

INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS IN VILAFRANCA DEL Penedès



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1.INTRODUCTION

1.1. Hypothesis

The objective of this research work is to analyze the procedure and evolution of immigrants when arriving in Catalan territory, specifically in Vilafranca del Penedès. Do immigrants who have arrived in Vilafranca reach a successful integration? From our point of view, we consider that Vilafranca offers enough welcome resources so that the newcomers could be able to achieve an acceptable level of integration. Nevertheless, this is our first impression, but the aim of this research work is precisely to assess whether this really happens.

Do they contribute to the stability of the country or they harm it?

1.2. What does Immigration stand for?

Immigration is a social, cultural, economic and actually very recent movement that is being produced throughout the whole world. It can also be defined as a large process through which individuals become permanent citizens of a new and much more developed country.

The immigration experience is very long and varied and has in many cases led to the development of ¹**multicultural societies**; many modern states are characterized by a wide variety of cultures and ethnicities that have derived from previous periods of immigration which will be widely explained in this research work. This process can be

¹ **Multicultural societies**: diverse number of ethnicities concentrated in an area.

produced in many continents around the world but it is mainly concentrated in Europe, and consists on the entrance of foreigners into a specific country or region in order to progress in different aspects of life such as prosperity, safety, labor opportunities, life standards, well-being, educational alternatives and personal development.

Migration to escape persecution, is called 'asylum' and should be distinguished from the general concept of 'immigration'. An asylee is a person who spontaneously enters another country and applies for asylum, the right to international protection, in this other country. An asylee can also be recognised as a ²**refugee**, a displaced person or a migrant, such as an economic migrant.

Immigration doesn't only help the foreigners moving to new countries, it has also been of great social, economic and cultural benefit to hosting states.

1.3. Concept of Integration

The concept of integration in the current modern sociologist thinking needs to locate itself in the context of industrial development and urbanization by general rule.

On the first place, we have to ask ourselves why such confusion exists when it comes down to comprehending the concept of integration. In order to respond appropriately to this question, we have to analyze briefly the diverse thesis or theories that develop such a concept.

So, firstly we need to understand the assimilationist thesis (Chicago School and the Functionalism) and the non-assimilationist thesis (the conflictivists and the

² **Refugee:** a person who flees for refuge or safety, especially to a foreign country, as in time of political upheaval, war, etc.

sociocultural integration). Then, we bump into the push-pull theories and the network theories. After that, we proceed to deeply analyze the two big assimilationist and non-assimilationist theories.

1.3.1. ASSIMILATIONIST THESIS

At first sight we may notice that the assimilationist theses put across a great inconvenience: if the adaptation of immigrants to the host country followed a linear logic (assimilation of its culture, origins and approach to the host society), the final result would consist in the complete assimilation to the point of no distinction at all from the locals. The cultural groups would lose their cultural distinctiveness and would dissolve themselves in the surrounding society.

1) Chicago School

According to its representatives, we must analyze the concept of integration starting from the distinction of the assimilation concept. The assimilation goes through its first several studies linked to immigration and cities in the Chicago School. William Isaac, Florian Znaniecki, Robert Park and Milton Gordon were the most remarkable members of said studies.

According to the idea of the conflict of the host country, William Isaac Thomas and Florian Znaniecki say that the assimilation is the result of the interaction that is established when the individual identifies with the values and the dominant rules of the host country's society and unintentionally gets in a conflict with other groups of the receiving society. Years later, Robert Park came up with the racial and ethnic change theory linked to the concept of assimilation. Unlike the previous theories, this one wouldn't provoke a conflict or social disorganization of any kind, but as a result, a new society would emerge from the interaction between the newcomers and the locals. The interactive process was perceived as a globalizing process that involves all

dimensions of social life and the disappearance of the thick border between the newcomers and the locals and the abolition of the differential treatment, which according to Park, were the the basis of prejudice and discrimination.

According to the author, societies that give importance to the incorporation of the newcoming population, unintentionally initiate several events that lead to the race relations cycle. This cycle is one of the keys to eventually reach the assimilation in the society.

The cycle contains the gradual disappearance of the racial and cultural antagonism, being the racial and cultural plurality only a next stage of transit towards a new society. However, Milton Gordon would in the future criticize the confusion produced by Park when comparing the concepts of assimilation and integration, without getting to specify any of them completely.

2) Functionalism

These theories come from the concept of differentiation, known as:

a) process in which the main institutional fields and social functions dissociate into new units and b) process which is initially linked to the need of a growing specialization of the functions of the social system: economy, family, politics, religion..., although without leading to a disorganization or disintegration. Contrarily, the diverse units present a higher degree of interdependence but they need each in order to make the system work. And that is where the concept of integration comes from.

Therefore, the differentiation and integration operate interconnectedly. The development of the two processes, obviously lead to conflictive reactions from the society, but said conflicts would automatically be solved by the system itself in order to accomplish the requirement of the maintenance of the social system. The

functionalists do not believe in the existence of conflicts or changes, they instead believe in three values:

-Societies have to be understood as systems composed of interconnected parts.

-Even though the integration between the parts isn't perfect, the social system finds itself in a stable state; stability is like something normal to the system thanks to its internal mechanisms of social control: the integration of the system or its stability is the limit towards the main target of the whole social system.

-The value system is taken as the most important source of integration and as the most stable element of socio-cultural systems. That is why it is considered that the value system guarantees the adaptation of any new element.

1.3.2. NON-ASSIMILATIONIST THESIS

1) Conflictivism

According to its representatives, conflict is natural in every relationship: the parts of the society interact and establish conflicts by nature. Though the conflictivists point on the individual and its interactions instead of aiming at the relation between the parts of the system. The conflict becomes a dynamic and integrating element of society to the point that it ultimately causes, a social change. Therefore, cohesion is based on compulsion more than on voluntary cooperation.

We need to distinguish between integration, assimilation and acculturation.

Acculturation is a process of equalization focussed on the cultural learning of the most common forms of behaviour and the usual behaviours of the locals.

Assimilation is a situation of similarity between migrants in the behaviour and interactive connections towards the hosting system. And last but not least, integration is a process of personal equalization.

Integration can have different ways of socializing between ethnic groups in societies with an ethnically homogeneous population or an ethnically heterogeneous population. There are actually two methods: integration, through which society solves the problems and everyone is benefited equally; and the conflict, through which the solution of the problem is not beneficial for everyone; if one group wins, the other one loses and the results of the different situations are unequal. With this said, a typology is constructed by combining the mode of relationship between groups (integration-conflict) with the degree of ethnic differentiation of the population (homogeneous-heterogeneous).

In Short, what we could learn from the conflictivist idea are the following ideas towards the concept of integration:

- a) consider that the receiving societies are not characterized by the absence of conflict, but there are permanent social and ethnic inequalities, and in consequence the equality doesn't have to necessarily be the last phase of integration.
- b) that integration isn't a linear process with a defined result, but is a cycle in which there is a constant interactional conflict.
- c) and that the integrational capacity of the receiving society of immigration has to be considered.

2) Sociocultural Integration

Compared to functionalism, this concept does not just talk about the structural dimension of integration, but also talks about its cultural and collective identity dimensions. The incorporation of the immigrant into the structural integration does not have to carry out an effective participation in the institutions, neither in the relationships with the locals or the participation in the social organizations.

Regarding cultural integration, the acquisition of cultural habits of locals does not have to mean the adoption of ethnic, cultural or national identity. Therefore, it is

necessary to add to structural dimension, social and participation relations in organizations thus incorporating a third dimension; collective identity.

Once we understand what it has been said, we need to distinguish stages in the development of this thesis: initial stage(Carlota Solé), second stage(Manuel Delgado: first and second revision of the concept).

- **Initial Stage:** According to Carlota Solé (studies on internal migrations in Catalonia before Spain was in the EU), integration means overcoming conflicts and developing sympathy. Integration is a process through which immigrants insert themselves in society and accept the institutions, ideologies and values of the hosting country. Thereby, Solé establishes two levels of integration: structural integration and cultural integration. Following this knowledge, Solé finds four subprocesses in the process of integration:
 - Ocupacional Integration: adaptation into the working industry.
 - Urban Integration: adaptation to the living standard.
 - Political integration: right to participate in votes as local citizens.
 - Sociocultural Integration: voluntary adaptation towards language, values and culture.

- **Second Stage** (First Revision of the concept of immigration): Manuel Delgado says that cultural integration is a process in which conflict comes from the fight of interests, and not from the cultural shock. He is though in agreement with Solé's idea that the structural integration does not necessarily lead to the cultural integration.

Delgado also links the difference, to the cultural, and inequality, to the structural one. This statement makes us consider that integration results from the use of rights to the difference and to equality. From Delgado's statements, the revision of the concept of integration is basically summarized in the following phrases:

- Cultural integration comes from the structural one, but is not a direct result.
- Cultural integration, apart from meaning acquisition of other people's habits, can also mean configuration of a shared collective identity where the right to difference is recognized.
- Sociocultural integration doesn't only have to mean the total overcoming of conflicts; the constant negotiation of the interethnic population which makes peace difficult. Homogeneity is possible in some aspects, which must be guaranteed from the right to equality.

- **Second Stage** (Second Revision of the concept of immigration): In this second revision we are going to go through the new dimensions of the sociocultural integration: the legal-political and the sociological dimension.

The legal-political dimension of this concept is the immigration legislation of the host country and it is based on the study of the integration of "non-internal" immigrants, that come from the EU or from non-EU countries. In this sense, the redefinition of the concept of citizenship as a way of integrating immigrants becomes necessary in order to recognize the equal rights of citizens. Though, the aim of the integrational policy or integrational policies is to avoid the institutionalization of the exclusion of immigrants.

However, the practice of the legal-political rights doesn't directly result in the sociocultural integration. Giving rights to immigrants can cause negative reactions from collectives and divisions in democratic institutions in the hosting country, so that's why it is needed to add a sociological dimension to the legal-political dimension. The sociological dimension implies that the first step in the process for the integration of immigration must be given by the hosting

society by conceiving rights to the newcomers and having full legal-political integrational capacity. By having this said, Delgado shows us three legal integration models:

- **Inclusion / social exclusion model:** the immigration is temporal and conceives rights to the immigrants, but not the citizenship.
- **Legal integration model by nature:** the immigration is considered definite.
- **Integration model by citizenship:** supports the idea of legal integration.

1.3.3. CITIZENSHIP AND INTEGRATION

Knowing the numerous definitions of the concept of citizenship, we think it is necessary to say that in this research work we focus on the notions of intercultural citizenship because it is the only definition that is linked to the concept of integration.

Reaching citizenship has always been considered as a big step towards integration because it means that you can live in your hosting country as a local citizen, not as an immigrant anymore. However, the process of integration has to be seen from the two points of view, the local and the foreigner, because they have a limit: human rights that Western societies have promulgated. Cultural traditions and Society rules cannot lead to cultural relativism. This double view leads to considering the possibility that immigrants could choose aspects that affect directly or indirectly their life (work, home,...) and should not adapt to what the rulers decide for them. In consequence this would happen:

- The democracy of the natives would expand and immigrants would have responsibilities towards the receiving society like any EU citizen.

- Increase of racist conflicts due to the reaction of the hosting population, which would not be in agreement of these changes for fear of losing benefits of historically achieved claims.
- Risk of divisions in the heart of the democratic institutions operating in the receiving society which could be; immigrant parties, ethnic parties, etc...

However, these statements to integrate and exercise their rights and obligations as citizens of their hosting country do not seem like a good idea for immigrants, because their big desire of returning back to their country of origin is kept for a long time and makes them unable to establish very long-term future plans in their host country. That's why they are not fond of joining or creating any sort of parties in order to defend their working or human rights.

Obtaining citizenship, but not willing to participate with all the rights and obligations that it implies in the political life of the country (using civil rights such as health and education), can lead to negative reactions of the local population such as racism. In short, it is about building not only a space for the presence of immigrant groups in civil society, but also for political action.

In conclusion, speaking of interpenetration in terms of social structure implies considering two specific aspects: interaction that is produced between immigrants and local population in different aspects of daily life and the social inequality that makes cultural differences.

1.4. Where can this phenomenon take place?

Immigration is a phenomenon that is usually manifested in countries such as England, Germany, France, Spain... which are currently going through a stable moment in their economy, which possess a variety of colonies throughout the world and have a decent standard of life compared to others.

The country with most input of immigrants is the United States, which concentrates 20% of all the immigrants out of the whole world, attracted by the work prospects, the prestige of universities and the living and wellbeing standards. Russia and Germany after the USA, with more than 10 millions of immigrants in their territories. Spain is on the 10th place, with a wide range of immigrants coming in from Africa, because of the geographical location, and from South America, because of the cultural proximity. The locations with more pressure of the illegal immigration are: the border between Mexico and the USA, Spain and North Africa, and, the Balkans and Malaysia.

Most of these countries are democratic, fact that helps the development of basic human rights, such as the right to asylum, and contributes to its fundamental practise with the collaboration of professional activists, inhabitants and politicians. These democratic ³**states of rights** accept immigrants and provide them with social benefits through council housing and other advantages such as job vacancies in order to prevent redundancy, intensive language courses, advice when looking for a job, economic support to assure their minimum living standards and cover their basic needs.

This amazing phenomenon has a background of several migration waves such as the ⁴**transoceanic immigration** by the South-Americans, the Eastern Europe immigration by the Balkan countries like Bulgaria, Russia, Ukraine, Serbia, Croatia, Greece and Macedonia, and the North-African immigration by countries like Morocco, which took place during the last decades.

³ **State of rights:** is a constitutional state in which the exercise of governmental power is limited by the law and its practise is always democratic.

⁴ **Transoceanic immigration:** immigration coming from the american continent all the way to the european continent.

These migration waves take part in the causes that originated the immigration in Spain, so they are important to go through to understand the phenomenon.

2. HISTORY AND EVOLUTION OF IMMIGRATION IN VILAFRANCA

2.1. INTRODUCTION

There is great coincidence in Catalan literature in believing that Spain became a host country from being the opposite; an emigrant country. In other words, in the context of international migration, we can say that Spain has undergone a change in status: from an emigration country to an immigrant receiving country.

Talking about Catalonia, since the beginning of the 20th century there has been several migratory flows that have led to an important demographic contribution. Birth rates were very low, but migratory flows have been a key element to population growth. So now, in Catalonia, three quarters of the population have grandads or parents that have left Spain during the 20th century.

In order to understand the current situation it is essential to make a brief analysis of the origins and evolution of immigration in our territory, focusing especially in Vilafranca and Penedès, but always putting it in relation to Catalonia and Spain. An analysis of the history of immigration of Vilafranca del Penedès without considering the whole territory of Spain would lead to unsuccessful results.

2.2. ORIGINS OF IMMIGRATION IN VILAFRANCA UP TO 20th CENTURY

2.2.1. THE 'SARRAÏNS'

In order to understand the origins of Vilafranca's immigration, it is essential to briefly mention the Arab conquest that Penedès experienced and the consequences that this meant. All of this is though before the existence of Vilafranca del Penedès, which took place in the 12th century.⁵

The Romanization process of the Penedès territory was ruined by the invasion of the 'Sarraïns'. In 711, Muslims entered the Peninsula through the south and in few years, they reached the center of the French kingdom, carrying out the conquest of the Visigoth kingdom. The Arab conquest of the Penedès region lasted nearly two centuries, from the moment that the Muslim troops occupied Barcelona in 716 until the

⁵ Spain was occupied by the Islamic regime many years ago, and the peninsula's name was "Al-Andalus" instead of its original name "Hispania". Al Andalus was the name given to the territory under Muslim control on the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages between the Muslim invasion in 711 and their expulsion in 1492. The arabs had a very strong empire that was progressing by rapidly expanding itself through Africa and the Middle East. Their next goal was breaking into Europe, by taking advantage of the unstable situation in Spain induced by the first spanish **civil war** that was taking place at that time between the Visigoths. They tried conquering the Iberian peninsula and they eventually succeeded. They named the "Caliphate of Cordoba" as the capital of the Islamic Spain and went all the way up to the North of the peninsula, bordering with Asturias, Cantabria and the Basque region.

Led by Tàriq ibn Ziyad and Musa ibn Nussayr, the Muslim forces arrived in Gibraltar on April the 27th of 711 and on July 19th, defeated the Visigoth King Roderick at the Battle of Guadalete. Between 711 and 716, the Muslims took control of the 95% of the Iberian Peninsula .

On the other hand, Spain also conquered politically islamic countries in North-Africa such as Morocco and the Spanish Sahara during the last century(1912-1956). Spain established its Spanish protectorate in Morocco on 27th November 1912 by a treaty between France and Spain. That's how links were established between Africa and Spain in the past, and that really does contribute to the fact of Moroccans establishing themselves in Spain because they also feel at home in some way. So that's why we now have a big number of African population in Spain. Spain stayed in this circumstance for 7 long and tough centuries, from 711 a.C. until 1492 a.C., when the "Reconquista" eventually got to its end after breaking into the Emirate of Granada in Andalucia. The "Reconquista" started after winning the Battle of Covadonga, located at the border between the Islamic Spain and the small part of the Catholic Spain left. There is apparently a myth that says that the Virgin Mary mysteriously appeared in a cave near the battle and helped the Spanish soldiers in this battle and that's why they won.

Once Cordoba and Seville were lost, Muslims went back to smaller cities that were under the protection Muslim emirs. The best example of this was the Nasrid emirate in Granada.

Ferran II (Catalonia- Aragó) and Isabel I(Castella) had a marriage, and Spain was nearly unificated, conquering Granada would eventually reach the complete unification. So the two empires gathered up to fight against the muslims and eventually managed to kick them out of the Peninsula.

beginning of the 10th century, when Barcelona undertook the occupation of the Penedès. In the beginning of medieval times, Old Catalonia's border was at the Llobregat river, and the boundary of the Saracen domain was in Tarragona.

Penedès in the 9th century was a border land; between Christians and Arabs.

Military forces progressed and succeeded on kicking the 'Sarraïns' out of the border line and pushing them down towards south. Little by little, Old Catalonia managed to gain territory and security⁶. In Penedès, this process took longer because the enemy was closer. It was from the second half of the 10th century when a process that sought to ensure the presence of the repoblators through the creation of a network of fortifications for the defense of the territory began, which made it possible to give security to settlers before the attacks enemies. Protagonists of the first repoblations of lands in the Penedès area were attracted by the possibility of conquering unwanted and free lands. Although the lands of Penedès had been considered practically depopulated during this period and repopulated from the 10th century, today this theory has been taken into account and, it is possible that native population had survived⁷.

Initially, the repopulating movement was spontaneous, and those who went to conquer these territories did it by themselves as free men; they were known as 'aloers' because

⁶ Dels dos segles de domini àrab al Penedès (s.VIII i XIX), podem dir que durant el primer segle es va produir una lleu colonització agrària imbricada amb els pobladors hispanoromans preexistents. Cal esmentar que ambdues poblacions estaven sotmeses a un fort control fiscal. Durant el segle següent, amb la frontera establerta al Llobregat, esdevindria una zona fronterera sense un control ni una pressió fiscal gaire estrictes. L'únic element dels romans identificable en el territori i en ús era la Via Augusta. Els estudiosos creuen que, tot i el previsible estat precari de conservació que tenia, continuava sent el principal eix viari de l'època. Durant aquest llarg període de dominació àrab al Penedès, les dades de què disposen els historiadors i arqueòlegs no aporten cap informació que permeti tenir constància del model social, administratiu i econòmic del territori fronterer. Tot i això, alguns proposen un model de defensa de la frontera i de les vies de comunicació organitzat a través de campaments o fortaleses distribuïts al llarg de la Via Augusta, tot aprofitant antigues construccions romanes. Per ara, tan sols la toponímia reflecteix l'ocupació musulmana al Penedès. Els topònims situen l'ocupació àrab generalment en llocs allunyats de la plana, en punts alts o als vessants muntanyosos, a excepció de la Ràpita. Ja fos per raons d'insalubritat de les zones humides o per qüestions de seguretat, es va optar per ocupar llocs més alts. Així, podem afirmar que durant aquests dos segles és possible parlar del Penedès com una terra de frontera, com la marca superior d'al-Andalus.

⁷ Si bé tradicionalment s'ha considerat el s. X com el moment de la repoblatió de les terres del Penedès per part de pagesos vinguts d'altres terres, alguns autors ja havien debatut aquesta afirmació en base a una sèrie d'indicis que semblaven indicar l'existència d'alguns nuclis de població anteriors a la suposada repoblatió del S.X. En aquest sentit, Joaquim Micó i Millan, en el seu article "Població Pre-Comtal al Penedès" (1994), ens diu que, en un primer moment, el Penedès fou ocupat pels musulmans i aquests havien edificat fortificacions d'alguna mena dins d'aquest territori, que fou parcialment ocupat per cristians, potser amb pervivència del món hispano-romà i/o visigòtic, amb un avanç espontani de repoblatió que podria coincidir amb les campanyes de Sunyer. Si bé hi ha indicis d'aquesta tesi, s'estima que és necessari un corpus documental més important que confirmi definitivament aquesta hipòtesi.

they were the only owners of the land they conquered and the buildings they built. In parallel, and as a measure of protection, all the repopulators, helped by the other counties and their horsemen, built a line of defense to cope with enemy attacks. While Olèrdola, Pontons, Subirats, Sant Martí, Lavit, Castellví and Castellet were being built and occupied, Penedès area became more secure and human settlement was possible. In order to increase the population and ensure the control of Penedès area, the great territorial lords, such as the 'comte de Barcelona', and the monastery of Sant Cugat were giving out richness to those who decided to settle permanently. The newcomers were received with the full property of all the ground and they were allowed to grow whatever they wanted. Sending out letters to attract population into settling in Penedès area is a proof that surviving difficulty existed at the border then.

2.2.2. THE FRENCH AND THE BOOM OF FEUDALISM

Barcelona was conquered in 810 by the French. From the end of the 9th century, the Catalan councils, under the French rule, began to expand towards the south, establishing the border of the French empire on Llobregat river.

Once the instability of the 10th century was over, a transition to feudalism occurred during the 11th century and Barcelona's county had a clear objective; stabilize the territory. So, in 1025, letters of population were provided to Olèrdola and other towns of the Vallès, and Penedès in order to improve their legal regime. It was not until the end of the 12th century that the borders with the Islamic world began to clearly push down south. From that moment, we can speak of real 'Reconquesta'. And it was precisely in this early 12th century that a new city, Vilafranca del Penedès, emerged in the Penedès.

2.2.3. XII-XIII CENTURIES. THE BIRTH OF VILAFRANCA DEL PENEDEÈS.

The first news about a settlement that will later be known as Vilafranca dates from 992. In 996 the tower Dela is mentioned as the first fortification of the town that allowed the settlement of the first settlers in Vilafranca. The county of Barcelona entrusted the security of the territory to Dela tower. It is said that Dela tower, which took its name from the owner and was built to give defensive coverage to the colonists who came to the calls to repopulate the territory, should have been located in a high area so the control of the surroundings could be possible. In the same way, the church of Santa Maria, as a complement to the tower, acted as a spiritual and refuge. In the initial period of the city, the first buildings were built as surviving homes. Each family of settlers covered all that was necessary for survival.

Later in the XII century, a better defense structure had to be done. Berenguer IV relied on sons of settlers; 'Berenguer de Vilafranca, Pere de Vilafranca, Dalmau de Canyelles i Vidià de Zafeguera' in terms of Vilafranca's security.

The social system of Vilafranca was structured into five social classes: slaves (they had lost their freedom for debts or for being war prisoners), 'serfs'(men attached to land, who were converted into buy-sell material), free landowners (owners of land they were cultivating), aristocracy and counts (lords of the territory who had to obeyed). Within this social classes, special mention must be made of slaves who, because of their condition, lived in a state of marginality that made them the weakest ones in society. The slaves turned into objects in figurative meaning. They were dedicated to the toughest jobs. The owners were bound to keep the slaves, but often they released them when they became old and were useless for work. In the first years of Vilafranca settlement, the majority of the slaves were "Sarrains' defeated in wars and captured."⁸

⁸ When time went by, Slaves started to come from Greece and Bulgaria.

2.2.4. XIV-XX CENTURIES

Focussing on the demographic evolution of Vilafranca, following Ramon Arnabat and Mata's statements⁹, we can distinguish different modalities of territorial dynamics during the past centuries. On the one hand, the one that would represent the situation during a great part of its history, until the beginning of the 20th century and, on the other hand, the other one would be properly located in the 20th century.

Anyways, the picked up information by the historians make it possible to distinguish two stages, based on relationships between Vilafranca and other populations:

-Stages of coincidence between Vilafranca's progress and the other litoral and pre-littoral populations of Catalonia: low medieval crisis, expansion in the XVIII century and acceleration of the 60s in the XX century.

-Stages with a different behavior between Vilafranca and its surroundings. In some phases, Vilafranca was obtaining the most benefits, while in other moments, its surroundings progressed quicker. So, XVIII-XX centuries show a clear primitiveness in Vilafranca, but a clear progress is shown in the XIX century in comparison to neighbour cities.

XIV-XIX CENTURIES

Vilafranca went through hard and splendor moments during XIV-XV centuries. On the one hand population decreased in the XIV century, but on the other hand this fact lead to rich settlers to move to Vilafranca del Penedès.

⁹ History of Vilafranca del Penedès (2008).

It is important to mention that in the XV century, the conquest of Granada and the expulsion of the non-christian jews decided by the Catholic Monarchs, as well as America's discoverment, topics which we cannot fully explain because of time and space matters.¹⁰

¹⁰ Spain has got a great and glorious national history linked to the massive colonization of quite a few big and large territories around South-America during two centuries, XIII-XVII b.c., such as Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Mexico and the Caribbean. On the 12th of October 1492, months after the Islamic Spain had been dissolved, Christopher Columbus, started a journey through the ocean with his crew, motivated by the possibility of discovering a new path to Asia. This new path would be a quicker and safer way because the old route had plenty of difficulties as it had to go by Africa's large coast, fact that it would improve the trading with countries like India. Christopher Columbus was the son of a wool merchant and was born in Genoa, Italy, in about 1451. When he was still a teenager, he got a job on a merchant ship. He remained at sea until 1470, when French privateers attacked his ship as it sailed north along the Portuguese coast. The boat sank, but the young Columbus floated to shore on a scrap of wood and made his way to Lisbon, where he studied mathematics, astronomy, cartography and navigation. He also began to hatch the plan that would change the world forever. In 1486, Christopher Columbus offered the project to the Catholic Monarchs, but they declined it because they had other important problems to solve which were prioritized; The Conquest of Granada and the Treaty of Tordesillas. Besides that, the scientific reports regarding this project were very unfavorable for Columbus and there was no clear proof that it was going to work out as planned. An assembly was convoked by Isabella I of Castile made up from sailors, philosophers, astrologers and others to examine the project and considered absurd the distances between Spain and India that Columbus calculated. In 1492, as soon as the Reconquista was completed and the muslims were kicked out of the Spanish territory, Isabella I of Castile convened another assembly to reexamine the project of Columbus and a group of influential experts convinced the Monarchs that they would lose little if the project failed and would gain much if it succeeded. So the Catholic Monarchs accepted Christopher Columbus's project. On April the 17th of the same year, the Capitulations of Santa Fe between Columbus and the Catholic Monarchs were signed in Santa Fe, Granada. The Monarchs granted Columbus several titles and the tenth part of all the benefits obtained from his trip. They also financed the whole voyage. So, with the support of his well-prepared crew, he came across South-America by chance, instead of getting to India. The explorer Christopher Columbus made four trips across the Atlantic Ocean from Spain: in 1492, 1493, 1498 and 1502. As soon as he arrived, Columbus was convinced that he made it to Asia and that he was going to be greatly rewarded for his achievement. But he eventually realised that the territory he had made it to was a completely different one. Columbus and his crew perceived the beauty and richness of this mysterious land, so they proceeded to attack all the enemies and to exploit all the minerals and special resources that weren't available in Europe back then. As a consequence of all the colonized countries, Spain is now an active country in accepting immigrants coming from these colonies, as their population have special rights when coming to Spain such as the right of getting a Spanish passport and insert themselves easily in Spain as a Spanish citizen. That's why most of the immigrants that come into Spain come from American countries. Christopher Columbus ended up linking these two continents instead of finding the quicker route to Asia. If Columbus hadn't stepped in the

Vilafranca del Penedès (1680-1930/ 1950-1999): creixement demogràfic i els seus components							
Períodes	Població inici de període	Taxes de creixement (%)			C. natural (valors absoluts)	C. migratori (valors absoluts)	Saldo migratori % pob. inicial
		r(p)	r(n)	r(m)			
1680-1717	2.929	-0,58	0,55	-1,13	536	-1.098	-37,47
1717-1787	2.368	0,77	0,65	0,12	1.421	252	10,64
1787-1860	4.040	0,60	0,77	-0,17	2.844	-640	-15,85
1860-1877	6.244	0,65	1,04	-0,39	1.166	-439	-7,03
1877-1887	6.971	1,80	1,26	0,54	961	412	5,91
1887-1900	8.344	-0,57	0,4	-0,97	422	-1.017	-12,19
1900-1910	7.749	0,10	0,14	-0,04	108	-33	0,43
1910-1920	7.824	0,93	0,64	0,29	521	241	3,08
1920-1930	8.586	1,34	0,62	0,72	573	663	7,72
1950-1959	11.771	0,72	0,76	-0,04	927	-45	0,38
1960-1969	12.653	3,34	0,88	2,47	1.316	3.708	29,31
1970-1979	17.677	3,47	1,06	2,41	2.241	5.102	28,86
1980-1989	25.020	1,00	0,30	0,70	788	1.834	7,33
1990-1999	27.642	0,83	0,09	0,73	264	2.118	7,66

Source: Self-compiled data based on book data “Història de Vilafranca” (2008)

2.2.5. XX CENTURY

Although the conversion of contemporary Catalonia into an immigration receiving society took place in the second half of the nineteenth century, immigration rates were low, and their positive trend was due to lower birth rates, and not so much to the strong demand for work emanating from an industry that was experiencing great difficulties. However, during the first third of the twentieth century, Catalonia had already fully

American continent, we would probably not be facing the big immigration that is coming from there nowadays.

acquired the condition of a society that receives immigration, which has been one of its main identity characteristic since then.

Between 1915 and 1930, Catalonia reached unknown until that moment rates of increase due to the close connections between industrial expansion and immigration. Although vegetative growth was positive, especially in the 1920s, the extraordinary demographic boost in this period has to be attributed, almost entirely, to immigration. Immigration was directly responsible for more than three quarters of the total increase. Between 1911 and 1920, the population residing in Catalonia grew more than twice compared to the previous ten years, and received a number of immigrants more than six times larger. However, growth was accelerating even in the decade of 1921-1930, with an increase in the total population four times higher than in the first decade of the century and a number of immigrants ten times larger. The net number of immigrants who settled down in Catalonia in the 1920s exceeded the one from the previous fifty years. This growth was parallel to an expansive wave in the Catalan economy, and what is more, we can say that it was the direct consequence. The advantageous international situation that supposed, for Spain and Catalonia, the neutrality in World War I ended up consolidating, once the disorganization and the difficulties that accompanied the first months of the conflict had been overcome, the profound transformations that, from the second quarter of the century, were carried out in the structure of Catalan industry. The extraordinary demand for Catalan products abroad, and also (to a lesser degree) in the Spanish market, made this tremendous increase in industrial production possible. The way in which this demand was addressed raised a demand for a manpower that, in any case, had been unprecedented. However, the massive immigration in the twenties was mainly concentrated in the city of Barcelona and in the surrounding regions, a fact that is explained by the structural change experienced by Catalan industry.

Between 1930 and 1950, however, the demographic dynamics of the towns in Alt Penedès region was a rather negative sign. One of the main reasons was the

decreasing birth rates during Civil War and the immediate postwar period. Nevertheless, Vilafranca is in contrast with this scenario of stagnation with an increase of its inhabitants. In a general context with fewer migratory movements, this progress could be due to the effects of its ability to attract inhabitants from smaller towns in the region. Once the most difficult times of the postwar period have been overcome, rural depopulation reappears with extreme intensity in all the Spanish provinces, especially those in the southern half of the peninsula, which might have participated in the migratory movements from the previous stage, and that, as a consequence, had accumulated a large number of people, especially if we take into account their high birth rate.

The data in the table allows us to comprehend, however, that the scenario of stagnation had begun to change after the fifties, when we can speak of a real migratory boom. That is to say, throughout the 20th century there was a remarkable transformation with the increasing weight of the Spanish and foreign localities from which the flow of immigrants arrived since the sixties. The central feature of this process was the contribution of the migration component. Since 1960, the magnitude of the rate and the migratory balance will always be higher than the one corresponding to the natural component. This type of growth did not have precedents in previous times: owing to the strong rates of immigration the town began the greatest growth in its history. Fully inserted in the current of Catalan demographic growth throughout the sixties and seventies, the town of Vilafranca will therefore depend on the migratory contribution so as to boost the volume of its population and to end up rejuvenating its population structures. For a decade only, between 1960 and 1970, the percentage of the population under the age of 15 changed from 22 to 27%, and the total population volume doubled, from almost 12,000 inhabitants in 1960 to 24,000 for a period of twenty years. The rest of Catalonia was not unfamiliar with this phenomenon and soon plans began to be written in order to regulate the intense construction activity and to induce the creation of new areas of growth. The migration in the period 1950-1975 was distributed irregularly on the Catalan territory

obeying the diversity of the economic growth and the growth of the urban world, subsidiary to the previous one.

The magnitude of the volume of immigration responds to several factors that summed up and acted at the same time, making the number of new inhabitants increase extraordinarily. The first explanatory element is related to the expulsion factors from many rural and agricultural areas and from small towns outside the dynamic areas of industrial and economic growth. The second is in relation to the migratory attraction of the zones where the industrial activity is implanted. In addition, the consolidation of migration networks between the places of origin and those of destination, which made the arrival of neighbours, acquaintances and relatives easier, should also be considered.

2.3. IMMIGRATION IN VILAFRANCA DURING XXI CENTURY

2.3.1. FROM 2000 TO 2008

We can say that current immigration, as we will see, stands out in the first years of the 21st century due to its volume. Immigration has never been so considerate in absolute terms, nor has it been its weight in the growth of the population of Catalonia. It is necessary to highlight two of the most visible and relevant factors, that is, the quickness in which it has taken place and its internationalization: the migratory waves originate outside the state borders and most of the flows that come from the rest. In Spain they are also composed of people of foreign nationality or of people who had arrived from abroad before. Therefore, since the end of the 20th century we have witnessed the extension of our migratory field beyond the strict state borders. While we can give reasonable arguments about the causes which explain migratory movements both today and yesterday saying they are basically the same, the impact and challenges

we face in the 21st century show us significant continuities and discontinuities. In the same way, we should understand the factors of socioeconomic development that favor immigration in Catalonia and in Vilafranca.

With regard to the comparison between Catalonia and Spain in this period of time, we can say that the growth of the foreign population was constant between 1998 and 2008, both on an autonomous and a state level. However, there are significant differences between the most common groups in each zone. In the Spanish case, almost half of the immigrants came from the EU, and one-third of the total came, almost equally, from South American and African countries. In Catalonia, the first group was the one of Africans (mostly Moroccans), which represented a third of immigration; the second was of those coming from the EU, which almost represented another third; and the the third group in order of importance by volume were the Latin Americans, who also formed a large group of people. We can say that these differences between Catalonia and Spain are due to many and diverse factors such as the urban network, predominant economic activity, tourist flows or the traditions of each zone.

2.3.2. BETWEEN 2008 AND NOW

Lately, the upward trend in the migratory population has stopped. In 2011, Catalonia registered a decrease of 12,686 foreigners compared to the previous year. However, despite the beginning of the economic crisis in 2008, it must be said that the quotas have remained quite stable since 2009 with values around 1.1 million people. Regarding the cities, only 41 municipalities out of 947 that Catalonia has, a decline of the foreign population has been registered. These 41 localities have in common the fact of being formed by a population less than 100 inhabitants. In general terms, the larger the municipalities, the greater the weight of the population of foreign nationality. This trend towards stabilization and the slight decline has been parallel to the case of Spain in general.

2.4. EVOLUTION OF VILAFRANCA (2000-2017)

2.4.1. POPULATION BY NEIGHBOURHOODS

	2000	2003	2006	2008	2010	2012	2015	2017	Results
Barceloneta	2.895	3.454	3.454	2.923	3.101	3.264	3.478	3.580	+685
Centre	2.121	2.321	2.321	4.303	3.970	4.004	3.783	3.731	+1616
Les Clotes	3.502	4.224	4.224	3.969	4.296	4.237	4.143	4.039	+537
Esprial	7.877	8.376	8.376	7.599	7.595	7.392	7.099	7.260	-617
Molí d'en Rovira	594	850	850	1.032	1.318	1.513	1.764	1.909	+1315
Poblenou	7.310	8.614	8.614	8.485	8.593	8.546	8.362	8.235	+925
Sant Julià	5.165	6.450	6.450	6.398	6.470	6.431	6.443	6.512	+1347
Outskirts	411	380	380	374	388	408	380	365	-46
La Girada	344	2.360	2.360	2.927	3.299	3.721	4.079	4.148	+3804

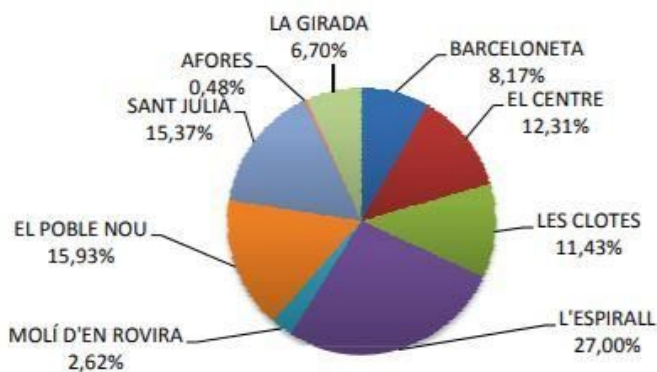
Source: Self compiling of the board using the information of http://www.vilafranca.cat/html/sobrelaciutat/poblacio_vilafranca.html

(departament de “Vilafranca en Xifres” sobre la ciutat)

POBLACIÓ ESTRANGERA PER BARRIS / 2017

Font: Padró Municipal d'Habitants (01.01.17)

BARRI	HOMES		DONES		TOTAL	
BARCELONETA	223	4,08%	223	4,08%	446	8,17%
EL CENTRE	376	6,89%	296	5,42%	672	12,31%
LES CLOTES	338	6,19%	286	5,24%	624	11,43%
L'ESPIRALL	764	13,99%	710	13,00%	1.474	27,00%
MOLÍ D'EN ROVIRA	74	1,36%	69	1,26%	143	2,62%
EL POBLE NOU	428	7,84%	442	8,10%	870	15,93%
SANT JULIÀ	423	7,75%	416	7,62%	839	15,37%
AFORES	13	0,24%	13	0,24%	26	0,48%
LA GIRADA	160	2,93%	206	3,77%	366	6,70%
VILAFRANCA	2.799	51,26%	2.661	48,74%	5.460	100,00%



Source: (Board and chart provided by “Ajuntament de Vilafranca”
http://www.vilafranca.cat/html/sobrelaciutat/poblacio_vilafranca.html)

2.4.2. POPULATION BY NATIONALITIES, AGE AND GENDER

COUNTRY	2000	2006	2010	2017
MOROCCO	529	2.333	2.944	2.731
ECUADOR	34	685	587	123
PERU	60	460	638	230
COLOMBIA	42	381	360	133
BOLIVIA	0	245	435	233
ARGENTINA	24	164	141	76
CHINA	25	143	235	169
BULGARIA	1	126	166	142
ROMANIA	0	123	178	183
UKRAINE	0	87	143	170
TOTAL	933	5.769	7.120	5.460

This table shows the massive evolution of the number of immigrants in Vilafranca from 2000 to 2017. The number went from 933 to 5.769 in 2006, and after the crisis of 2008, it lowered a bit: 5.460.

Source: Self elaboration of the board using the information of http://www.vilafranca.cat/html/sobrelaciutat/poblacio_vilafranca.html (departament de “Vilafranca en Xifres” sobre la ciutat)

3. INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS

3.1. INTEGRATION IN EUROPE¹¹

Projects related to the integration of immigrants have links with the historical and institutional processes of a country, and determines the integration philosophy that each country uses in its society. It is early to say that there is a determined integration model in Spain, but studies of migratory flows between 2000-2008 show that a specific type of immigration model is being undertaken.

We can distinguish between 2 big migration models: -The model used in countries like the USA, Canada and Australia, that contribute to the making of a nation-state project and; the model used in European countries, where the migrational phenomenon is not related to the origins and the formation of the European states.

In order to focus on the European scope, it is necessary to add that since the mid-90s European institutions have tried to build a common thought on migration. However, the alleged European immigration policy contrasts with the strong differences existing in fields such as the intensity of the migratory flow, the presence of foreign population, the behaviour of immigrants in the labour market of each country, or the guidelines that each regime of welfare adopts for the treatment of immigrant population. This fact ends up in a division of three European groups: Central and North European countries, those of old migration, South European countries, those of new migration, and,

¹¹ In recent years, new right-wing radical parties have been bursting with force in the parliaments of different European countries such as Germany, Great Britain, France, Denmark, or Netherlands. The majority of these parties blame the refugees of the situation on behalf of the European population. These parties want an ideological change in Europe, where conservatism is reborn.

Apart from their refusal to refugees and immigration in general, the aims of these political parties are to propose economic programs in order to help families and small entrepreneurs. In this way, the resurgence of the radical and populist right does not only translate into racism, but also includes policies that confront internationalism. That's why right-wing parties seem to be getting popular between local European population.

Eastern-European countries, those of immigration towards other European zones.

After the Second World War, Central and North European countries experienced a growing and economic expansion period together with the decrease in the birth rate and the relatively high level of education in the local population, a fact that generated a lack of unqualified workers for the industrial sector. In order to satisfy this need, European governments initiated contractual policies directed to foreign workers. And foreign employment was considered a temporary measure to cease the lack of unqualified workers. That is why, immigration problems were identified in terms of social-economic issues, instead of supposing a larger national problem; longer duration stays after the work contract. However, this kind of tolerated immigration which of course was never desired, disappeared once it turned out to be a family reunification one in which immigrants did not only stay longer, but also brought their families contrarily to what the governments expected. Since the late 90s, integration policies link more to the migration control, to the point of becoming an instrument of restriction.

On the other hand, South European countries such as Italy and Spain were since mid-80s the attraction to most immigrants. Its migration strategy has appeared as a consequence of certain factors, such as: border situation, closeness to sending countries and economic need of non-qualified workers.

Focusing on Spain, different geographical points started to become immigration receiving territories, in a context of increasing job insecurity. The development of social security, related to a limited wellbeing value, conjugated the existence of high level unemployment rates with the boom of immigrant workforce in informal jobs. The policy of expansion and employment redistribution were replaced by a progressive deregulation of the labour market.

The demand of workforce was growing in specific sectors because of its high

temporality and lack of regulation. The economic growth model established since then is based on the temporary and flexible work. The increase of unemployment, the extension of informal economy and the segmentation of job markets are some of the effects of these transformations. Another key change was the increasing incorporation of women into the working market, basically in big cities, which would induce an increase in the demand of female immigrant workers for domestic and care employment.

When Spain joined the CCE, the migration situation changed; Spanish borders became a European geostrategic matter. Spain promoted its first immigration law(LO 7/1985) in order to politically justify the importance of European restricted migration policies, making immigration problematic and considering the non-European immigrant population as a matter of political public interference. By this, non-European immigrants were distinguished from the European ones as third world population, being this a heavy weight on their backs and establishing great social and legal differences. Spain is, no doubt, an exceptional case in the period between 2000-2008 on international scale. Spain experienced one of the most intense migratory processes in developed countries, the greatest in the EU, and that is why during the late-90s, a new immigration law was proposed(LO 4/2000); in which immigrant rights and liberties were established.

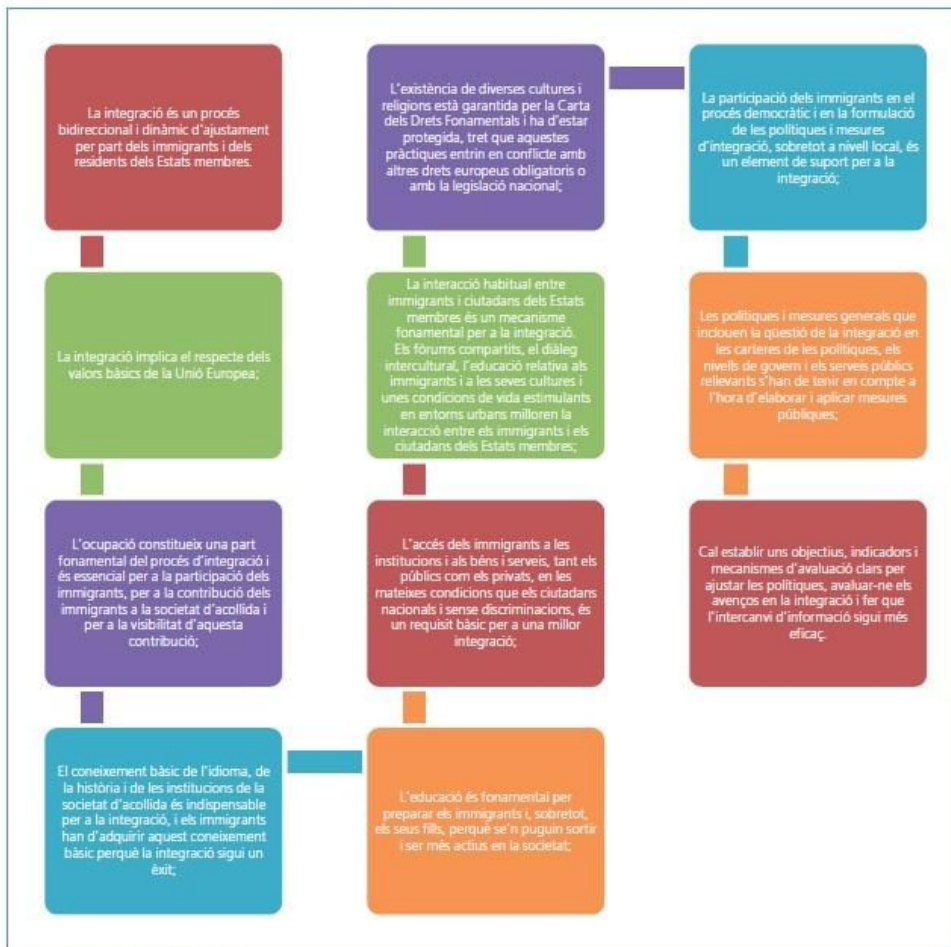
The need of a “First Welcome” is a concept which has not been a priority yet or has not even appeared in many countries and the lack of anticipation has resulted in many problems. The accomplishment of a first welcome is vital in order to solve and anticipate future migrational problems. In Southern European countries, immigration models are quite undefined and are focussed on social and assistance aspects. In the Spanish case, the most important values toward the immigration model are: family reunification, minimum guaranteed income, the influence of Catholic religion, the commercialization of social rights and a standard level of social protection and universalisation achieved.

On the other hand, the first welcome in countries with old immigration is related to an individual insertion contract. Instead of focusing on the failure of job market insertion, the greater concern linked to immigration in Europe is the failure of the cultural integration of the immigrant. That's why Germany, Holland, Sweden and France introduced changes in their migratory policies in order to achieve the so called civic integration by performing specific actions in order to guarantee the acknowledging process of the language, customs, laws and basic institutions of the host country. This will help the immigrant to socially ascend by the route of qualification in their employment and personal effort. These aspects of cultural integration will eventually become real ways of controlling and selecting immigrants.

The civic integration has been presented as a way of integrating newcomers, but in reality, countries like Holland and France have not found the problem in immigration itself, but in the settled ethnic minorities. For these countries, it is not clear yet what type of conflict these minorities can bring up once settled, with legal residence permits and citizenship achieved. It seems that this has been a matter to which much attention had not been paid, and could eventually originate an integration problem that has already been reproduced in countries of a major tradition of immigration.

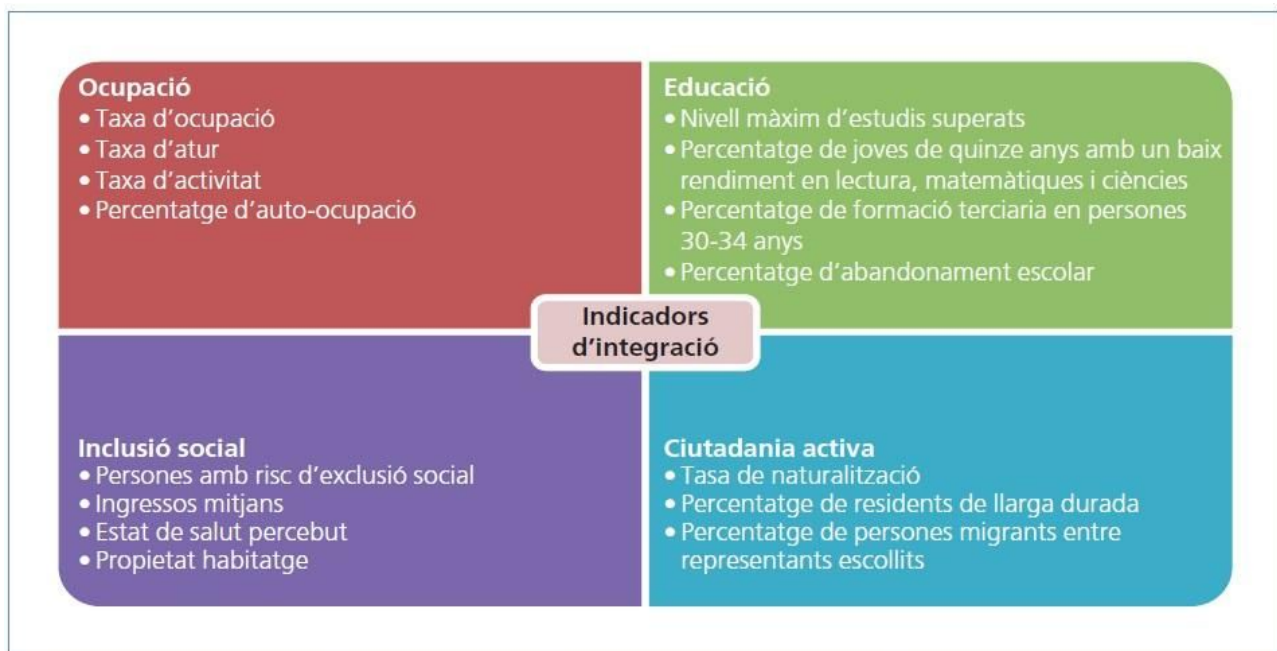
To conclude this section, we must refer to the values and indicators of European integration as a whole. The lack of agreement in the definition of integration hasn't been an obstacle because the European commission wanted to progress in a shared definition of the common basic values of the integration policy within the European Union. With the Haia Program (2004), the importance of evaluating integration policies has become a number one priority, and the need to establish clear goals, indicators and evaluation methods have been installed in order to evaluate the progress of the integration. This initiative was inserted in the Stockholm Program (2010-2014), which points out that in order to monitor the results of integration policies, it is needed to specifically progress in the development of indicators and evaluation methods focussing

on limited areas (employment, education and social inclusion). This would improve the learning process in Europe.



Font: COM (2005) 389 final.

The Declaration of Zaragoza in April 2010 asked the Commission to move forward in a shared proposal of integration indicators. The determination of these common indicators wanted to lead to the possibility of monitoring the results of integration policies and the situation of the newcomers. In order to accomplish it, four groups were mentioned 'ocupació'(employment), 'educació'(education), 'inclusió social'(social inclusion) and 'ciutadania activa'(active citizens)



Font: Declaració de Saragossa 2010. Eurostat (2011): *Indicators of Immigrant Integration*.

So, it is obvious that the Commission proposed an integration model that went through: fundamental rights, absence of discrimination and equal opportunities as key elements. At the same time, it was reiterated that integration involves an effective and responsible participation of the immigrant population in relation to the labour market, in which gender issues should be mentioned.

It is important to understand that measuring the situation of immigrants in European countries is a different way of evaluating the results of integration policies. The results of these policies cannot only be measured through indicators, because in reality, integration of immigrant population is also affected by other public policies which most of the time are not taken into consideration and may cause serious damage to immigrants.

However, the integration indicators are for now mechanisms to distinguish the European countries, to share the knowledge that the results may provide, and to distinguish the important areas in a country which are progressing in matters of immigration, in order to

strengthen integration and social cohesion.

In 2015, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe requested from each European country member to take note of the intercultural integration model applied in different cities through the “Intercultural Cities Project” of Europe. It also asked them to promote this urban model of intercultural integration and the instruments that local authorities used to enforce this model. One of the main instruments to make this model work was the “Índex de Ciutats Interculturals (ICC)”; an instrument that gave support to different administrations when trying to find crucial points which need to keep being developed in order to build diverse societies.



Font: *Intercultural Cities*.

3.2. STAGES AND DIMENSIONS OF INTEGRATION

Immigrant incorporation in host societies is carried out by means of an insertion process of successive phases in this host society which is built dynamically, not statically. It is worth saying that these societies are neither culturally homogeneous nor integrated, but they are conflictive and maintain inequalities of their own in terms of gender, social class, status, as well as cultural and ethnic inequalities (as in the case of gypsies). The migratory project is constituted by three progressive and interrelated phases; and in each one of them there are a number of factors that favor or, if lacking, make the insertion difficult:

-Initiation phase of the migration project, constituted by the arrival at the place of destination and the causes derived from migration. This phase is characterized by situations of irregularity, the "undocumented" migrants, who do not even exist officially, so the exclusion processes characteristic about this phase begin with the so-called administrative irregularity. In this initial phase, socio-labour insertion is found in the activities of the submerged or informal economy. The immigrants have difficulties adapting to a new environmental context, they do not know the language and the procedures that articulate our daily life, so they found themselves devalued and uprooted. All these problems, together with family separation, cause many situations of stress, which requires help and psychological support in order to adapt to the new environment¹².

¹² In this sense, we recommend the article by M. Pilar Moreno-Jiménez and M. Carmen Hidalgo: "Measurement and prediction of satisfaction with life in immigrants employed in Spain" (2011). Starting from a certain number of examples, its authors consider getting acquainted with the level of vital satisfaction and show some factors that predict the administrative satisfaction of immigrants. In summary, we can say that the results derived from their work show that immigrants manifest a scarce increase in life satisfaction in the new country, they do not feel happier and there is a clear difference in their satisfaction with life depending on their administrative situation. However, in the evaluation of the migratory experience, the authors conclude that positive emotions predominate over the negative ones, even in the most socially excluded groups. Still, in the comparison between different immigrants, there are aspects that differentiate their levels of satisfaction as far as specific life conditions are concerned. For example, their documentation status, their employment status, their experiences of discrimination, the language and religion are particularly influence on the psychological factor. There is a statistically significant difference between the life satisfaction of immigrants in Spain and in their country of origin, which can be interpreted as an improvement in terms of vital conditions and satisfaction. However, the general feeling of happiness not only does not improve but even decreases. The reason for the authors to interpret this discrepancy is the differentiation between concepts. If happiness refers to affective evaluations and emotions, while satisfaction with life is centered on cognitive judgments,

-Stability phase of the migration project, which occurs when obtaining the first work and residence permit. Access to administrative standardization solves the problem with documentation, but accentuates other difficulties of insertion in the host society. This phase is conditioned by government regulations that restrict the possibilities for family reunification, until the first renewal of work and residence permits. It is a phase of great vulnerability, where we encounter various problems related to integration, for example those related to having access to employment in secondary labour markets. In the same way, occasionally, we can find situations of exclusion due to the additional risk of work-related illnesses or accidents resulting from high-risk jobs and working conditions. This phase can be aggravated by the lack of language knowledge, driver's license, misinformation about available assistive devices in case of need, difficulties in accessing basic services, for instance.

- Phase of permanent establishment, or decision to return to the destination country. At this point a number of important questions arise because of: the difficulties in validating degrees, the problems caused by descending socio-labour mobility, the difficulties in achieving socio-labour insertion, the separation from significant family members, the problems with the socialization of minors, the impossibility to obtain a visa for family visits. For all these reasons, many immigrants have difficulty in making a firm decision about how long their migration project will last.

Other authors, such as Encarna Herrera, find that this process of social decomposition in the immigrant incorporation into the host society in different subprocesses that may have a relative autonomy, although closely linked, implies considering five dimensions: structural (labour market insertion), political and legal (refers to the legal status achieved with respect to the immigration legislation in the receiving country and citizenship, which determines the possibility, or not, for participation or inhibition in the

it can be accepted that immigrants do not feel emotionally happier than in their own countries, but cognitively recognize that living conditions are better and, therefore, they are more satisfied with their lives.

political sphere of the host society, as well as the conditioning of daily life and access to the labour market), cultural (includes the way of reacting, thinking and feeling of a group of people, as well as their rules, traditions, lifestyle, connections with their place of origin), identity (sense of belonging to a collective, national feeling) and social networks (relations maintained between different population groups in the different contexts of social relationships). Next, we shall outline the most relevant issues (in our opinion) of these dimensions.

As far as structural dimension is concerned, we should ask ourselves why the features of the labour market weigh heavy upon the implications of family migration statecraft. The reason is found when observing that the presence of immigrants (especially non-EU citizens) is basically understood as being related to the labour market and, in this sense, works as a determining element of the integrative potential.

Thus, labour market conditions the possibilities of insertion, taking into account the existence of unskilled labour imbued with a high precariousness rate. In other words, labour insertion is a fundamental element for social integration of immigrant population¹³. Employment is essential for the integration of every individual, since work provides regular income, economic independence, security, social status and opportunities for interaction with people from the majority community. Therefore, it is necessary to develop positive measures, in order to ensure equal opportunities as well as to help overcome the lack of linguistic and other skills and abilities that are necessary for the employability of immigrants. The only citizenship that is recognized for non-EU immigrants is the labour citizenship, which is based on the man as the head of the family and the woman as a caregiver. This is the model the Act on Foreigners takes as a reference, regulating it by means of the so-called regrouping or family reunification, as we shall see further on.

¹³ The economy of Vilafranca del Penedès has been closely connected to wine and vineyards. It is precisely in this field that it is also worth pointing out the phenomenon of immigration, and more so when considering the temporality that characterizes it. Thus, every year at the time of the harvest, the town of Penedès receives a significant number of seasonal workers who settle down in our village for strictly labour-related purposes and that, once they have finished their work, they return to their places of origin. Other immigrants, however, end up being hired to work in the wine industry for the whole year and so becoming part of the society of Penedès.

On the other hand, as for the political and legal dimension, we refer to the section on immigration legislative instruments in relation to public policies.

Here we only want to state that the question of the administrative status of immigrants is related to the typology coined by Hammar on denizens, alien citizens (the citizens as "strangers") and aliens (undocumented). The category of a denizen is similar to that of a citizen, although not identical. It refers to those immigrant people who, despite holding permanent residence permits, do not have all the rights attributed to the category of a citizen, such as political participation. At the same time, this category is above that of an alien citizen, who holds a temporary permit, but does not have some social and political rights nor the totality of rights of civilians, who are conditioned to the renewal of the permit granted. This category outmatches that of the undocumented, who are subordinated to the mere condition of aliens.

Regarding cultural and identity dimensions, we can ask ourselves whether the origin of immigrants can be a relevant variable when we raise the question about civic integration in the host society. Are there preferred immigrants? Are there migrants who are less integrable than others? In the last wave of migration particularly, it has been gradually observed how Latin Americans are beginning to become the preferred immigrants in the XXI¹⁴ century in a material and symbolic fashion. Thus, speeches that reflect the belief in proximity to the descendants of the former Latin American colonies as belonging to the Hispanic community of nations, and to the descendants of the Spanish emigrants to Latin America are not strange. From this point of view, the Castilian language, the fact that one comes from countries considered to be culturally similar, the familiarity of the phenotypic features and the Catholic religion seem to be the requirements of immigrants' access to a citizenship that is defined as a unique nationality code. Nevertheless, leaving aside the unfortunate nature of these approaches (which establish a relation between Spanish citizenship, Spanish national identity and cultural

¹⁴ As far as Spain is concerned, the strong presence of Latin American immigration is an element that brings civic integration into question in a different way. This issue is seriously pondered about in regard to the Maghrebi population, but curiously there is no cultural integration policy specifically tailored for this group.

heritage), we must point out that linguistic¹⁵ and religious affinity, despite being helpful, do not necessarily guarantee a successful insertion process. In this sense, it is important not to take for granted that what it is officially defined as affinities will ensure mutual acceptance between natives and newcomers¹⁶.

Therefore, we have to reject the approach that is implied in many occasions, that the difficulties in the integration of immigrants are fundamentally to be found in themselves only and that, in the case of migrants from the so-called Third World, the cultural difference is the reason for the complexity of their integration. The real problems of integration are identified with the inclusion-exclusion mechanisms that are developed in the host societies, although it is true that some personal and collective characteristics of immigrant groups might bear some influence on the integration process. For example, sex and age are clear factors of inequality, however this is true not only for immigrants but also for natives.

For the last twenty years, debates on immigration and integration have turned into debates about citizenship, but as a concept of citizenship understood in terms of loyalty to the nation. In most cases, these debates end up trapped in the tight corset of national identity. The strong connection between national society and integration is not accidental. The idea of integration is linked together with the paradigm of national construction used in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to create unified national territories, out of the "patchwork" of religions and groups of diverse nature that characterized Europe. In the policies of integration lies the theoretical conceptualization of social integration, which has as its premise a notion of territorially delimited, historically rooted and culturally homogeneous society.

¹⁵ The aspect of integration in the linguistic field will be referred to in the last section of this epigraph, when dealing with the integration in Catalonia.

¹⁶ The discourse on integration is, among other things, a discourse on the forms of identification, one's own and those of others, and, ultimately, on the unequal strength ratios in which those identifications are involved. Immigration integration policies can be seen as practices whose effects are the creation of an authentic internal subject and, as a counterpart, a suspect and illegitimate *outsider*, whose identity must always be differentiated from the "true" citizen.

Lastly, we should especially emphasize on the concept of social networks, according to anthropologist Ávila Molero, particularly because the concept of social networks at present has become commonplace in the research about international migration. There is a growing awareness of the importance of networks in the processes of migration and integration in the host society. It appears that it is common sense to say that people do not migrate in an isolated manner, but rather collectively, precisely by means of "networks", and that these connections are important to understand the strategies for insertion in the host society.

Nonetheless, the concept of social networks is usually employed more as a metaphor than as analysis tool. Metaphorically, this concept is generally understood as the bonds that immigrants from the same country develop among one another. The social and cultural nature of these networks is endogamic. From this perspective, when talking about social networks, as a matter of fact we are talking about ethnic networks. That is, the networking that immigrants develop together with their connationals, understanding that in migratory contexts the national origin is one of the main registers from which the identification between "we" and "others" is constructed or reconstructed.

The problem with the use of the concept of social networks as a metaphor is that it directs the reflection towards a perspective according to which the immigrants would reproduce their original social networks in the host society. According to Ávila Molero, this perspective focuses only on one of the multiple dimensions of the social networks of immigrants and does not calibrate, in its real dimension, the impact that the change of society generates in the social networks of the immigrant. In his studies, the anthropologist concludes that in all cases the structure and composition of the original social networks are radically redefined with migration. Most of the original networks tend to disappear and, those that remain have to reinvent themselves in terms of form and content from a new translocal scenario. This comes to occur including in those networks that are apparently less prone to change, such as those of kinship.

In the same way, the immigrant has to reinvent new social networks in the host society. These may have a variable composition of fellow countrymen, natives from the host society or immigrants of other nationalities. The structure and composition of these new social networks offer very valuable information about the type of integration strategy that an immigrant develops in a particular way, and an immigrant collective in a general way. In the host society immigrants have to rebuild their social networks. This process is hard and complex, and it develops in a problematic way. It is not at all a simple "transplantation" of original "ethnic networks", but rather a process of reinvention of new networks, which implies the development of a new sociability and culture, not only with the natives of the host society, but also with their own countrymen (connationals) and the members of the network in the original society whose relationships have managed to subsist.

These networks constitute the "small social world" by means of which a person is a part of the larger structures that we call "society". They constitute the foundation of the so-called communities of practice, within which people develop what is fundamental to our sociability. These networks are also the foundation of the so-called "personal communities". The concept of a traditional community defines its scope according to geographical rather than social criteria and, as a result, "community" is usually a synonym of "locality" or surrounding geographical area. The problem with this equivalence between community and locality is that it assumes that the most important interactions of a person are developed within their closest geographical environment. However, this is not always like that, because all the people of a locality do not necessarily interact with each other, neither all the interactions of a person obligatorily circumscribe their local environment. Nevertheless, the concept of personal community considers as a unit of analysis the really existing areas of sociability of a subject. Thus, the concept of personal community is very useful for the study of transnational communities. It is necessary to remember that international migration generates simultaneous processes of restructuring and destructuring of the social networks in the

immigrant and their counterparts in the contexts of destination and origin. The migratory process is a complex, problematic process, heterogeneous in its content, frequency and relational intensity, with different sociability strategies developed between what is local and what is not. Therefore, the migratory project does not occur mechanically.

Finally, we should bear in mind the importance of globalization in relation to the notion of transnational community, incorporating in its definition the scope of the social networks its members develop. These networks whose analysis permits identifying the features of their personal communities are not limited only to fellow countrymen residing in the host society but also include connationals from the society of origin, including other foreign countries too. In the same way, networks usually also include natural persons from the receiving society and immigrants of other foreign nationalities resident in the same host society. Traditionally, transnational communities have been comprehended as closed homogeneous entities with strong internal bonds, formed by immigrants of the same nationality of origin and sharing residence in the same host society. Nonetheless, this does not correspond to reality, constituting an incomplete way of understanding immigrant communities, which are becoming increasingly complex, with a more diverse sociocultural profile. Ávila Molero insists on the importance of immigrants' personal networks, as his detailed study of their structure and composition shows the existence of a clear relation to the integration processes developed in the host society.

3.3. INTEGRATION INSTRUMENTS

3.3.1 PUBLIC POLICIES (LEGAL)

Focusing on the Spanish case, the policies elaborated with the thought of immigrant population should not overlook the structure of political organization of the State and

the model for managing its own diversity, whose most specific feature is the system of autonomous governments¹⁷. In theory, the starting point for analyzing the distribution of competencies in relation to immigration refers to Article 149 of the Spanish Constitution, which establishes that Aliens and Migration are areas of exclusive State intervention.

However, considering the transfer of competences carried out during the 1980s, the Autonomous Communities are currently presented as competent territorial organizations to develop their own immigrant integration plans. To this day, all the Administrations of the Autonomous Communities have made use of this right, in the same way as many Local Administrations. Actually, a basic characteristic of the Spanish integration strategy is considered the fact that its policies depend above all on the autonomies, which in turn form a heterogeneous map. This diversity is based on the fact that the number of foreigners is very different on the whole territory and that, in addition, there are differences in the situation of these groups, both among the autonomies as well as within the autonomies themselves.

Nevertheless, in 2005 there was a turning point at state level and, since then, the central government launched a global integration strategy, based on the articulation of this patchwork model of integration in a more coherent way. Each Autonomous Community signed a collaboration agreement with the State in 2005 and the projects to be developed are annually included in a Plan of Action.

At this point there is an essential feature: the State provides funding, which is partly complemented by each Autonomous Community, but it is them who decide in what social policies to invest these economic resources. According to their needs, each Autonomy distributes the money under its own criteria. In turn, every year each

¹⁷ Yet, this does not mean that the only actors that look after the integration are those of a governmental public nature, but, as we shall see in the next point, there are other non-governmental instruments for the integration of immigrants. Thus, we can state that in the Spanish case, and also in Vilafranca del Penedès, the management system of immigrant integration is based on a system that has been called "multilevel", that is, not exclusively circumscribed to the public sector.

Community must present a technical report on the management in its territory, which improves the coordination of integration policies in a global sense.

This integration strategy developed by the State was reinforced in 2007, by means of elaborating a Plan that underwent a plural process of elaboration, and was articulated through the principles of equality, citizenship and interculturality raised by an anti-discriminatory logic to emphasize the creation of a cohesive society. Hence, the Plan was thought about both native and non-native population, since it sought to enhance social cohesion through the promotion of public policies based on equal rights and obligations, equal opportunities, the development of a sense of belonging of the immigrant population to the Spanish society and the respect for diversity. Thus, a framework of action was offered so that each Autonomy, with its own characteristics, could adapt the surrounding resources to its environment in a diverse manner.

In summary, while it is fundamental to give methodological relevance to the national level in terms of integration, it appears to be essential to respond to what happens on subnational level, which is the one that assumes a large part of social integration policies. As a result, a double control is established: at the state and regional levels. This system implies that other administrations assume the integration processes, which can evolve differently in each territory. In this way, the framework in which the public policy of immigrant integration unfolds has diffuse features. The philosophy of almost all Autonomous Communities theoretically bets on the application of multidimensional integration policies. The definitions of the term "integration" include the native population as co-responsible in this process of interaction. In practice, integration is structured as the stay of the immigrant is prolonged and is based primarily on assimilation features in the whole territory. Even so, some Communities, as it is in the case of Catalonia, Navarre and the Basque Country, emphasize on social cohesion as a basic concept for integration between foreign and native population.

Similarly, we must point out the importance of Local Administration, which is a basic area for the articulation of this type of policies, although its implementation is very uneven. In many Autonomous Communities, insufficient resources and the lack of interest in implementing serious integration policies have resulted in local plans becoming the development pathway of many autonomous plans or, at least, their continuation. In the town of Vilafranca del Penedès, the phenomenon of integration is attended to in a multidisciplinary and transversal perspective between the different departments of the Public Administrations that, in some way or another, work every day so as to improve the situation, not only of immigrants - the fact you are an immigrant does not necessarily imply that you are a subject in need of social programmes -, but also of all those people who need integration on one or several socio cultural, economic, labour levels...¹⁸ Obviously, however, a minimal coordination between the Public Administrations is necessary. Currently, the "White Paper on Social Services", which is a collection of all the tools and instruments for people with difficulties, has been in a process of elaboration for more than a year. The authors of this paper, a considerable number of sociologists, manifest the complexity of putting together and systematizing in a single volume all the tools of a reality that is forever changing and wide-spread. There are multiple aspects to be considered in the phenomenon of integration and the subjects of integration are many and rather diverse.

On the other hand, it would also be interesting to observe if the subjects of integration receive well and make good use of all the policies that are proposed and effectively carried out. An example to be considered from the perspective of linguistic policy would be to contemplate if all those who begin the Catalan language courses are motivated and finish them in a satisfying way.

¹⁸ What group is a target of integration policies? In this sense, it is important to note that not all people coming from abroad are members of the target group one refers to when they talk about integration (for example, residents of a community nationality are not usually considered), and these actions are often aimed at groups that have not migrated from abroad (children of immigrant people).

For reasons of space and time, and due to the large number of regulations that are emerging day by day and which, in some way or another, deal with issues related to integration, it is impossible to elaborate in this paper a detailed relation between each and every one of the projects which are being carried out on this level in Vilafranca del Penedès without falling into the trap of providing partial and incomplete information and thus reaching biased conclusions. In any case, we believe it is relevant to manifest the existence of the Cultural Action Plan in Vilafranca del Penedès 2014-2020, which makes a social and cultural diagnosis of the town of Vilafranca, and develops strategic proposals for a future improvement.

Another aspect to be taken into account with regard to the public powers in general is the way of structuring social resources in relation to their use by immigrant people. Thus, we can speak of a tendency towards normalization (typical for the spaces that do not promote specific resources for access to standard services, perhaps because of the fear of establishing a parallel proposal), suitability (typical for some Autonomous Communities that defend the normalization but that have promoted specialized services to facilitate the access of immigrants to the normalized resources), specificity (typical for the Autonomies that have structured their resources exclusively for the immigrants, although they defend the scope of normalization and integrate these resources in their public attention networks, so as to function as a second level of specific attention) and exclusion (it is a more theoretical model, except for specific issues; there is no autonomy that clearly restricts the access of immigrants to the resources available to the entire population, Some resources are at risk of becoming a parallel attention network). Although, it would be possible to articulate an autonomic scheme respecting the aspects above mentioned, it does not seem to be an essential factor to take into account in this paper, since it would constitute a variable scheme, in constant change due to the internal heterogeneity of the different criteria.

3.3.2. OTHER INSTRUMENTS

Over the past decades, support groups for immigrants related to Church, as well as non-confessionals, neighborhood associations, community organizations, NGOs, sections of trade unions, social agents and ethnic associations have been outlined as recognized competent counterparts¹⁹. In this way, the diversification of state, autonomous and local public powers, which has created a regime of diversity of levels involved in the public management of immigration, has been traversed by a significant number of non-governmental actors. This implies a profound interconnection between solidarity organizations and public administration, and a clear distribution of their functions, leaving in the hands of the non-governmental organizations the detection of problems and the management of services, which need to be adjusted to the programmes, budgets and controls established by government entities.

As a consequence, although attention to the immigrant population is offered theoretically via public administrations (as an integral part of social welfare services), the interpretation of the problems affecting part of the immigrants has structured them as different users, who are usually transferred to specific programmes, financed by regional and local governments, but managed by private companies and NGOs. The transfer of social intervention with immigrant population to NGOs has resulted in a separation between the beneficiaries of native social services and immigrants. At the same time, the meaning of their social rights has been eroded, presented as help of beneficial nature, conditioned by the arbitrariness of the administration and the organizations. Often, this aid system relieves situations of fragility generated by immigration legislation itself.

¹⁹ In regard to this matter, we should point out the role of some private entities like Càrites Parroquial (Caritas Parish), the Red Cross, CITE-Centre d'Informació per Treballadors Estrangers (Information Center for Foreign Workers), Amics d'UGT (Friends of General Union of Workers), the Bofill foundation, the Penedès-Garraf commonwealth...

Yet, administrations reduce the involvement of the social fabric to the mere application of integration policies, without giving non-governmental entities the possibility to participate actively in the decision-making process or granting them a real capacity for criticism when evaluating these policies. Thus, these non-public actors are usually relegated to the mere execution of public immigration programmes, having a secondary role. It seems that the reason of the administrative bodies is the distrust produced by the management of entities whose promoters sometimes do not give sufficient reasons for viability and the concern that they would demand a field of intervention that is not yet considered to correspond to this association. In addition, we can not obviate the general weakness of the associative movement, neither the differences between associations (which sometimes represent particularist interests), nor the priorities of immigrant population (more concerned about other issues than being part of an association).

Focusing on another field that goes beyond what we could call "actors" of integration, it is essential to emphasize on the role of education as one of the main instruments of integration and coexistence between cultures. The importance of education for the integration is such that it deserves a detailed analysis in which we can not engage for reasons of space and time, but we are well aware that it would be interesting to approach.

Finally, it is also necessary to point out that integration can be achieved to a great extent with the help of local festivals, markets and ludic activities. Accordingly, here we would have an authentic potpourri of instruments for integration that has much more relevance than it may seem at first sight. In the case of Vilafranca del Penedès, some of these would be Festa Major (local festival), Castellars (Human towers), football, choirs, fairs, markets²⁰, among others.

²⁰ The origin of fairs and markets in Vilafranca is very old. The market dates back to the 12th century, when it replaced the Granada market. The local market of our town is and has been a mirror of the economy of the region.

In 1873 there were five annual fairs in the town of Vilafranca: on the First Monday of Lent, on the First of May, on Saint Luke's, on Saint Simon's and on Saint Thomas. Currently, however, only three fairs are celebrated:



the Fair of May, the Fair of Wine and the Fair of the Rooster.



Source: VILAFRANCA ABANS DE LES TRANSFORMACIONS URBANES I SOCIALS {CD-ROM}, Vilafranca del Penedès: Arxiu Comarcal

3.3.3 REUNIFICATION AND WOMEN'S ROLES²¹: AN INSTRUMENT FOR INTEGRATION?

From the beginning of the emergence of immigration as a public issue, reunification has been considered a tool for the integration of immigrants. But together with this point of view that highlights reunification as a tool for integration, we should consider the need to establish an order and control to ensure proper integration.

From 2000 onwards, the regional and municipal integration plans and programs consider the immigrant family as being an instrument for integration, and put a special emphasis on the role of women as a factor that links the culture of origin and the target culture. This idea reflects the role of women naturally connected to the family environment, a point of view which is still absolutely present among some people.²² After the 4/2000 Immigration Law, reunification was longer considered to be a visa modality and became a right granted to foreign residents. However, later, the 2001 Regulations of the Immigration Law, together with the 2011 Immigration Regulation, limited the right to reunification, stating that, in order to be able to reunify, any immigrant must get an independent permission. Therefore, reunification is only allowed to workers with a residence permit. The 4/2000 Organic Law, in its Chapter II, Title I, on the rights and liberties of foreigners, specifically describes reunification in the following terms:

²¹In 2008 almost half of all international immigrants were women. Despite this fact, the question of immigrant women has occupied a marginal place in public policies throughout the world and the research has not taken into account social-economic contributions and individual experiences of women. However, reality reflects that throughout history, women have been present in migrations and have played a key role in the areas of family reunion and as "heads of household"

²²In this respect, it is very interesting to point out the speech made by some women from the Penedès in the book: "Women's voices II". Francoism in Alt Penedès by Belen Moreno Claverías. Worth highlighting pages 73-82 and pages 175-186 with the statement of women who posed the following concerns: "The men left home to do military service and I asked myself why the hell the women had to stay home weaving baskets"; In those days men did not want women to work, they wanted them to look after the children"

Article 16 Right to family privacy

1. *Foreigners living in the country have the right to family life and to family privacy according to this Organic Law and with the International Treaties signed by Spain.*
2. *Foreigners living in Spain have the right to reunification only with the relatives which are referred to in article 17.*
3. *The spouse who has the right to residence in Spain due to family reasons and his relatives will keep their residence even if the matrimonial bond gets broken.*

According to this regulation, the established period of time is needed in order to prove coexistence in Spain will be under consideration.

Taking these premises into account, we can state that immigrant women have an important role as an instrument of integration, but only their husbands' integration. Who takes into account the integration of women? Maybe because the idea of the immigrant in the post-war context was a single young man, the only place dedicated to women has been a subordinated one. Nowadays, in spite of the amount of information which proves the opposite, the immigration of women is still considered and regulated in these very same terms. When we insist on the importance of reunification as an instrument for integration, we are not thinking of women as the head of the family and a reunion force, but more as a caretaker. The arrival of his wife helps the immigrant male worker to move from a vulnerable situation and alienation, to a family life which integrates him and provides him with emotional and social stability. However, nobody takes into account the reunification of an immigrant woman as a strategy to improve one's life conditions. The balance between work life and family life is not an issue dealt with as far as immigrant families is concerned. This omission confirms a persistent blindness towards immigrant women, who are meant to be reunited and dependent housewives. However, we should ask ourselves if this fact has to do with the reality of our times.

Because of this stereotyped perspective it is difficult to understand the multidimensionality of the migration processes, which encapsulate a series of strategies, negotiations, changes and appropriation of family roles that involve all

generations related to this issue. From our perspective, the strategy of reunification is supposed to solve the problems that stem from legal and social vacuums within the target society. Therefore, the process of integration becomes something that the very same immigrants and their families have to resolve, and, at the same time, it also becomes the main instrument of integration, and not only a way that complements the ones aforementioned. Nevertheless, what might look like a solution to the complex process of immigrant integration, can trigger other issues, such as the creation of ghettos.

As regulations on family migration consist in stereotypical solutions to legal problems mainly of a social nature, they work very differently for different people and for men and women, worsening civic stratification already created by the Immigration Office. To avoid social exclusion and promote social integration of immigrants and specifically in the case of women, we must take into account that this entails labour integration in which women feel valued and needed, respected in all of their rights so as to become incorporated in the culture of the host country in a way they deem necessary. The lack of regulations in domestic work, not to mention sexual work, is fundamental data in order to understand how some objective criteria can have differentiating effects between men and women. Particular work conditions of immigrant women working in these sectors makes it very difficult to meet the entry and home requirements established by the family reunion legislation.

Gradually a link is established between being employed in the domestic or sexual services with being an immigrant woman belonging to certain minorities. That way the conditionings imposed by a discriminatory institutional framework end up being perceived as “normal” characteristics of discriminated people.

In the case of domestic service, the link to informal economy is reinforced by the lack of regulations in the industry which particularly affects non EU community migrant women,

as neither a written contract nor the obligation of the employer to pay social security are required for that type of work. Given the importance that social security contributions have in order to renew the work and residence permits, in many cases it is the workers on their own who have cover that expense. Also, domestic work allows free dismissal waiving the right to unemployment benefit.

The group of immigrant women who suffer the highest legal discrimination and social abuse are sexual workers. In occasions, the media has promoted the creation of the image of the migrant prostitute woman with enormous frivolity, moral bias and high doses of sensationalism and falsehood. However, this is way beyond the complex reality and multidimensionality of this phenomenon, as normally only those women who are tricked and lured into prostitution are the ones who are mentioned and a large number of them who voluntarily come to European countries to prostitute themselves. The latter, become breadwinners of their families in the majority of the cases, as we will see next. In spite of the fact that prostitution is not a punishable activity in Spain, its lack of recognition as a labour activity and the strong social stigma associated with it leads to the violation of the most fundamental rights of the group of women prostitutes.²³ Discrimination even worsens in the case of immigrant sexual workers as they are unable to legalise their situation in the host country by regulating their activity. In this sense legal insecurity affects these women much more than other immigrant women who work in other sectors.

In this respect, we can start to see that the role of the father of an immigrant family, who travels to another country in order to make a living and send money back home, makes way to the more frequent role of the woman as the main breadwinner. Maternal responsibility plays a pivotal role in motivation for these women to emigrate.

²³ Recently, the TNC (Teatre Nacional de Catalunya) hosted a play called 'Kassandra' on the 24th October 2018 in "Sala Tallers", which tries to reflect the past in the present, the classic story of the Kassandra's kidnap. In the play, we can see Kassandra as a Greek slave in England. Kassandra is an illegal immigrant that works as a prostitute. It shows the integration and psychological conflicts of this group.

Although this research work is focused on official information about immigration, we can't forget to mention the existence of illegal immigrants. The difficulties of these non-legal immigrants represent a phenomenon which dates from past times up to date. Kassandra is a good example of a conflict that existed then and still does now.

It is more frequent that the women and not the men are the ones who emigrate as part of a family strategy, and this is because women have a higher sense of responsibility towards their family members compared to men, so they send money to their country regularly. Therefore, despite an archaic legal system, in this day and age it is not uncommon to find woman who have acquired a crucial role in a sense that they have initiated the migratory process and have become the main income provider in the family.

We must not forget those assumptions in which migratory movements represent liberation for certain women. Women who come from countries with laws which are very different with regards to family, matrimony and inheritance jurisprudence. Some feminist thinkers conceive female migration as a strategic opportunity of social transformation. Some emigrate to break up from their husbands, because divorce or separations are not socially acceptable in their countries. Others emigrate because in their countries of origin they are not allowed so much freedom or so many opportunities to work and become financially independent. In the case of pregnant women, emigration is due to a desire of a better future for their descendants. All of this enables women to change their image, it offers them the possibility of becoming a negotiating agent and enter the decision making space, a situation which is no stranger to tensions due to the loss of masculine power it implies. Added to this the fact of leaving an immediate family and social context to a certain extent eliminates social controls which may generate greater processes of social autonomy such as: going out with friends, deciding on shopping, clothes, maternity, generating their own rhythms of life, etc. seem from this perspective, female migration might be a political opportunity for the transformation and democratization of genre relationships. However, this on its own is not enough. An enabling political positioning of social change is necessary to make it possible. Although genre perspective is an important contribution when it comes to understanding current migratory processes, it is only a tool which is insufficient to attain real social transformations. Social genre transformation cannot stop in the theoretical analysis, but it is also becomes more and more necessary to generate political positioning strategies that allow building a change, a change which occurs in migration by generating subject

migrants and not objects migrants objects, instrumental of the domestic core.

Finally we cannot stop considering the role of genre violence which represents the most extended violation of human rights, hidden unpunished, especially important amongst immigrant women without legal documents. The triple condition of women, immigrants and without documents makes it much more difficult for these women than is the rest to escape the spiral of domestic violence in the family. Their illegal condition on the one hand makes them object of restrictive measures which have an impact on their chances of accessing protection of their human rights. And on the other hand, by lacking a work permit, these women live situations of high financial dependency with the aggressor. Moreover, the chances of financial independence in order to break the bond with the aggressor, it is crucial to count with family, social and institutional support. Immigrant women without documents on many occasions do not have their family member close by; they do not count with the support of a society which is new to them and they mistrust institutions of the host country particularly the police.

3.4. INTEGRATION IN CATALONIA

This heading must be introduced reminding ourselves that in the case of Spain it is possible to point out some characteristics of what may be considered a type of implicit model of immigration management. It is a model conditioned by the way of political organisation in autonomous communities and the transfer of powers in certain areas from the central government to the autonomy governments.

3.4.1. REGULATORY FRAMEWORK OF THE GENERALITAT DE CATALUÑA REGARDING IMMIGRANTS

The Catalan Generalitat has developed for many years policies which intend to benefit

the integration of immigrants. The majority of these policies have been of promotion and subsidies Public administration actions as well as private organisations. Though, also rules have been approved which have intended in an express manner to benefit the integration of immigrants in Catalan society. Regarding regulations, the most important regulations that have been approved, were the law and regulation for the reception of immigrants, the regulation of several reports of the immigrant office and laws to grant immigrants with no documents access to social security. All of these laws have a direct impact on the integration of immigrants and highlight the aspect which the Generalitat considers more important to benefit it.

- Scope of integration policies of the Generalitat:

The Generalitat of Catalonia has developed integration policies since the arrival of the first immigrants in the territory. But it was not until the year 2006 that the new statute of autonomy was granted some powers regarding immigrant integration. Unlike the majority of autonomous communities that do not have specific powers in this area. The Generalitat to this respect owns the powers in the areas of reception, development of integration policies, and establishment and regulation of measures necessary for the social and economic integration of immigrants. (article 138 of the autonomy statute).

These powers have not been modified in the last years nor have they been affected directly by the ruling of the constitutional court in 2010 (which ruled the partial unconstitutionality of the Estatut). However, as it also happens in other autonomies, we can affirm that the scope and above all boundaries regarding state powers on immigration and asylum, article 149.1.2 CE are very sketchy. In conclusion what must be manifested is that there has never been a clear conception of which are the powers of Catalonia in this area, nor which are the powers of the state. Certainly the new statute of 2006 may have provided important changes to this respect, but the terms included in article 138 regarding the powers of the Generalitat meant few material changes compared to the previous situation. In any case it is important to point out jurisprudence of the constitutional tribunal has neither clarified the powers of the Generalitat nor the state.

3.4.2. CATALAN INDICATORS OF INTEGRATION

Following the guidelines adopted from the European Union, the process of integration in Catalonia has been defined as a double track one.

On one hand, a population that joins a society with established rules and norms; on the other, this same society that is being modified according to the new reality. The integration of the immigrant population has, for years, been one of the key issues in migration policies, both in our country and in other European countries. In many cases, and depending on the migratory history of each territory, the concern for integration also extends to naturalized or people of immigrant origin.

The convergence of the different integration indicators proposed by both the European Commission and the *Intercultural Cities* project of the Council of Europe - already analyzed when we talked about integration in the European context - allows us to draw five large dimensions of the analysis of this integration: institutional, public, labour, educational and sociocultural policies. We have already pointed out several relevant aspects on these issues in other sections of this work and that is why we are only going to briefly mention them here.

The *institutional element* reflects the perspective in which integration policies are designed and implemented. In this dimension, the integration model is chosen and it is detected whether this is an explicit or an implicit option in the institutional discourse and in the design of instruments and actions directed to integration. The indicators selected in this dimension are: "commitment, governance, intelligence, competition and international perspective" and they allow an approach to the definition of the model for diversity management in Catalonia, and serve to define whether or not the action of Generalitat of Catalonia can be described as intercultural policy. The logic of interculturality must be understood as a strategy that wants to manage intercultural relations positively, encourage contacts, exchanges and initiatives to increase relations

among different cultures, promote the competence of institutions, public employees and entities. They work in the management of diversity, and promote the vision of diversity as a resource for the territory.

The *public policies element* includes those policies designed for the immigrant population, or those in which this population plays a relevant role. The indicators of this dimension include reception, mediation, the perspective of diversity in public services and the public space, as well as the anti discrimination policy.

The *labour element* pays attention to two aspects: first, to the indicators that show the performance of the foreign population in comparison with the autochthonous population in the labour market. To do this, we compare the employment, unemployment and activity of these groups, and it is part of the comparison with other European countries; Secondly, we examine how diversity is incorporated in the field of public policies aimed at the business field and the labour market.

The *educational element* has also been consolidated as a key component in order to guarantee integration processes. Education and particularly schooling has a powerful influence in society and reflects a good image. Educational policies must aim to educate thoroughly with quality working on an equality and respect basis. In this sense the educational space is key to orientate and reinforce democratic values which are configured as a society, promoting the development of active citizens who are fully aware of the development of the country. The educational element also implies a double revision. Firstly indicators which show school performance according to their origins. In order for this to be done indicators collected are the level of studies achieved, school dropouts and performance of pupils. Secondly, how diversity has been incorporated into the educational area is examined.

The *socio-cultural element* compiles all those indicators that have to do with the

participation and interaction of native people and migrants in society. The indicators of this dimension consider different aspects: on one hand, indicators of active citizenship collect the percentage of foreign nationals who have obtained the nationality and the percentage of those who have long term permits. The percentage of immigrants that are counted among the elected representatives has not been taken into account, because the current regulations do not allow people of foreign origin to be eligible, with certain exceptions in local elections. The social exclusion rate (poverty) and the ownership of housing are also included as indicators, but the information related to self-perception of the health status has not been incorporated since the data in Catalonia is not analyzed by origin or nationality. On the other hand, indicators of a social and cultural nature allow us to analyze the extent to which diversity is present in the cultural and social life, in leisure spaces and in the media. Language as an integration vector is also a key indicator in this dimension²⁴.

4. CONCLUSION

Based on my hypothesis that immigrants receive an acceptable welcome in Vilafranca, when talking about insertion, we can conclude that great effort is being made in different sectors and in order to accomplish this objective, we must consider that there might be certain needs in this area.

We can try to find the responsible ones for the needs that may exist, but we consider that it is no longer a matter of focussing on the problematic agents of integration

²⁴ The reality of a traditionally bilingual society such as the Catalan one has meant a great investment in the teaching of Spanish and, especially, of Catalan so that the foreign population which does not attend school in Catalonia can be competent in both languages as soon as possible. In this sense, and in relation to Catalan, the efforts have yielded relatively positive results, especially in comprehension and reading, whereas quite unsatisfactory in writing. Most immigrants living in Catalonia understand Catalan and they can read it, while more than half can speak it, although only one third of this group can write it. As for Spanish, the data in relation to oral expression and reading comprehension capabilities is almost total, with a small reduction in the case of writing. But while working to strengthen the linguistic competences of immigrants residing in Catalonia we have to also value the linguistic wealth of multilingual reality in the country.

(which, as we have seen in this research work, is not only the public administration, but also many other entities), but it is also a particularly complex issue.

-Is there really any society that can claim 100% achievement of the integration of immigrants?

-Are the societies themselves really interested in the existence of this total satisfaction?

Let's not forget that the issue of immigration and its integration is an issue that is currently essential of which political parties obtain considerable benefits. We only need to take a look into the trend of election results of recent times in "supposedly" democratic countries. Some sectors of society, are obviously favored by the tension that this problem can create. Another thing is to find out whether this level of tension is existent. This would lead us to fill many pages on demagogy and political populism.

Part of the problem is that there is no society that has fully achieved the integration and which can serve as a model to follow. What is more, even if this society has succeeded in achieving full integration, it would be practically impossible to achieve the same results following the same steps. This is due to the great cultural differences that only exist in the immigrant groups, but also among the different receiving societies. Therefore, there is a mixture of coincidence between the internal cultural diversities of the distinguished society and the internal sociocultural differences of the societies of origin. However, as we have seen throughout the research work, socio-cultural affinities between societies are not a direct guarantee of full integration.

We think that part of the problem comes from a present belief in hosting societies, which consists on believing that the responsibility of achieving a successful integration weighs on those concerned; immigrants. It is evident that this statement is totally wrong. In order to make a society work, inhabitants need to make cohesion and

integration possible between them, no matter where they come from. Therefore, we are all responsible. In addition, it is also untrue that only immigrants are responsible for the lack of integration.

We all have to contribute toward this aim. No matter how much integrating agents do through the integration instruments that we have analyzed, the result wouldn't be precise unless a solid model has been created to support integration. We ultimately believe that, the true integrating agents are the citizens who share with immigrants on a daily basis, those who really are part of their daily lives.

If the relationship between immigrants and the native inhabitants of a region is not fluid enough it may be for many reasons, which we understand may be redirected to two major factors. On the first place, the mechanisms and inhabitants of the hosting society may not be the most appropriate, but we must also consider that, sometimes, the immigrants themselves are those who place barriers to complete integration, either due to lack of interest, lack of motivation, or because of problems related to isolation.

We definitely understand that a good way to make an improvement in this aspect would be to be aware of the true situation of integration in Vilafranca (without the information being modified by other people's interests). Likewise, we have observed that there is a great dispersal of ambits and rules dedicated to the same purpose. This makes it very difficult to create an objective and impartial criterion regarding the resources and instruments of integration for all the immigrants that require a higher level of integration.

Antidio Martínez de Lizarrondo tells us that if immigration has revealed the shortcomings in our state of welfare; the crisis has revealed highlighted he deficits of

our integration model. Therefore we have must learn to manage a new reality not only by our public administrations, but by the whole of our host society. And the solution in no case should focus on making policies for certain social groups, but by making more redistributed policies. Finally, we would like to join Andreu Domingo's message which shows us that migrations themselves are not good or bad, but the result will depend on the use made of them, the capacity of the host country and the way immigrants integrate.

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