruments used in the kitchen dance quartets included the "veola" (a twelve-stringed guitar), the violin, the accordion, and the maracas since many Cape Verdeans were able to play these instruments. These kitchen dances continued long into the night, and social events such as these were implemental in bringing the communities together closely.

Semedo mentions another wonderful tradition of the Cape Verdeans during the thirties and that was the Canta Reis, a Cape Verdean version of Christmas carolling, except that Cape Verdean tunes were played and sung instead of Christmas carols. He remembers waiting for the musicians to come into his home playing their instruments and wishing everyone a Happy New Year. One of the musicians would be carrying a burlap bag, and would sing a song asking the household to place some goodies into the bag, goodies that would be shared amongst the musicians at the end of the evening. Everyone would then exchange best wishes for the New Year. Semedo was saddened that the Canta Reis tradition was no longer carried out.

Semedo also remembers some of the good times, like being picked up in a truck to go to work in the cranberry fields. He was able to exchange stories and sing with his friends along the way. He tells us how he made friends with some of the New Bedford city boys who came to work with them in the bogs. They would tell him about city life, and he developed a close bond with them whilst working side by side with them in the fields. This bond proved very valuable when, as a teenager, he started to go to dances in New Bedford, for then he had friends in the city.

Semedo emphasizes the importance of keeping the past alive and recognises that soon it is going to be too late to gather stories directly from people who have had knowledge of the early decades of the twentieth century. He has been able to chronicle what he heard from his own mother and father but he insists that it is essential that everything should be done to record Cape Verdean stories, and to make the stories accessible to people of Cape Verdean ancestry and to those who wish to know about the Cape Verdean heritage. Validation of the part Cape Verdeans have played in the early years of the Cranberry Industry has been slow. There seems to have been very little acknowledgment by the major cranberry growers such as A. D. Makepeace of the contribution Cape Verdeans. Perhaps, as Semedo points out, "It is the great 'missed opportunity' of the cranberry industry to put things right." At the same time he also recognises that the cranberry industry was a "lifesaver" for

many Cape Verdeans. Without being able to find work on the bogs, many of them would have been lost. Semedo has been quite surprised at the number of people who have contacted him since he put his story on the internet in 1996. Many of them are people who left the area. He is sure that his story has brought back memories for them. The story is, for the most part, about a way of life, not to mention a community, that has been largely forgotten. Semedo's purpose has been to redress the sleight, and to pay homage to his people. He wanted to pay back, to give something back, to Cape Verdeans everywhere. Like Claire Andrade, he emphasizes, above all, the importance that roots should not be forgotten.

3. **The Use of Film as an Advocacy Tool: Claire Andrade-Watkins' Documentary Film: "Some Funny Kind of Porto Rican?": A Cape Verdean American Story, (2006)**

"Some Kind of Funny Porto Rican?": A Cape Verdean American Story, (2006) directed, produced and written by Dr. Claire Andrade-Watkins is a "documemoir" about immigrants from the Cape Verde Islands in the Fox Point neighborhood in Providence.[27] Through her film this largely unknown community has suddenly become visible, and she has enabled members of the community to voice their love for Fox Point and to come to terms with the losses that have been entailed through urban renewal. The film reveals the hard work and determination shown by Cape Verdeans in the neighbourhood, and above all their sense of community and stoicism, that helped them to survive in spite of the social, cultural and economical changes that were taking place. However, the film is not simply about the Cape Verdean community in Fox Point. It addresses far wider and more universal issues of immigration, settlement, uprooting, race relations and urban renewal .

The Fox Point neighbourhood is located east of downtown Providence and it is here that one of the oldest and largest Cape Verdean

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[27] Dr. Claire Andrade-Watkins, a historian and filmmaker, has published extensively on French- and Portuguese-speaking African cinema. In 1986, she produced "The Spirit of Cape Verde," a half-hour documentary celebrating the bonds between New England and Cape Verde, and President Aristides Pereira's historical first visit to the United States in 1983. She has worked on "Odyssey," a national PBS anthropology and archaeology documentary series, and feature films, most notably "Sankofa," an internationally acclaimed film on slavery, by Haile Gerima.

communities in America is to be found.[28] The neighbourhood was actually settled as far back as the early seventeenth century before Cape Verdeans immigrated to the area. With the construction of the first port at Transit Street in 1680, the Fox Point area became an important hub for maritime activities. The waterfront area, known as India Point, took its name from the great "Indiamen" trading ships that plied between Fox Point and the West Indies. During the eighteenth century, most of the settlers worked on or near the waterfront. By 1800, there were 58 wharves, and heavy marine activity. However, Fox Point did not really become a distinct neighbourhood until the early nineteenth century. When the first station for the Boston and Providence railroad was built at the Fox Point waterfront in 1835, it was clear that newly established industries would be able to take advantage of an accessible harbour and good transportation networks. Two such industries were the Fuller Iron Works built on Pike Street in 1840 and the Providence Tool Company on Wickenden Street in 1844. With the establishment of new industries and a busy harbour, both skilled and unskilled labour were in demand and this attracted large numbers of immigrants. Although there was a strong nucleus of Portuguese in the Fox Point area by the 1840's, the majority of the early immigrants to the area were Irish. However, a city slum clearance project (1876-1880) removed many of the Irish immigrants, and they relocated to Gano Street.

A second wave of immigration took place after 1870 and this time many of the immigrants were Cape Verdeans in search of work in the factories and in waterfront jobs in the Port of Providence. Alongside Portuguese and Azoreans the Cape Verdeans settled in crowded cheap tenement buildings that lined the waterfront. It was estimated that there were nearly 2000 Portuguese settled in the Fox Point area by the end of the nineteenth century. Most of them had crossed the Atlantic in packet ships, and were able to offer themselves as a source of cheap labour for the textile mills, factories, waterfront jobs and cranberry bogs. The port provided work for many Cape Verdean men who "worked the boats", transporting loose cargo such as coal, scrap-iron and timber

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[28] I have been fortunate, as a Visiting Scholar at the Pembroke Center for Teaching and Research on Women, at Brown University in Providence to be able to drive through the Fox Point neighbourhood on my way to the university. It has been possible to get to know this area well, and to be able to speak to many Cape Verdeans still living in the neighbourhood. I was also able to speak to Dr. Claire Andrade-Watkins after a screening and discussion of her film, *Some Kind of Funny Porto Rican? A Cape Verdean American Story*, at Brown University on Tuesday, 14th November, 2006. Dr. Andrade-Watkins is the inaugural Activist-in-Residence brought to Brown under a program aimed to honor individuals who have shaped movements for social justice.

and many of these men later became members of the Longshoremen's Union Local l329. The Cape Verdeans in the Fox Point neighbourhood formed a vibrant community with a rich cultural background, closely bound by language, family, relatives and friends. A good many of them were Roman Catholic and went to St Joseph's Church, which later was to become Our Lady of the Rosary in 1885. The building was completed in 1906 and became an enormously important religious and cultural focus for the community. The strong family bonds also enabled new-comers to the community to feel at home. Cape Verdeans have always been strongly bound by language and culture which do not have to be 'explained, hidden or edited'. The Cape Verdean expression 'Nôs ku Nôs ' (Loosely translated: 'ours with ours' or 'amongst ourselves') was, and still is, colloquially used to transmit the feeling that Cape Verdeans are a people who make sense to each other, even if their cultural identity is understood by others outside of the group or not. All the members of this community shared the same sea-faring traditions and maintained strong links to the Cape Verdean islands.[29] Newly-arrived Cape Verdeans would be given places to stay, and jobs would be found for them by people in the community. Immigration into Fox Point was heavy until 1924, when stricter immigration laws stemmed the flow but immigration began once again in 1965, when the immigration laws relaxed.

It was therefore quite traumatic when urban renewal in the 1960's and 1970's pulled apart this Cape Verdean community and three generations of Cape Verdeans were forced to move to other parts of Rhode Island. The area was transformed by this urban renewal, especially with the clearance of the old tenement buildings and slums and subsequent re-development of these areas. Streets like South Main Street and Wickenden Street were completely transformed. Houses were renovated and suddenly increased in value. Coffee bars and restaurants sprang up, antique stores and art galleries were established. Restoration of historic houses took place particularly in the area west of Hope Street and because the neighbourhood was within easy walking distance of the campus at Brown University and Rhode Island School of Design, Fox Point became an attractive area for student and urban middle-class to rent houses. This is still the case. Many of the oldest existing houses in Providence are in Fox Point, especially in Sheldon, Transit, Arnold and John Streets. Not only is the value of these historic houses very high,

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[29] The sea, to Cabo Verdeans at home and in Diaspora, is an important thread in the panu (woven fabric) of life. Stories of passage from Cabo Verde to America permeated the lively discussions of family and friends whenever they gathered. All could share a tale of friends or family members who never made it across the unforgiving watery terrain.

and usually inaccessible financially for many Cape Verdeans but the average rent in Fox Point is also higher than the average in Providence as a whole. As a result, the area has become an expensive area to live in and the "feel" of the area has essentially changed. Other significant changes have also taken place in the physical structure of the Fox Point area. Since the 1940's the waterfront area was no longer used as a harbour and it has now been developed as a recreational area called India Point Park. Perhaps one of the most devastating consequences of urban renewal came, however, with the construction of the interstate Highway 195 which cut a wide swath through the southern part of Fox Point. To make way for the highway, slums were cleared, and much of what used to be the southern section of Fox Point was demolished.

The Portuguese community today remains a major part of the Fox Point neighborhood. Even after the important influx of the urban middle class and student renters from Brown University and the Rhode Island School of Design, more than 32% of Fox Point residents can still claim Portuguese ancestry. For the Cape Verdeans participating in *"Some Kind of Funny Porto Rican?": A Cape Verdean American Story* Fox Point has continued to be the heart and spirit of Cape Verdean society despite all these changes.

.Dr Andrade explains the meaning of the title *"Some Kind of Funny Porto Rican?"*, by pointing out that it was derived from an actual comment made many, many years ago. Her beau's brother was a student at Brown University in Providence. Upon learning that his brother had met a Cape Verdean girl from Providence, the Brown student replied, "Cape Verdean? Oh, there are a lot of them around here; they're some kind of funny "Porto Ricans." (Note: the spelling of "Porto" is the way it was pronounced, hence the spelling in the title). This, says Dr Andrade, is a classic example of the (mis)perceptions and mis(understandings) of Cape Verdean Americans. Today it might seem that the title of the film is a humorous one. However, it has a special meaning for many Cape Verdeans who are still struggling to establish themselves in a society that either accepts or rejects people based on racial sterotypes and colour. For those Cape Verdeans born in Cape Verde before independence in 1975, they were catagorized as Portuguese on their birth certificates. However, those with darker skins migrating to the U.S. in the 1970's and 1980's who identified themselves with the Portuguese were actually ostracized by African-Americans who considered that these Cape Verdeans were rejecting their blackness. Those who were lighter skinned, and more "Anglo" in feature were labelled as "black portuguese". The legacy of these distinctions still divide families even today.

The film is essentially Claire Andrade-Watkins' personal history of growing up in a close-knit Cape-Verdean community with the 200-year history of Cape Verdeans in America. She says that the narrative vehicle for *"Some Kind of Funny Porto Rican?"*, is her childhood memories of "family, friends, textures and sounds of the l950s, l960s and early l970s in the Cape Verdean Fox Point section of Providence, Rhode Island". Although the film centers on the Fox Point neighbourhood, it also makes connections through an extended network of family and friends to the Cape Verdean communities of New Bedford and Cape Cod. Many of the Cape Verdeans interviewed in the film are seventy, eighty and even ninetey years old. Like Querino Kenneth J. Semedo, their memories reach back to the early decades of the twentieth century. They are "the elders, the collective consciousness and memory of the Cape Verdean community in the US". I was lucky enough to meet some of these "elders" when Claire Andrade came to Brown University to give a screening and discussion of her film in November 2006. They were clearly proud of their neighbourhood and of the way their lives had suddenly become visible to the outside world.

The film uses archival footage and photos of people and places not only in the Fox Point neighbourhood but also of the Cape Verde Islands too.[30] The film emphasizes the importance of South Main Street, the main thoroughfare in Fox Point, which stretched from the waterfront to Brown University on the East Side of Providence. It mentions how all the families, relatives and friends were clustered in tenements, and all lived within shouting distance of one another. There is archival footage of the Ernestina (the beloved queen of the Cape Verdean packet trade) coming down Narragansett Bay headed toward the dock in Providence. This was always an exciting event. Between l948 and l965, the ERNESTINA carried passengers and goods between New England and Cape Verde. There is some interesting footage of the port of Providence, once a busy port for loose cargo such as lumber, coal, scrap iron. The film shows some of the men from the Point who "worked the boats" as proud members of the Longshoremen's Union Local l329. Cape Verdeans were employed in a wide range of maritime activities, from whaling through modern day cargo ships and oil tankers. Part of the film focuses on Granny's House and shows the importance of this house for the clan and Cape Verdean culture. Archival footage and photos of the Andrade family show members of the family and friends dancing and playing musical instruments such as those used in the kitchen dances mentioned by Semedo in "The

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[30] Some brief excerpts from the film can be found on http://spiamedia.com.

Story Must be Told". An interesting mention is made of the Cape Verdean language, which for hundreds of years, has remained a link across the Atlantic and between generations. The issue of language also presented many "challenges" for communication outside of the Cape Verdean community. The film includes some funny anecdotal stories showing some of the confusions arising from misunderstandings in language. The anguish of separation over great distances, for many years, or the whole of a lifetime, is captured in Cape Verdean music, especially the "morna", sung by musicians from the "Point". The music captures the feeling of "saudade," the sense of longing, sadness and nostalgia that form an integral part of Cape Verdean culture. The feelings of "Saudade" and "Tristealegria," (a mixture of sadness and happiness) pervade every aspect of Cape Verdean society, and contribute to the sense of stoicism that can be seen in people who have fought to survive in the face of "insurmountable odds". The film particularly points out the period of the early 1970s, when urban renewal, gentrification and Interstate 95 irrevocably altered the lives of three generations of Cape Verdeans who lived "down the Point."

Claire Andrade-Watkins acknowledges that her film does not "attempt to be the definitive word on the "Cape Verdean" experience". Her project, which has been ongoing for over twenty years, tries to tell a story that is "rich in human experience and scholarly detail":

> I have gone door to door, following leads of family and friends: sometimes crawling through basements and attics, and in one instance prying 8mm black and white footage of Brava, Cape Verde in the l950s from a reluctant cousin's attic. Through a more cooperative uncle, I was given the use of his 8mm family archive spanning thirty years of family events and holidays. Other finds include priceless photographs, many going back to the late 1890s, journals, newspaper clippings and a pristine collection of beautiful 8mm color film of the Fox Point community in the late l950s and l960s and of the longshoremen "working the boats" in the Port of Providence. Most exciting is the 8mm footage of the famed ERNESTINA, a two-master Gloucester schooner, the last packet ship to regularly sail to New England, and a legend in Cape Verdean folklore entrusted to me to tell the ERNESTINA story by Manuel T. Neves, the publisher of THE CAPE VERDEAN.

> Another highlight is the voices from the oral histories with the "old-timers" I have conducted over the years. Now that many are deceased, their voices are an even more valuable part of this story.[31]

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[31] From http://spiamedia.com/productions/skfpr/info/

She believes that within the Cape Verdean community the film has been a wonderful opportunity to bring the story back to Cape Verde. She is fully aware, as a historian, that a lot of Cape Verdeans on both sides of the Atlantic have very little knowledge about Cape Verde/ean history and that a film such as this will help disseminate important information about the past. Above all, in making the film, Andrade feels she had learnt about herself. She had literally to retrace her own steps, to go back "physically, emotionally, spiritually and intellectually to Cabo Verde". The destruction of her community in Fox Point meant there was really no going back "home". Fox Point was only able to exist in the hearts and memories of Cape Verdeans. Andrade recognises that her journey with the film was a means for her to answer questions about where she belonged, and she came to the realisation that, "being Cape Verdean is not just a location or geographical location, but a state of mind. Once you have it in your mind and heart, it is there forever and goes with you wherever you go"[32]

Conclusion

"All of a sudden, one hundred years of our history is gone," Claire Andrade tells the audience in *"Some Kind of Funny Porto Rican?"*. But is it? Surely her documentary film and Semedo's written testimony shore up and reconstruct almost a hundred years in the history of Cape Verdeans living and working in Rhode Island and Massachusetts. It has always been possible to distort history, and many things can be ignored, or left unknown. However, once something is known, it can never be unknown, only forgotten. The use of testimonies, artifacts, newspaper clippings, original footage and photographic portraits of Cape Verdean families and the world they lived in, are precisely the tools that insure that these things become widely known and deeply inscribed in historical memory, and therefore cannot be forgotten. There has been a widespread response to Semedo's testimony, published on internet, and to Claire Andrade's film, from both Cape Verdeans and non-Cape Verdeans alike. Ongoing dialogues have been set up as a result, thus fortifying a sense of Cape Verdeanness and enabling the legacy of the contribution of the workers in the cranberry fields and the maritime trade to become widely known.

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[32] Interview with Claire Andrade-Watkins, *Nos Jornal newspaper (USA) September 1, 2005. http://www.caboverdeonline.com/*

Perhaps this demonstrates the fact that the reconstruction of historical culture is, in a sense, inseparable from, and conducive to, the construction of or preservation of a cultural identity. Fundamental, of course, to the dissemination of that historical information is communication. As Almeida points out "communication is crucial for mobilizing support and for sharing information that bears on community interests" and communication is the means by which a sense of community among immigrants in Massachusetts can be solidified.(1995:3).[33] Through the creation of community centers such as *Associaçâo Caboverdiana*, or through the Cape Verdean museum in Providence, or through educational programs and linguistic renewal programs, and particularly through bi-lingual websites, a variety of social and cultural activities have been made available to the Cape Verdean community in particular but are also open to the non-Cape Verdean community of greater Southeastern Massachusetts as well. Both Semedo's testimony and Andrade's documentary film have been able to draw upon these resources and means of communication, thus contributing to making the "presence" of the Cape Verdean-American community firmly felt.

As time goes by, generations of Cape Verdeans will become more and more Americanized and, in many ways, it has to be accepted that Cape Verdean-American cultural identity will undergo processes of transition and transformation, of revision and revitalization. This is not necessarily a negative step in terms of the formation of an identity. Cape Verdean-American cultural identity will become a subtle blend of historical memory, of ideology, a symbolic universe and a whole system of meaning, one that will embrace the immense vitality of spirit and deep love of the archipelago and families on the other side of the Atlantic. Indeed, such an identity that is always "in the process of becoming" suggests endless possibilities, and it is precisely through the work of such figures as Kenneth Semedo and Claire Andrade that these endless possibilities have been able to take shape.

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[33] The bimonthly New Bedford based *Cape Verdean News* (CVN) is published twice a month. This the biggest Cape Verdean newspaper in Massachusetts and it also has a bilingual website that disseminates a lot of information for Cape Verdeans. The first all-Cape Verdean radio programs appeared in 1978, and since 1989, a weekly ninety-minute Cape Verdean television program produced by the communications company *Cabovideo* is broadcast to 50 communities in Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

There are Cape Verdean Student Associations (CVSA) in several colleges and universities including Boston College, Brown University, Northeastern University, University of Massachusetts at Amherst and Dartmouth. The University of Massachusetts has a Cape Verdean language and cultural institute in an effort to strengthen the ties between the community and the university.

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Immigrant Double-Consciousness in Narrative, or How Destinations Condition Pre-migratory Experiences[1]

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> The "first-person" narrative lends itself better than any other to anticipation, by the very fact of its avowedly retrospective character, which authorizes the narrator to allude to the future and in particular to his present situation, for these to some extent form part of his role.
>
> Gerard Genette, *Narrative Discourse*

> America. How many dreams and fears and contradictions were tied up in that single word, a word which conjures up a world, like a name uttered at the dawn of creation, even while it broke another, the one of village and home and family.
>
> Nino Ricci, *The Book of Saints*

Introduction

Although apparently related to two very different spheres of human experience—the choice of a particular narrative stance, on the one hand, and the sentiments informing a migratory project, on the other—, the quotations above put forth a notion that may well contributez to bringing new light to works of fiction which portray characters just before they move to new, faraway lands. One feature that seems to be shared by many of these narratives is the fact that rather than develop plots which rely heavily on suspense and unexpected turns, they tend to display what Todorov (1977: 65) describes as a "plot of predestination." According to the reputable Franco-Bulgarian semiotician, these plots are characterized by their "proleptic" or anticipatory qualities, which are both testimony to the intensity of the present condition and authenticating device to the narrative of the past. In fact, what the existence of this type of plot, which he opposes to "primitive [or proper] narratives," confirms is that "No narrative is natural; a choice and a construction will always preside over its appearance; narrative is a discourse, not a series of events" (55). In the case of the *Odyssey*, which is the text that Todorov chooses to illustrate his points, the interference of a foretold future with the events in the story becomes evident in such "transgressions" of what he takes to be a "primitive narrative" as the inclusion of speech-as-narrative—instead of speech-as-act; feigned speech, which by invoking the truth reveals clear instances of lying; or the special use of a future tense that anticipates ulterior developments.[2]

Of course, contemporary travel-writing and immigrant fiction are not usually so explicit in recounting in advance events that are going to have important consequences for the way in which the plot is eventually put together. However, it would be a serious interpretative blunder to overlook a number of textual signposts which clearly suggest that we are confronted with narratives driven by some teleological impulse which has a profound impact on their final form. This seems to be the case of Nino Ricci's *The Book of Saints* (1990),[3] which tells us of the rites of passage of its young protagonist, Vittorio Innocente, in a remote vil-

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[2] To the modern reader, these discursive techniques may seem unnatural and detrimental since our contemporary notion of plot has become so dependent on surprises that the certitude as to the fulfillment of predictions (of gods or oracles) is thought to diminish the overall effect of the narrative.

[3] Nino Ricci's debut novel, *Lives of the Saints*—notice that the Picador USA edition I am using in my paper has slightly changed this title—, received the Governor General's Award for Fiction, which is generally considered Canada's highest literary honor.

lage of the Italian Apennines in the early 1960s. Although the readers' attention is initially captivated by the seven-year-old boy's strenuous efforts to overcome the trials posed by the weird habits and superstitions governing the lives of his family and neighbors, it soon becomes evident that Vittorio's "home" can no longer be said to be solely located in the isolated mountain village of Valle del Sole. As a matter of fact, there are reasons deriving from this character's synthetic, mimetic, and thematic functions (see Phelan 1989: 1-14) which can be seen to propel him towards some new lands—or a new "home"—in a different, distant region of the planet. In Ricci's novel, Canada represents therefore a longed-for point of destination that will not only condition the kind of perceptions and (mis)understandings that Vittorio has of the age-old world in which he is living, but will also encourage him—and us—to generate new and enticing possibilities for his often contradictory personality. Poet Arnold H. Itwaru (1990: 145) has referred to the influence of Canada on the minds and art of immigrant and diasporic writers in terms very similar to those outlined above:

> Canada is thus invented as a composite *other*. There is the *other* whose attraction promises growth. It is this generalized, non-corporeal *other* which gives definition to the aspirations of those who come to these shores in much the same manner as it has given definition to the works [of fiction] we have looked at, […]

Although Vittorio is still too young and immature to be able to construct a "Canada" where everything is bigger and opportunities are better, he already abounds with tales of earlier *emigrés* to the Americas whose lives have been enshrouded with all kinds of mystery and heroism. His own great-grandfather, after spending time in Abyssinia and on the coast of Africa, had sent large sums of money back from America but, then, had stopped communicating with the family altogether. Some of the other migrants, on the other hand, had returned to the village to build a house with their savings and live out their remaining years in comparative ease: "There were several houses in Valle del Sole that had been built with foreign earnings; though only an extra storey [sic] or room or tarnished brass knocker on the door distinguished them from the rest, their owners perhaps fearing the envy that greater ostentation might have brought" (*BS* 161).

In a recent article, Amanda Mullen (2004) has argued that Ricci's trilogy—of which *The Book of Saints* is the first installment—moves beyond the nostalgia for the native country and expresses instead a nostalgia for origins in a new home. According to this critic, although most of the fictional events in Ricci's *opera prima* take place in Italy, the ultimate

aim of his experiment is to "reground" that mythology of his ethnic past in "Canada's national narrative."[4] If as Davis (2000: xiv) rightly explains, "Canada is a nation, more than many, of immigrants and succeeding groups of immigrants are influenced by, and themselves influence, those who settled (however restlessly) before them," then it may make sense to think of that nostalgic return to one's ethnic past as a way of establishing roots in the new land. After all, Vittorio's life trajectory does not differ substantially from that of many other Italian children who had already traveled to a place called "The Sun Parlor," which is alternatively described as "a vast cold place with rickety wooden houses and great expanses of bush and snow, [or] a land of flat fields that stretched for miles and of lakes as wide as the sea, an unfallen world without mountains or rocky earth" (*BS* 162).[5] But, of course, this reading would complicate our unraveling of the plot of *The Book of Saints* since the boy's arrival and encounter with the new culture only take place in the closing chapters of the book. Even so, as I have pointed out above, the protagonist-narrator of the story conflates a number of attributes that allow him to perform some functions that will inevitably characterize the plot or the "progression of the story" as one of pre-destination.[6]

In his ground-breaking volume, *Reading People, Reading Plots* (1989), James Phelan studies in great detail three dimensions that all fictional characters possess: the synthetic, the mimetic, and the thematic. To put it briefly, each of these dimensions—or functions, for they are applied differently in each narrative through its developing structure—is related to specific codes and intentions present in the text, which seek to produce certain effects in the reader. Thus, while the synthetic function would privilege a perception of characters as constructs in a fictional universe where they are little more than "proper names to which certain qualities are attached during the course of the narrative" (4), the mimetic function brings our attention to those traits that transform

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[4] No need to explain that this "national narrative" rests centrally on the different waves of immigrants reaching its shores and the heavy cultural baggage they usually brought along.

[5] This duplicity in the representation of places of destination is habitual in most sending regions. As Hoerder (1993: 3) has explained, "Postmigration experiences thus not only force the immigrants to adjust the gap between the mental world and the real one, but they also filter back as information in letters to friends and kin in the village of origin, where the process starts anew."

[6] Most critics have agreed on the richness and complexity of the protagonist-narrator's personality. Stelio Cro (1996: 138), for one, remarks that "Vittorio is one of the best child characters I have ever read and in itself ought to ensure Ricci's literary reputation as an original creator."

the characters into recognizable and "convincing" individuals. Phelan (1989: 8) rightly notes that different approaches to narrative will fore-ground one or the other of these dimensions: "Where the structuralist remains suspicious of the emotional involvement that comes from view-ing the character as a possible person, the mimetic [rhetorical] analyst regards that involvement as crucial to the effect of the work." To com-plete the picture, the thematic function is related to the potential that most characters reveal to be taken as representative figures, as standing for a class, about which the reader is bound to make general proposi-tions and statements. To illustrate this function, the protagonist of Ricci's novel may be said to represent thematically the innocent boy errant, the pampered child of an overprotective mother or, even, the victim of a broken family living in two different continents. My main aim in the en-suing pages is to demonstrate that whichever function of Ricci's "hero" the critic may choose to examine, s/he will invariably find enough evi-dence in the text to maintain that much of the momentum of the story derives from the reader's expectations of seeing Vittorio's yearnings for a new home satisfied. In this sense, the "pre-destined" plot of *The Book of Saints* fits quite squarely into Brooks' (1984: 12) well-known concep-tualization of this category in the grammar of narrative discourse:

> Plot as we need and want the term is hence an embracing concept for the design and intention of narrative, a structure for those mean-ings that are developed through temporal succession, or perhaps bet-ter: a structuring operation elicited by, and made necessary by, those meanings that develop through succession and time.

As will become evident through my discussion, the narrative plot Ricci gradually builds relies fundamentally on his protagonist-narrator's double-consciousness,[7] a feature that results from his being suspended from the start between two cultures: the Italian and the Canadian. It is the hero's transition and metamorphosis during his journey between these two "homes" that provides the narrative with a specific and, somehow, unusual structure—or as Brooks (1984: 10) prefers to call it, a special "logic and dynamic of narrative."

But before I delve into the functions of the character-narrator's posi-tion in the text, it seems convenient to refer to a couple of extra-textual

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[7] I am borrowing this term from a book by the outstanding African-American scholar W.E.B. Dubois. Of course, in *The Souls of Black Folk*, Dubois applied it to the dilemma of consciousness and identity faced by most African-Americans when they were forced to look at themselves through the eyes of others—meaning, the white man. But something of the kind happens to the immigrant, too, when s/he sees her/his self divided by affec-tions to both the country of origin and that of destination.

pieces of information that no doubt also condition the reader's interpretation of and response to the work. When asked in an interview with Paula Kirman (1999) whether he knew from the outset that *The Book of Saints* was going to turn into a trilogy, Ricci admitted that "At the time I thought I was working on a single novel, but one that encompassed the whole story that now comprises the trilogy. I had the whole story in my mind, I just didn't know it was going to take me three novels to tell it all."[8] The author adds that the division of the materials into three volumes occurred rather haphazardly when he was asked to submit a book-length work of fiction as a thesis for his master's degree at Concordia. What seems beyond any doubt is that the fact of having kept in mind from the start the whole development of his hero from his early childhood in Italy to his adult life in Toronto must have had a momentous influence on the shape that *The Book of Saints* eventually took. Although leaps into the future *á la* Faulkner or García-Márquez are very scarce in the narrative, they do convey the impression that we are reading a story that is part of a larger saga that necessarily elaborates on but also animates it. When, for instance, Vittorio sees his newly-born half-sister for the first time near the end of the novel, he notes: "I made a face to make it laugh, but its small grey eyes—they were not yet the vivid blue they would become—seemed to stare right through me" (*BS* 236).

Furthermore, still outside the boundaries of the text of the novel proper, Gay Talese informs us in the laudatory clippings before the title page that the book holds "A strong and wonderful evocation of the fracturing of an Italian village childhood—and of the classic experience: the epic voyage from small village to the New World." In spite of the fact that the voyage across the Atlantic takes no more than one third of the novel's total extent, it is evident that summaries of this sort encourage readers to classify books in particular categories and raise crucial expectations about how specific life stories are going to be developed, complicated, and resolved. Naturally, a significant part of the interest that the text is going to hold for the reader will derive from the author's skill in introducing certain instabilities in the discourse and story line but, still, once discrete narrative dynamics have been suggested, it is quite inevitable that readers should read specific meanings

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[8] The titles of the other two novels in the trilogy are *In a Glass House* (1996) and *Where She Has Gone* (1997), but neither of the two achieved the kind of success that his debut novel did. In them, Ricci continues the story of Vittorio's life—now in Canada—through a span of twenty years. After tortuous relationships with his father and step-sister, the protagonist returns to Italy in the last novel of the saga.

into the book.[9] It is probably for this reason that a majority of critics have approached Ricci's first novel as an example of Italian-Canadian ethnic writing which is concerned with "the interface of cultures" (see Tuzi 1997), and with the tensions and conflicts that are likely to preside over the experiences of migrants before they integrate in the host society. What should be noted, in any case, is that even before the reader dives into the story proper, s/he has been exposed to certain details about the work that in a way predispose her/him to look for textual signs propelling the narrative towards its foretold closure—or destination.

1. **Character as construct**

In what concerns the synthetic dimensions of Vittorio Innocente, it is important to underline the fact that if he becomes the subject of several predicates in the novel, it is because his older, more mature self presents us with a series of well-chosen incidents that are highly revealing of his essential features. Stanzel (1971: 66) wrote some time ago that, in first-person stories, "As a rule the experiencing process is separated from the narrating process by a more or less clearly marked time span which corresponds to the narrative distance in the authorial novel." Establishing the extent of this narrative distance between the experiencing and the narrating self is, consequently, crucial in interpreting the character and the work as a whole in the right light. The opening lines of *The Book of Saints* quite clearly mark the distance between Vittorio the child, whose adventures during the next eight months we are going to hear about, and Vittorio the self-conscious narrator, who is going to be "re-constructing" the key moments along those trying times:

> If this story has a beginning, a moment at which a single gesture broke the surface of events like a stone thrown into the sea, the ripples cresting away endlessly, then that beginning occurred on a hot July day in the year 1960, in the village of Valle del Sole, when my mother was bitten by a snake. (*BS* 7)

Apart from providing us with important details about the setting and the time in which the story is going to take place, the introduc-

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[9] Wolfgang Iser's illuminating discussion about the interplay between text and reader in *The Act of Reading* seems especially relevant at this point. Chapter 5, "Grasping a Text," in particular, offers important clues about how textual strategies and repertoires simply provide a frame within which the reader is invited to construct for her/himself the aesthetic object. Reading, from his perspective, is a dynamic and interactive process.

tory paragraphs of the novel also highlight the structural doubleness that is going to preside over the rendition of the main events in the narrative.[10] Baena (2000: 94) has rightly observed on this point that "The double perspective—the adult narrator's voice on the one hand, and the focalization through the boy on the other—lends the novel a twofold structure." And she adds that "This is reflected in two ways: in the first place we have the nostalgic story of a childhood in Italy, culminating in the boy's passage to and arrival in Canada; secondly, there are the binary perceptions arising from the boy's focalization." As the first epigraph to this article—by G. Genette—suggests, this double perspective has note-worthy implications for the type of qualities that we will associate with the fictional hero as we move along the plot of the story. These qualities are sometimes illuminated by how the character sees and reacts to the traumatic events occurring in this relatively brief period of his childhood—his mother being bitten by a snake, her becoming pregnant, his difficulties at school or his grandfather's decline—, but very frequently it is the voice of the more mature and self-possessed narrator that hints at aspects of the child's character which he is unable to understand fully.[11] As a result, while we are aware that Vitto is a sensitive, turbulent and somehow overprotected child, the narrating self—who we assume to be telling us the story from Canada sometime in the future—portrays him as extremely credulous and naïve. This fact becomes most evident when the boy is compelled by circumstances to deal with the beliefs and superstitions prevailing in the region or with his mother's ostracized situation in the community, once her pregnancy outside the marriage bond becomes apparent:

> By Christmas my mother's loose dresses had begun to swell around her waist, hanging like tents above her shins; and with each day the tension in our house seemed to thicken, as if the swelling itself had become a measure of it, was responding to it like a gauge or meter. Then on Christmas morning, my grandfather broke a silence that had lasted more than two months. (*BS* 137)

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[10] Vijay Agnew (2005: 14) has talked about this double-consciousness as one of the most outstanding traits of diasporic selves and narratives. As she explains, "The dual and paradoxical nature of diasporic consciousness is caught between 'here' and 'there,' or between those who share roots, and is shaped through multifocality."

[11] Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan (1983: 72) insists on the necessity of distinguishing between the activities of seeing (focalization) and telling the story (narration) in all first-person narratives. He complains that retrospective narratives of this kind are sometimes analyzed without taking into consideration this critical distinction, the results being in those cases rather inaccurate or utterly misleading.

Obviously, although the narrator does not usually comment overtly on the limitations of his younger self's comprehension, some language clues and the situational irony that derives from his observations are enough to make the reader conscious of the mediation of his more knowledgeable narrating self. If, as Stanzel (1971: 6) has remarked, "The narrator mediates the potential fictional world. In it the reader's mental illusion finds the bridge and road which lead into the land of fiction," then it is clear that Vittorio's vision of the world around is decisively affected by his older self's assessment of which story-events are to be emphasized and which underplayed, which should be left out and which others deserve to be included.[12]

Traditionally, *Bildungsromans* of this type, in which young hero/ines receive an accelerated education due to circumstances that are often beyond their control, have been discussed as stories of initiation and self-progress that take the protagonist from a low and underprivileged position to one in which his/her accumulated knowledge will make earlier experiences seem precious. In *The Book of Saints*, however, the predicates that are attached to the protagonist do not seem to derive their importance from the kind of benefits they could accrue him in the long run; on the contrary, the narrating self seems to fix his attention on those qualities that because of the distance in time and, especially, in space can hardly be said to hold much relevance to his present condition. No doubt, some of the nostalgia that readers and scholars feel while reading the book finds its source in the centrality given to the long-lost and the unfamiliar as it is seen through the bright eyes of a very sensitive boy.[13] In his excellent study *When the Grass Was Taller: Autobiography and the Experience of Childhood*, Richard Coe devotes some pages to what he calls "*curiosa exotica*" in the writing of childhood self-stories. In Coe's (1984: 225) words, these comprise "phenomena and experiences familiar to the child in the country or ethnic community where it grew, but totally unfamiliar to the reader." The narrator of *The Book of Saints* incorporates materials of this kind quite profusely throughout the story since they serve well the double purpose of conveying the distance that separates him from his younger

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[12] Loriggio (1987: 65) speaks of these dichotomies and bipolarities in ethnic texts as their most defining feature: "For ethnicity, to repeat, the different temporalities (the past as present and the present as past), the multifocality, the stepping in and out of selves, of positions it allows, is an ontological condition. Or, better, it is the condition by which the ontological takes the guise of the socio-cultural."

[13] Baena (2000: 97) notes in this same line, for instance, that "Vittorio's looking back at a little town in Italy conveys nostalgia about the past that was abandoned in order to grow new roots elsewhere."

self, on the one hand, and offering a personalized version of the social history in his land of origin, on the other. Vitto is greatly worried, for example, when the neighbors stop dropping by their house to get advice from his grandfather, *lu podestà* (the village mayor), as a result of his mother's unpardonable sin. When her pregnancy becomes evident, not only do her closest friends avoid looking at her face when they mumble their greetings on the street, but they deliberately shun her for fear of stirring up "forces age-old and sacred" referred to as the evil eye:

> The eye was the locus of all the powers which could not be explained under the usual religion, the religion of the churches; and despite its name it stood outside the normal categories of good and evil, subsumed them, striking both the righteous and the depraved. It was drawn towards you merely by a certain lack of vigilance, a small flouting of fate, a crack in the door it might slither through, fangs bared, to catch you by surprise; and its fickleness made it deadly and all-powerful, like fate itself, a force which knew no masters, neither God nor the devil. (*BS* 54)

The novel is fraught with ancient myth, strange superstitions, and religious lore that are used in various ways by other characters around Vittorio to connect the disturbing experiences he is going through with the larger world of his rural community. It is little wonder in this sense that the protagonist's mother's seclusion and suffering should be perceived—although in a metaphorical way—to bear parallels to those endured by her namesake in the book "Lives of the Saints," which *la maestra* reads regularly to Vitto:

> Santa Cristina had been born into the house of a rich Roman nobleman, but at a young age she became a Christian and broke up all of the gold and silver images of pagan gods in her father's house, selling the pieces to help the poor. When her father discovered her crime he beat her without mercy and brought her before the magistrate for final judgement, and thus began a long series of chastisements. First the judge ordered that Santa Cristina be thrown into a pit with a hundred venomous serpents; but these Santa Cristina overcame, through the strength of Christ, and she was brought once again before the court. Now her flesh was torn away with large iron hooks; but Santa Cristina picked up a chunk of her own flesh and threw it into the magistrate's face. Finally the judge had her tied to a stake to be burnt as a witch; but when a fire was lit beneath her it spread to burn down a whole block of the city, killing hundreds but leaving Santa Cristina untouched. That night, while Santa Cristina waited in a cell, the magistrate suffered a seizure and died. (*BS* 135)

Obviously, it could be argued that there is little that is truly saintly in Vittorio's mother and her behavior, but it is clear that she shares with her forerunner an independent spirit that makes her break the conventions in her society and defy the superstitions and false authorities of her day. Although these connections remain unnoticed by the protagonist while events are taking place, the author takes advantage of them to present Italy, and more specifically this concrete region, to us as the land of the exotic, the primitive, and the magical.[14] But this is also so, to a great extent, because the gauge the reader uses to decide on the degree of familiarity or unfamiliarity, primitiveness or modernization of the behaviors and beliefs is very closely linked with Vittorio's country of destination.

Apart from the protagonist's sensitiveness to all these mythical and local-color materials, a second predicate which also proves to have a significant incidence on his character are the enormous levels of violence to which Vitto is exposed at his early age. Dvorak (1997: 65) is right when she observes that "If we pierce through the religious veneer, we find in fact that the world of the ancestors is not a paradise, but a world of superstition, ignorance, bribery and corruption, poverty, hatred and envy, a world of violence." The protagonist becomes a victim of his maternal grandfather's bitter nature, his mother's unstable psychological condition, and the whole community's criticism, to mention just a few of the aggressors. Again, quite often Vittorio is unable to explain why he should become the target of the wrath and despair of people that, in principle, should be trying to help him to get through these miserable moments of his existence. But the fact is that even children of his own age seem to be touched by that awful habit of exploiting any opportunity to torture those who are different from themselves. When Vittorio, for instance, becomes *la maestra*'s pet while his mother is in hospital for a second time, Alfredo Girasole and his gang of bullies decide to take him to a hidden place along the paths of Colle di Papa where he is subjected to a very cruel rite of passage. More harmful than the physical abuse he suffers, though, are the kind of comments he hears from them concerning his teacher and his own mother:

> But now suddenly Alfredo drew up close to me again, as if to tell me a secret.
> "You know, you're lucky your mother didn't go with another man," he said in a whisper. "Then there'd be trouble, eh? They say that if a woman goes with another man and gets bitten by a snake,

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[14] Stelio Cro (1996: 136) has spoken of the tendency of Italian-Canadian writers to portray their country of origin in these terms as a kind of "collective unconscious" they need to release in their works.

> then the next baby she has will have the head of a snake. And then the only thing you can do"—he made a sudden jabbing motion with a clenched fist, and started back—"is to kill the baby the minute it's born, and cut out its eyes, so the evil eye won't follow you." (*BS* 124)

Predictably, the few months that remain until his half-sister's birth are a time of great anxiety for Vitto, who is constantly bothered by these horrifying images in nightmares and daydreams. Still, even more traumatic than the physical and emotional harassment that the protagonist is forced to cope with in the hands of his classmates are the heated arguments that he is privy to at home between his mother and his grandfather—or other relatives and friends who mostly call in to give her advice. As her friend Giuseppina confides to her at one point, people in their village are not kind to those who break the unspoken codes and they love to see them destroyed: "You can't afford to walk around like a princess. It turns people against you" (*BS* 56). Despite all the recommendations, Vittorio is well aware that his mother's irrepressible and defiant nature is not likely to bend before these pressures, and the tension in the house goes in a relentless *crescendo*. It is not surprising, then, that since violence and conflict dominate Vittorio's early life, our perception of the hero should be that of confused child, who rather than controlling his own existence, simply responds as best he can to the demands placed on him by the external world. As a result, it is not unusual for his older, narrating self to portray him fantasizing his own defenses against those demands that he cannot easily rationalize. Hence, when his grandfather tells him in Chapter 4 that, after his mother's return from hospital, he will not be allowed to sleep with her any more, he needs to make up an explanation for this sudden change in the order of things at home:

> I decided finally that it had been my father now who'd made me move out of my mother's bed, as if in some strange way he was able to control my life and see into it from whatever world he lived in across the sea, the way God could see into my thoughts. It did not surprise me that he had that power, because in my mind my father was like a phantom, some dim ghost of presence who could sometimes harden into a mute solid substance of a human form and then suddenly disperse again, spread out magically until he was invisible and omnipresent. (*BS* 35-36)

This short passage is highly revealing of the synthetic functions played by the young protagonist in at least three different ways. To start with, there is the idea that his life story is being shaped by forces—in this case that of his absent father—quite outside his

reach.[15] Agnew (2005: 15) has convincingly argued that the minds of those straddled between two cultures are often populated by shadows and ghosts that give rise to an emotional and epistemological ambivalence not easy to deal with. It is natural in this sense that our perception of Vitto in the early chapters of Ricci's novel should be that of a boy being pulled in different directions and only rarely taking hold of the reins that guide his existence. Secondly, as several scholars have noted, the narrating self in the text takes advantage of the disorientation of his younger, experiencing self in order to insert many instances of situational and character irony in which the reader realizes that the boy is being the butt of his future projection in another continent. In Davis' (2000: xix) words, "The boy's simple vision is clouded by a scandalous [and quite frequently violent] present and an uncertain future which will begin with a traumatic journey to Canada." Finally, a third aspect that may make us think of the "hero" as a construct on which several strands of the narrative progress are predicated is the fact that his fears are bound to arouse overprotective sentiments in the women closest to him. Of course, this is most noticeable in Cristina, his mother, who on several occasions is observed behaving almost as an insane woman when she realizes that her child is being victimized by other children and adults on account of her "crime."[16] But *la maestra,* too, becomes a kind of guardian angel to Vittorio—although she pretends to be as tough as always—when she suspects that the other village boys are torturing him with their insults and abuses:

> There was no use, of course, in the teacher's adopting this tone—my classmates saw through it, knew that the status I'd held the previous year as a troublemaker, a status which though misplaced had at least given me some notoriety, was giving way to a new position as teacher's favourite. (*BS* 119)

Interestingly, despite the two women's efforts to protect the child and keep him away from the most hostile elements in their society, they only manage to make his weak flanks more apparent to the enemy. As

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[15] Other "invisible forces" of this sort are the German soldier with whom his mother has been having an affair, and whose broken glasses appear in the most unexpected places, and his *Tatone* (Grandpa) Vittorio who had died of a fit of rage over his son's departure to America not long ago.

[16] Imboden (1992: 50) has examined Cristina's behavior throughout the narrative in great detail and reached the conclusion that, in an ironic way, she "remains true to the hyperbolic project of the Derridean Cogito from which she had distanced herself. […] Cristina's project takes her toward infinity."

the story moves on, it becomes gradually clearer that if a future exists for Vittorio and his mother in which they can gain some agency over the plots of their existence, that will be in a distant place across the ocean, where they may finally be themselves. Or as Dvorak (1997: 59) has put it, "[…] it is evident that the attraction of the New World implies the death of the Old. Allusions abound to what amounts to an exodus to the West, the new, the future, leaving behind images of decline, decay, and rot."

2. **Thematizing the Pre-migratory Self**

So far I have argued that due to the narrative distance between the experiencing and narrating self, on the one hand, and the "cultural distance" between country of origin and that of destination, on the other, one could think of Vittorio Innocente as little more than a proper name to which a number of predicates and features are attached. Thus, we have observed, for example, that the volatile circumstances at home and the echoes of lives abroad turn him into a specially sensitive and turbulent child used and abused by others to unleash their basic impulses. In this sense, one could easily conclude that the focalizer of the story serves more as an adjunct or a satellite to other characters than as a key fictional figure carrying any of the thematic weight of the story.[17] Nonetheless, a mere glimpse at the reviews and criticism of the novel reveals quite the opposite since most of them claim that one of the indisputable strengths of the book is precisely the quasi-archetypal attributes of the "hero" (see McKay 1991). Ricci himself, in trying to explain to Kirman (1999) why his first novel became such an immediate success, said that, apart from the exotic locale and the plucky mother, it was mostly the "fresh way of looking at the world" and the kind of innocence that his protagonist exudes that won the readers over.[18] There is little question that while there are some sections of the novel in which the protagonist-narrator falls into the background to become a mere observer or a kind of punch bag for others, even in there his point of view and his way of handling the situations can be said to carry an important part of the

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[17] It is interesting to note in this regard that some critics have chosen to center their plot summaries of the book on other characters. See Cro (1996: 136), who takes Cristina as the main referent in the "thin" plot.

[18] In this sense, Ricci's novel could be productively compared to other literary classics such as Dickens' *Great Expectations* or Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* which also exploit this dimension of their protagonist-narrators.

ideational meaning of the novel. On this point, I would converge with the thematist scholars who maintain that the attributes of the character which seem most significant are those that contribute to establishing generalizations about the migrant subject. As I shall show below, these attributes are in the case of Vittorio ineluctably connected with the fact that he is a self in transition with some of his standards and expectations already set at the literal and symbolic journey's end.

While discussing the thematic and mimetic functions of character, Phelan (1989: 29) points out that "Of course the experience of beginning a narrative and being asked to read as if we shared knowledge that we do not actually possess is a common one." This is even truer about childhood narratives rendering the experiences of a boy or a girl who is still unaware of the path that his/her life story is going to follow. This type of narrative is frequently characterized by a number of dichotomies connecting the protagonist both to his/her familiar past and that part of the future that the reader has to construe as he advances through the narrative. *The Book of Saints* seems to respond to this general pattern because it "is built around several binary oppositions on different levels in the story: past and present, Italy and Canada, innocence and guilt, saint and sinner, appearance and reality, rural and urban, public and private" (Baena 2000: 98). The assumptions we make concerning the character of Vittorio are that, whereas he may already know quite a bit about the first terms in these dichotomies, his knowledge of the second elements is practically nil throughout the "stage action,"[19] this state of affairs changes ostensibly at the level of the telling since what we encounter there is a more complex language and perspective. It is not surprising that several commentators have considered this "solid dichotomous structure" (Dvorak 1997: 59) as one of the central pillars on which the progression of the narrative rests. One would be wrong, however, to assume that because of his limited and premature point of view, young Vittorio is utterly unable to judge and position himself regarding the events. Despite his seeming candor, a number of dimensions of his character will emerge from the very early stages of the narrative that will shake some of our assumptions and encourage us to regard him more thematically. If his story can be said to be archetypical and can claim to work upon the real world in any way, this is primarily because, like many other diasporic children, he seems able to gain some early agency on his future life.

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[19] By "stage action" we should understand the story level of the narrative, that is, that at which the events take place. See Chatman (1978: 153-156) for an enlightening discussion of these two levels.

Baena (2000: 101) and others have made so much of the double positioning and double-consciousness present in the novel that the focalizer's status is often reduced to that of some kind of camera-eye which simply depicts incidents without interpreting or assigning any significance to them. I did remark earlier on that there are circumstances whose meaning escapes Vittorio's understanding as a result of his limited knowledge of the world. Nonetheless, this is far from implying that the protagonist-narrator remains just a passive witness—or victim—of situations that he himself has had little influence in bringing about. As a matter of fact, Vitto seems to be particularly aware from early in the narrative of the handicaps and absences that are going to mark his existence in the small Italian village:

> But in our house there were no men to go out and work the fields. My father—a native not of Valle del Sole but of nearby Castilucci, Valle del Sole's age-old rival—had migrated to America almost four years before, when I was barely three; and my grandfather, my mother's father, in whose house we lived, had been crippled during the first war, one leg, its bone crushed on the battle field by a horse's hoof, left shorter than the other, and his calves scarred and pitted from the damage a grenade had done. (*BS* 7-8)

Given the highly traditional notion of the family in this rural environment, it is quite undeniable that his grandfather's unrelenting physical and psychological decline and the *paterfamilias*' absence from home must have created a sense of responsibility a bit too heavy for Vittorio to carry on his narrow shoulders. It is quite clear that the text offers more than enough evidence to suggest that the protagonist-narrator took it upon himself—if not in the fields, at least, in the village—to fulfill some of the roles that the adult males in the family seem unable to carry out. This is especially true after his paternal grandfather, *Tatone* Vittorio, drops dead like a stone on his kitchen floor during one of his habitual rampages over his son's "unmanly" behavior:

> "Mario this, Mario that—he can rot in America, and all of you after him! Do you think he did a good thing to go against his father? Do you think he is living like a king? I'll tell you where he's living—in a chicken coop! In a goddamned chicken coop, *per l'amore di Cristo*! Meanwhile he leaves his wife to run around like a whore." (*BS* 27)

Comments of this kind will compel young Vittorio to adopt roles that are obviously too exacting for a kid of his age. His fights with some of his schoolmates are the result of his efforts to defend the family honor and we find him profoundly concerned with his mother's condition when her antagonism with her own father becomes unbearable and she's left

alone to work in the vegetable garden outside their house for hours on end. He tries to please her by changing his attitude at school and by keeping her away from the rumors that are beginning to circulate around the village, but to little avail:

> The silence seemed to issue from every nook and cranny of the house, to dissolve furnishings and walls and leave me suspended in a pure, electric emptiness, so volatile that the crunch of my mother's hoe threatened to shatter the house to its foundations. Then at night, as I lay in the dark staring up at the cobwebs on the ceiling, I'd hear my mother's quiet sobbing mingling with the sigh of the wind like something inhuman, as if the air could no longer carry any human sounds, all of them smothered into the earth by the silence. (*BS* 77)

Vittorio's preoccupation with his mother's condition, his brave resistance to the criticism the family is suffering, and his gradual alienation from the values and beliefs prevailing in his region of origin keep gaining thematic centrality in the narrative.[20] As Phelan (1989: 39) sees it, the reader might take some of these attitudes of the character as fulfilling a mimetic function that "individualize the hero" in our eyes. The fact is, however, that those are precisely the attributes that turn him into a typical migrant child and contribute more decisively to the progression of the narrative toward its anticipated ending. His unconventional relationship with his mother, for instance, is highlighted at several points to suggest that it goes beyond the habitual bonds between mother and child. His grandfather's objection to his sleeping with her any more (35) could be read as such a suggestion, but so could the comments from their neighbors—who complain that they are like partners at play (51)—, Vitto's description of her goddess-like beauty when he sees her naked before diving into the underground pool (33) or their highly symbolic and somehow subversive dance near the end of *La Festa della Maddona* at the very core of the novel:

> She took me by the hand and led me up towards the stage, heads turning as we passed, couples in the dance area edging away as we approached, clearing a small circle as if to cordon us off. But as soon as the band had begun to play we seemed to be forgotten, the crowd of other dancers slowly closing in on us, as if the music had made us suddenly anonymous, invisible. (*BS* 102)

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[20] This alienation is often marked through language usage for, as Camarca (2005: 226) has noted, "[...] code-switching can be interpreted under a wider perspective as representing a change from one culture to another and not simply a switch between two languages."

According to some critics, Vittorio's role in the novel is quite clearly overshadowed by his strong-willed and independent mother, Cristina (see Imboden 1992: 41-44). Still, it would be inaccurate and myopic not to acknowledge that much of what Cristina does throughout the story finds its *raison d'être* in her consideration of what would be best for her son at every point. This may be misread by her neighbors and some readers as an overprotective attitude that is, in fact, spoiling her child.[21] Sure enough, she keeps a number of unpleasant truths outside the range of her son's understanding, but on many other occasions she relies on him as a last resort to keep afloat in the terribly hostile environment around her. Vittorio's complicity with and support of his mother becomes particularly apparent in the second half of the narrative, when she is forced to make the most momentous decisions:

> "Why do you have to go to Rome?"
> She took in a breath of irritation; but after a moment her anger seemed to melt, and she drew me towards her and nestled me against her knees.
> "Poor Vittorio. No one ever tells him anything." She wrapped her arms around me, and I saw that she'd begun to cry. "Do you promise to keep it a secret if I tell you?"
> "Yes."
> She pulled me closer, putting her cheek against mine.
> "We're going to leave the village, Vittorio," she whispered finally. "In a few weeks, we're going to America." (*BS* 159)

But, very likely, Vittorio's greatest functional contribution to the thematic progress of the narrative needs to be sought in his status as a character who is already living with one foot in a different culture. This is made evident throughout the book in his critical attitude and estranging comments regarding much of the religious lore and superstitions that dominate life in his hometown in Italy. As explained above, these are exoticized so much and so often mixed up with the envy and sordidness that prevail in the peasants' existence that the protagonist seems to perceive them from the start as something oppressive and anachronistic to get away from and, finally, leave behind:

> Snakes, in Valle del Sole, had long been imbued with special meaning. Some of the villagers believed they were immortal, because they could shed their skin, and at planting time, to improve their harvest,

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[21] Cro (1996: 138) writes about Cristina as a courageous and determined young woman who tries to keep her child away from the hypocrisy of government and church. However, he also admits that Vitto is seen to take over as "the man of the house" in his father's absence.

they would buy a powder made of ground snake skins from *la strega di Belmonte* and spread it over their fields. Others held that a snake crossing you from the right brought good fortune, from the left, bad, or that a brown snake was evil while a green one was good. But there was a saying in Valle del Sole, "*Do' l'orgoglio sta, la serpe se ne va*,"— where pride is the snake goes—and there were few who doubted that snakes whatever their other properties, were agents of the evil eye, which the villagers feared far more than any mere Christian deity or devil, and which they guarded themselves against scrupulously, […] (*BS* 11)

A number of reviewers and critics have complained that the superstitions and local folklore in the novel seem to be an imposition from America, since many of the cultural elements do not seem very convincing given the chronological framework of the story.[22] They may have a point in that aspects such as the lack of electricity (93), the rendition of women as obedient servants to their husbands (48-49) or all the jealousy and *invidia* present in the village are exaggerated in an attempt to mark the distance between the Italy and the Canada of the 1960s. It must be admitted, though, that the author succeeds in illustrating this way how his hero's affections are gradually moving from his native land toward wider horizons overseas. Ferraro (1993: 8) has justified the inclusion of that exacerbated cultural "otherness" by arguing that getting away from it marks the first step in the immigrants' exercise of self-transformation that traveling to a different land inevitably entails. In Vittorio's case, however, besides his estrangement from the values and beliefs pervasive in his hometown, there are other elements in the text that overtly and indirectly propel him toward the New World. Hoerder (1993: 18) notes in this regard that the main "magnet" attracting immigrants to America was "the feeling of taking one's 'fate,' one's life, into one's hands, the feeling of being able to do something, the feeling of attaining a measure of independence, albeit a small one."

Vittorio's thematic function as an individual "in transition" becomes prominent from early in the story as his mother receives a letter every month with her husband's "erratic script" on it. Although the contents of those missives are never disclosed to Vitto, there is no doubt that the shadowy figure of his father, already living on another continent, together with the numberless tales of migration being passed around in the village, constitute a crucial point of reference in the young protagonist's imagination. Unlike other ethnic writers, Ricci is careful to present

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[22] Cro (1996: 137) writes, for example, that "Cultural references are made up of assumptions stemming from the Canadian multicultural scenario."

that point of reference as both a place of liberty and opportunity but, also, a mere continuation of conditions at home:

> And for all the stories of America that had been filtering into the village for a hundred years now from those who had returned, stories of sooty factories and back-breaking work and poor wages and tiny bug-infested shacks, America had remained a mythical place, as if there were two Americas, one which continued merely the mundane life which the peasants accepted as their lot, their fate, the daily grind of toil without respite, the other more a state of mind than a place, a paradise that shimmered just beneath the surface of the seen, one which even those who had been there, working their long hours, shoring up their meager earnings, had never entered into, though it had loomed around them always a possibility. (*BS* 162)

Besides his own and his mother's need to move to a freer place with more desirable opportunities, Vittorio gets indirect messages from several friends and adults in the village that his prospects are no longer in Valle del Sole. These usually take the form of presents that he is given by some key figures which, we assume, are meant to remind him of where he comes from but are also tokens of "*Buona fortuna in America!*," as his friend Fabrizio tells him. Among these presents, we could count Luciano's large one-*lira* silver coin with its long history of violence and fortune (64-65), Fabrizio's much-cherished jack-knife which his uncle had brought to him from America (169) and, of course, *la maestra's* beautiful cloth-bound book, "Lives of the Saints" (172), which makes Vittorio realize how fond of him and motherly she had grown those last few months. All of these objects are handed to Vitto under the condition that he will keep in touch with these people and that he will live by the principles—endurance, friendship and the Christian faith—that they represent.[23] What seems crucial, though, from the perspective of the thematic function played by the protagonist, is that all of them, and especially his teacher's book—chosen as the title for the novel—, are meant to prepare Vittorio for his eventual journey across the Atlantic. Somehow, in the minds of all these characters, the boy's existence is already fractured between his current experiences in his mountain village and his prospects in "The Sun Parlor." Even the group of bullies at school, who make him go through the excruciating ritual of showing his bird (penis) to them and moving it up and down fifty times into a hole in the ground, seem to suspect that Vittorio will end up some day

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[23] The protagonists of migration stories of this kind rarely travel to their new destinations without some objects from the Old World which usually intend to fulfill these two important functions.

in a distant country. When they pull down his pants, Alfredo, Vicenzo, Guido and the rest of the company conjecture about the significance of his having such a large organ:

> Some of the other boys agreed that Guido was right [that it was not the regular size]. But one of them said that it was more like the kind the Africans had, and that maybe one of my great-grandfathers had been an African; and someone else said it was in America that you found birds like that, which meant that one day I would go to America. Now each of the boys took sides, arguing about the colour and length and the thickness; but they couldn't reach a conclusion. (*BS* 126).

Insignificant as some of these comments may seem, the fact is that they contribute quite definitely to the development of the protagonist-narrator's double-consciousness—or double vision—as he keeps looking back all the time into his Italian childhood and forward to Canada. As Baena (2000: 101) has explained, it is the process of Vittorio's "translation" from one culture to the other that the narrative thematically stresses: "[…] many moments in the novel emphasize the idea of Canada as a decisive presence and destination. Though the story is set in Italy, the need for a new future that will overcome the scandalous present implies a journey to Canada."

3. **Conclusion: Vittorio Innocente's migrant condition**

One of Brooks' (1984: 104) foremost conclusions in his psychoanalytic discussion of plots in narrative is that most endings afford us primarily a "cure" from the intentions and desire that have driven the story forward. Something of the kind happens when Vittorio reaches Canada in the closing pages of *The Book of Saints,* after having left his hometown, undergone several tortuous rites of passage and transformation, and lost his beloved mother at childbirth during their ship voyage. Due to the terrible shock of his mother's demise and the pneumonia that he had contracted during the last stages of the journey, his arrival in the New World is experienced as a sort of delirium in which images of his mother's German lover and his father overlap in his mind while he is in hospital. What seems evident, in any case, is that by the time father and son catch a train toward the interior, the "hero" has already outlived the plot he has been entangled in throughout the novel, and what stands ahead is a totally different story: "When I was let out of the hospital we rode together on a coal-dust-filled train, my father holding the baby in

his awkward arms while we rolled across a desolate landscape, bleak and snow-covered for as far as the eye could see" (*BS* 234). "Plot," explains Brooks (1984: 138), "comes to resemble a diseased, fevered state of the organism caught in the machinery of a desire which must eventually be renounced." Certainly, our state of mind while reading about Vittorio's adventures previous to his departure could well be described in these terms since we are constantly looking forward to his escape from the constraining environment of his childhood. When the reader eventually puts down Ricci's book, the impression is that the feelings of fear and deviance that the protagonist has experienced throughout the story—thematically suspended between Italy and America, innocence and enlightenment, rural superstitions and new urban realities—have been brought to an end. We cannot be quite sure how Vittorio is going to fare in Canada in the future, but we do know that a significant chapter of his life has been successfully, though painfully, completed and that he will not be battling against the sort of narrow-mindedness and ghosts that had governed his earlier experiences.[24]

My discussion of *The Book of Saints* has shown so far that its protagonist-narrator is caught in the plot of deviance and irritation that Freud so closely connected with both narrative and human existence in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*. According to the father of psychoanalysis, what most narratives convey is in fact some kind of squiggle or detour toward the end in which all the tensions and uncertainties created by external forces will be put to rest. Throughout this essay, we have observed that Vitto conflates attributes that sometimes turn him into a victim of circumstances in his native village, where he can barely cope with his grandpa's decline, his mother's adultery or his neighbors' lack of sympathy, and other times show him as a courageous child all too willing to help his mother escape from the unbearable environment. I have linked these dimensions of his character, alternatively, to the synthetic and thematic functions that he fulfils in the text, both of which inevitably need to be interpreted under the light of the pressure and desire that he feels from the beginning for a home elsewhere. From Brooks' (184: 111) point of view, "Desire is the wish for the end, for fulfillment, but fulfillment must be delayed so that we can understand it in relation to origin and desire itself." What we encounter in Ricci's novel, therefore, is

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[24] Ferraro (1993: 8) and others have argued, however, that this liberation from one's past is only partial: "Otherness *does* persist, whether one likes it or not—powerfully so among the immigrants that have attempted Emersonian self-transformation only to experience both the skepticism of the long-entitled and the return of the culturally repressed."

the gradual materialization of that desire as his "hero" wades between the uncertainty of his present "captivity" in a context he feels alienated from and the hopes of better prospects in some distant lands. It is no coincidence that Vittorio's repressed desire for a new home often visits him in the form of dreams and visions, as when, for example, he and his mother are already on their way to Napoli to embark on their voyage to the Americas:

> […] Towards morning I slipped into a familiar dream, one I had had a hundred times before in Valle del Sole: my mother and I were in a dark passageway, slowly feeling our way along the walls in search of a way out, hoping to slip unseen past the hunch-backed guardian who inevitably barred our way. Tonight, though, the hunchback did not come; but at some point, reaching out into the darkness, I realized with sudden horror that my mother was no longer beside me. (*BS* 187)

The imagery in this brief passage speaks very plainly of the fears and anxiety that have been disturbing the protagonist throughout the narrative. Thus, it would not seem too far-fetched to think of the hunch-backed guardian as a personification of the prejudice and discrimination that they had been suffering in Valle del Sole those last few months. Neither would it seem illogical to conceive the dark and tortuous passageway as the difficult journey that mother and son have had to undertake in order to achieve their much longed-for freedom. Nevertheless, what is most shocking to Vittorio at this stage of their escape is the ominous premonition that he may end his journey on his own.[25] This strange revelation, like a number of others he had earlier on in the novel, is going to compel the protagonist-narrator—and us—to look upon his plight as both that of the archetypal migrant child forced to face huge challenges at a very early age and that of somebody who needs to discover his own resources to overcome the specific obstacles that he comes across. It is this latter perception that allows the reader to see Vittorio Innocente as someone who outgrows his role as a representative migrant child to become a full-fledged individual in pursuit of his own destiny/destination. Or as Phelan (1989: 27) has put it, "Although people may have representative significance, they typically cannot be adequately summed up by their representativeness. And the same goes for literary characters."

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[25] A number of reviewers read Cristina's death as a *conditio sine qua non* for Vittorio's self-transformation to come to its fruition. In their opinion, if Vittorio's mother had remained alive at the end of their journey, his translation into the new culture in the novels to come would have been more difficult.

I have shown above that Ricci is quite successful in portraying his "hero" as a boy able to use the limited capacities and assistance he has to generate the necessary conditions to abandon his hometown. We have noted how he manages to transform elements that, in principle, could have worked to his disadvantage into some sort of trampoline that will launch him towards a more hopeful future. Paramount among those are his father's absence, his companions' and neighbors' pressures and abuse or his mother's overzealous attitude. Although all these influences could have turned him into an insecure and pampered child, it is clear that the opposite happens, as he is capable of converting all these forces into the very engine propelling him to some new horizons.[26] Reviewers and critics have mostly focused their attention on the strength that he derives from his mother's endurance and determination to abandon this sordid environment:

> "Fools!" she shouted now. "You tried to kill me but you see I'm still alive. And now you came to watch me hang, but I won't be hanged, not by your stupid rules and superstitions. You are the ones who are dead, not me, because not one of you knows what it means to be free and to make a choice, and I pray to God that he wipes this town and all its stupidities off the face of the earth!" (*BS* 184)

While it is a fact that Cristina's behavior and reactions are a major force driving her son to make some of the thematically-decisive choices in the book, it would be shortsighted not to acknowledge that they are also heavily conditioned by the male members of the family and, even, by his school companions and neighbors. All of them seem to join forces—together with the magnetic attraction from the other side of the Atlantic—to make Vittorio's progression towards his journey's end fairly "pre-dictable." This is far from arguing, however, that the thematic function of the central character in the story is so overpowering that his mimetic dimension is little short of non-existent. Despite some features in Vittorio, such as his ingeniousness, confusion or his suspension be-tween two cultures, which invite us to make generalizations about his status as an archetypical boy errant, it would be inaccurate to think of him as a mere embodiment of an idea or of *The Book of Saints* as an allegory of all migratory experiences. Lest we were tempted to perceive the novel in this way, Ricci has been careful enough to endow his pro-tagonist-narrator with a few traits that often disrupt our expectations

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[26] Hoerder and Rössler (1993: 17) seem to argue in this line when they observe that "The positive image of opportunities arter migration was in many cases but a reflection of the fact that conditions at home could not get much worse."

and make him much more plausible as a "real" human being. Although we may think of these dimensions of the character at first as instabilities or inconsistencies in the book, the fact is that they also contribute to the progression of the narrative, as they establish a balance between the thematic and mimetic significance of the "hero."

Phelan has complained that there has been a long tradition of thematic critics—dating back to Aristotle, most likely—who have tended to group characters under a number of categories.[27] For him, this practice runs a serious risk since frequently the link through character to the cultural codes is presented as an extrapolation of the thematic functions proceeding by analogy rather than as an interpretation uncovering the basic codes in the text. These codes (emotional, psychological, judgmental, etc.) also carry a substantial significance because they are as much a part of the dynamics of reading as the sequence of events in which the character participates. Phelan (1989: 78) observes that "[…] the point here is that the mimetic function of characters will act as a kind of weight which resists the high-flying generalizing that Scholes [and others] prizes so greatly." In the case of Vittorio, for instance, although we mostly perceive him as a turbulent and high-strung individual due to the scandalous circumstances surrounding him, there are some occasions when we see him relax and behave like a normal, happy child. This different dimension of his character comes up usually, either when he is alone with his mother or *la maestra*, or even more often when he meets his good friend Fabrizio outside the boundaries of the village. Predictably, one of the moments in which the protagonist enjoys this more relaxed and peaceful state of mind is when he and his mother have finally embarked on the ship that is to take them to Canada:

> As the gap between the rails and the dock widened, the ship's horn boomed above us, drowning out the shouts from the shore. Slowly the ship, like a great tired whale, pulled back into the waters of the bay and began to turn its nose to the sea. At last the people on the pier had become a single undulating wave, their shouts barely audible, and as the ship slipped away from them I felt a tremendous unexpected relief, as if all that could ever cause pain or do harm was being left behind on the receding shore, and my mother and I would melt now into an endless freedom as broad and as blue as the sea. (*BS* 200-201)

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[27] The two well-known theorists that Phelan seems to have in mind throughout his discussion are Robert Scholes, *Textual Power* (1985) and Wayne Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, 2nd ed. (1983).

Curiously, it is at these sporadic moments in the story in which Vittorio is given a little respite from all his tribulations that we observe a significant reduction in the narrative distance between his experiencing and his narrating self. It is as if at these points the tensions and paradoxes that preside over his existence receded to the background and for a short while he could be true to his own nature. Nothing is left here of the ironic and, sometimes, sardonic tone that his older self often uses to describe his perceptions and behavior during the stage action. On the contrary, what the reader experiences here is a perfect overlapping of the sentiments of the narrator and his younger, errant self.[28]

There are a handful of other identifiable features that encourage us to think of Vittorio as an individual rather than as a representative of a particular human group or the embodiment of an idea. He is, for example, extremely observant of all the signs that may cast some light on his present condition or even provide him with clues about his future. In this regard, the reader is fortunate enough to see the world through a pair of eyes that, while seemingly naive and immature, are capturing all kinds of important details that are going to reveal their true significance only at the end of the novel. Likewise, for a seven-year-old boy, Vittorio seems to be preternaturally aware of those components of his family background and personality that set him apart from most of the other children in the village. As noted earlier on, it is these mimetic specificities that sometimes astonish some of the other characters around him and help to convince the readers that they are dealing with what could well be a flesh-and-blood individual. Due probably to the trying experiences he has gone through and the sense of responsibility he has developed, the main character quite often puts up a façade of gravity even when circumstances seem to ask for a radically different reaction. This is the case when he and his mother witness a most hilarious incident when they are about to set foot on the ship. An old peasant and his chicken create quite a disturbance on the gang plank when the officers inform him that he cannot bring live animals aboard without a permit:

> […] In a moment the deck was in an uproar, the officer and the old man pushing their way furiously through the crowd, women and children shrieking and shrinking back from the chicken's mad flapping.
>
> But beside me my mother was laughing, a full-bellied laugh that brought tears to her eyes.

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[28] According to Stanzel (1971: 69), one of the key consequences of these overlappings is that the interest of the reader shifts from the narrative process to the fictional action and we identify with the character.

"Look at you," she said to me when the chicken had been caught and the commotion was over, "always so serious!" She made a face of exaggerated seriousness, eyes squinty, lips pouting, then burst into laughter again and hugged me towards her, pressing her cheek against mine." (*BS* 191)

It may well be that given the importance of the moment that Vittorio and his mother are living at this point of the narrative, neither of their two extreme reactions should be held as characteristic of their personalities. Nevertheless, whereas we rarely see Cristina smiling throughout the novel, the stern pose that her son displays here is by no means new to the reader. We may even wonder at times whether these inconsistent reactions are not a defense strategy contrived by the "hero" in order to make the others conscious that his behavior should not be judged by conventional standards. Vittorio's gravity, his observant attitude or the release of his tension on the short-lived occasions in which he can be himself are, no doubt, also connected with his trajectory through a plot that will invariably transport him to a different "home." However, unlike his thematic functions, these traits are incorporated by the author in order to create the illusion of a plausible person. In this sense, we could argue that a significant portion of Ricci's achievement should be allocated to his skill in hitting a balance between those attributes of his protagonist-narrator that turn him into a fairly typical migrant child and those others that tend to identify him as an individual character who devises his own means to arrive save and sound at his "pre-determined" destination.

Of course, any given narrative sets in motion so many literary resources and inventive capacities of human storytelling that it is quite impossible to investigate all the various ways in which character attributes and plot progression interact. In this paper, I have shown that Nino Ricci's *The Book of Saints* develops its own pattern of interaction between these two key concepts of narrative-construction due to the close relationship existing between the main character's traits at different stages of the story and his prefigured destiny/destination. Be it as a subject of a number of predicates that befall him while he is still in Valle del Sole (synthetic function) or as a key agent contributing to his mother's decision to abandon their hometown (thematic function), what seems undeniable is that Vittorio Innocente's path is invariably marked by that desire to find a "home" elsewhere. He may not always be fully conscious of this force propelling him towards a "pre-determined" closure but, as we have seen, much of his behavior and many of his reactions are deeply influenced by it. We might be accused of overgeneralizing if we argued that all migration stories reveal a pattern similar to that present in Ricci's

novel, but it is evident that many narratives belonging to this genre see their "heroes" conditioned and transformed by forces not unlike the teleological impulse herein discussed.

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