

Chapter 5

Local Responses to a New Issue: Integrating Immigrants in Spain

by

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Spain is increasingly becoming “the immigration country of Europe” with high rates of immigration being accompanied by a new national integration strategy and a comprehensive regularisation programme. Partnerships between NGOs, local authorities and the public employment service have generated effective local integration mechanisms in Madrid, Barcelona and Lleida, accompanied by the development of a more inclusive idea of citizenship in certain local areas, leading to the mainstreaming of services for immigrants. In Lleida the potential for employers associations to improve the employment conditions of temporary agricultural workers is also demonstrated. Despite this new found dynamism, many local initiatives experience problems in helping migrants into a labour market which increasingly offers temporary and insecure work without strong chances of career progression.

This chapter examines the role of local initiatives to support the integration of immigrants in Spain, a country which has recently been experiencing high rates of immigration. It examines a number of case studies from province of Barcelona, the province of Lleida and the region of Madrid in order to develop an insight into the mechanisms that are in existence to provide for the economic, social and civic integration of immigrants, and the ways in which such initiatives are linked to wider governance structures and economic and employment development policies. The selection of these case study areas has allowed for a wide range of themes to be explored including: the efficacy of different levels of governance, the experiences of immigrants in different kinds of labour markets, urban-rural differences in terms of both the demands for, and needs of services provided to immigrants, employment, training, social provision and citizenship issues.

The Spanish labour market and migration context

Main characteristics of the labour market

The recent OECD *Economic Survey of Spain* has described Spain's economic performance as remarkable over the last ten years. The standard of living differential with the euro area average has reduced from 20% to less than 13% between 1995 and 2003. Fiscal consolidation, the fall in interest rates due to the introduction of the single currency, structural reforms pursued since the mid-1990s and a surge in immigration have created a virtuous circle of rising economic activity sustained by strong job creation (OECD, 2005a)

The positive economic outlook in Spain disguises some ongoing labour market issues, however. The structural characteristics of the labour market have traditionally included low levels of participation and relatively high levels of unemployment, especially among women and young people (see Table 5.1). The overall unemployment rate, while declining, is still relatively high at 9.2% in 2005 (OECD, 2006). Participation rates are improving, and between 1993 and 2003, women's employment grew from 31.5% to 46.8%, the second highest rise (after Ireland) across the OECD countries (OECD, 2005b). However, since the 1990s Spain has suffered from high rates of temporary employment, and high levels of job rotation. Temporary contracts now account for a third of all employees, as compared with an average for all OECD countries of 13% (OECD, 2005c).

Table 5.1. **Employment and unemployment rates, 2000-2004**

	2001	2002	2003	2004
Employment population ratio				
Total (15-64 years)	58.8	59.5	60.7	62.0
Male (15-64 years)	73.8	73.9	74.5	74.9
Female (15-64 years)	43.8	44.9	46.8	49.0
Youth (15-24 years)	37.1	36.6	36.8	38.4
Unemployment rate				
Total (15-64 years)	10.5	11.4	11.4	11.0
Male (15-64 years)	19.8	18.6	17.4	17.3
Female (15-64 years)	15.3	16.4	16.0	15.1
Youth (15-24 years)	20.8	22.2	22.7	22.0

Source: OECD *Employment Outlook* 2005.

The productive structure in Spain is dominated by small businesses in which labour-intensive activities remain important, the competitive advantage of which has been based traditionally on lower labour costs than in other EU countries. As in several other European countries, there is also a significant underground, irregular or informal economy. Indeed, the informal labour market is a chronic problem across a range of sectors. Schneider and Klinglmair (2004) estimate that the average size of the shadow economy (expressed as a percentage of GDP) in the years 2002-2003 in Spain was 22.3%.

Principal characteristics of migrants in Spain

Spain is rapidly becoming “the” immigration country of Europe. The foreign population in Spain has been increasing at a much faster rate than is the case in other European Union member states. As of March 2005 the number of foreigners resident in Spain stood at 2 054 453, an increase of close to 200% on the figure of 719 600 in 1999.

The large scale economic restructuring which has accompanied recent economic growth in Spain has been a pull factor for immigrants, leading to the simultaneous emergence of high earning professional enclaves in metropolitan centres (that require a range of support services) and informal economic enclaves, which rely on cheap, flexible labour (Sassen, 1990). Spain’s strategic location as a bridge between Europe and Africa has also contributed to its being a particularly attractive country for immigrants in recent years (Sole and Parella, 2003), while former colonial links continue to support immigration from Latin America at a higher rate than in other European countries. Aparicio and Tornos point out that “historic and cultural links with former colonies and protectorates have played an important role in the choice of Spain as a country of destination” (Aparicio and Tornos, 2003).

Table 5.2. **Immigrants with valid residency cards or permits by continent**

	31-03-2005	31-12-2004	31-12-2003
Total foreigners	2 054 453	1 977 291	1 647 011
Total immigrants ¹	1 531 086	1 478 416	1 232 694
Total non-EU Europe	177 836	168 900	145 833
Africa	511 961	498 507	432 662
Latin America	676 220	649 122	514 485
North America	17 021	16 964	16 163
Asia	146 503	142 762	1 21 455
Oceania	1 211	1 112	1 018
Not indicated	1 072	1 049	1 028

1. Foreigners requiring work permits (i.e. non-EU).

Source: Permanent Monitoring centre for Immigration, Secretariat of State for Immigration and Emigration, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, 2005.

Table 5.2 contains data on the number of foreigners and immigrants in Spain on 31 March, 2005, by continent of origin. It is clear that Spain draws immigrants from all over the world although principally from Latin America and Africa. Moroccans constitute the largest single group of immigrants in Spain (396 668) followed by Ecuadorians (229 050), Colombians (145 656), Romanians (88 940), Chinese (73 936) and Peruvians (73 145). In total 676 220 immigrants were from Latin America in March 2005, roughly one third of the overall foreigner population.

Migrants by gender

Women make up nearly 50% of immigrants, although this proportion differs across different ethnic groups. Table 5.3 contains data on foreigners and immigrants in 31 March 2005 by gender and age group. The highest percentage of women comes from Latin America, constituting 54.6% of the total residents from that geographical region. Africans, especially North Africans, have a lower proportion of women immigrants at 34.6% of all immigrants from that continent. However, the countries providing the most female immigrants in absolute terms are Morocco, followed by Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru. The countries with more women than men residing in Spain are: Thailand, with 81.2% women immigrants; Guatemala, 77.1%; Kenya, 73.7% and Brazil, with 70.5% respectively, although these account for only a very small proportion of the total number of immigrants. With respect to the ages of immigrants most are of working age. 80.9% of total immigrants are between 16 and 64 years of age. There are 280 756 individuals under the age of 16, which constitutes 13.6% of the total immigrant population, indicating a relatively low dependency rate. Individuals over the age of 64 represent 5.4% of the immigrant population, up from just 1.8% in 2003.

Table 5.3. **Immigrants with valid residency cards or permits by continent, gender and age group, 31-03-2005**

Continent	Total	% Women	Age group	
			Aged 0 to 15 years	Aged 16 to 64 years
Total foreigners	2 054 453	46.00	280 756	1 662 003
Total immigrants ¹	1 531 086	N/a	247 735	1 255 708
Total non-EU Europe	177 863	45.21	22 548	154 050
Africa	511 196	34.59	110 521	394 505
Latin America	676 220	54.58	90 253	572 654
North America	17 021	48.79	1 157	12 746
Asia	146 503	42.14	22 979	120 097
Oceania	1 211	44.63	71	1 004
Not indicated	1 072	31.28	206	652

1. Foreigners requiring work permits (i.e. non-EU).

Source: Permanent Monitoring centre for Immigration, Secretariat of State for Immigration and Emigration, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, 2005.

Distribution of migrants within Spain

The foreign population in Spain is unevenly distributed across the country. Indeed, fully three quarters of those considered as economic immigrants to Spain are concentrated in just five of the seventeen autonomous communities: Catalonia (22.93%); Madrid (20.64%); Andalusia (11.70%); Valencia (11.56%) and the Canary Islands (6.40%) (see Table 5.4).

There are high concentrations of immigrants in certain neighbourhoods in both Barcelona and Madrid- in the range of 25% to 32%. This is partly because newcomers often come to join other family members, already established in these urban centres. Latin American and Chinese ethnic groups are most likely to use these family/social networks, at least in the first instance, for accessing jobs and housing.

It is also the case that immigrants choose to reside in regions with higher employment rates and where they can enjoy greater employment opportunities, including informal work arrangements. African and Latin American immigrants appear more responsive than their Spanish counterparts to higher employment rates as well as to a higher likelihood of informal and self-employment (Amuedo-Dorantes and de la Rica, 2005). There are low rates of mobility among the active population in general in Spain, and major regional differences in terms of key labour market indicators. Analysis of data from the Spanish Labour Force survey indicates that immigrant flows appear to contribute to a narrowing of regional unemployment rate disparities, and thus such flows may be seen as having a positive impact in terms of socio-economic cohesion (Amuedo-Dorantes and de la Rica, 2005).

Table 5.4. **Number of immigrants with residence authorization in autonomous communities and provinces, 31-03-2005**

Autonomous community or province	Total immigrants with residency permits	% of immigrant population
Andalusia	240 475	11.70
Aragon	57 865	2.81
Asturias	17 422	0.84
Baleares	95 565	4.65
Canary Islands	131 566	6.40
Cantabria	14 540	0.70
Castilla-La Mancha	54 455	2.65
Castilla y Leon	59 824	2.91
Catalonia	470 991	22.93
Valencian Com.	237 679	11.56
Extremadura	19 643	0.95
Galicia	45 224	2.20
Madrid	424 045	20.64
Murcia	94 216	3.12
Navarra	25 783	1.25
Basque Country	39 309	1.91
La Rioja	16 226	0.78
Ceuta	2 430	0.11
Melilla	4 052	0.19
Not indicated	3 143	0.15
Total	2 054 453	100.00

Source: Permanent Monitoring centre for Immigration, Secretariat of state for Immigration and Emigration, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, 2005.

However, Aparicio and Tornos point out that the migratory population is currently becoming more heterogeneous and more diffuse in Spain. There has been a recent shift not only in the composition of the immigrant population but also in the pattern of settlement: “although still concentrated for the most part in a few autonomous communities and in large urban areas, immigrants now tend to be found in significant numbers in more and more parts of the country” (Aparicio and Tornos, 2003).

Socio-economic characteristics of migrants in Spain

In general, immigrants have higher labour participation rates than Spaniards (76.9% as compared with 66.7 in 2003) (OECD, 2005a). However, the unemployment rate is higher than that for the native population (14.8 as opposed to 11.0%) and the rate among foreign women is particularly high (18.2% in 2003).

Immigrants are more likely to work within particular sectors of the economy, most notably construction, agriculture, hospitality and domestic

service. The percentage of workers concentrated in domestic services is particularly high: in 2002-3 around 16.4% of foreign workers in Spain were employed in “services to households” – the highest of the OECD countries reviewed (OECD, 2005b). The immigrant labour force is segmented by gender, with men mainly employed in agriculture and construction whereas women are in the domestic sector and in the hotel and catering sector (CES, 2004). Within these sectors immigrants are at a greater risk of being employed in the jobs that are least attractive to Spanish people, i.e. jobs that are dirty, noisy, dangerous and sometimes carried out in hazardous surroundings.¹ Further, foreigners are more likely to be employed in temporary jobs: the differential between native Spanish and foreigners in terms of the likelihood of holding a temporary job is particularly high in Spain, Portugal and Finland, all countries with high overall proportions of temporary employment (OECD, 2005b).

The level of educational attainment of immigrants is similar to the Spanish norm, and even higher among the nationals from some countries, with the exception of nationals from Africa. Indeed, Sole and Parella indicate that foreign workers are, in general over qualified for the jobs they secure in Spain. This is especially a problem effecting non EU immigrants, and women (Sole and Parella, 2003).

Illegal immigration

The relatively large informal labour market in Spain has traditionally attracted a significant number of illegal immigrants. There is a lack of data on the actual number of undocumented immigrants in Spain, who may be in the country for short periods (for example, in the agricultural and construction sectors, both in the South East and in the urban areas of Madrid and Barcelona). Neither is there data on the trajectories of legal permit holders who may over time move out of the formal economy and into the informal economy or *vice versa*.

However, the Public employment service, INEM, suggests that it may be possible to approximate the number of clandestine immigrants by finding the difference between the number of registered immigrants and the valid residency permits on a given date. Following this formula, the number of immigrants registered at Spanish town halls on 1 January 2004 was 2 442 211 individuals, while the number of valid residency permits 31 December 2003 for foreigners from nations outside of the European Economic Zone was 1 240 812.² Therefore, subtracting the number of valid residency permits from the number of registered residents results in an approximate figure for clandestine individuals of 1 201 399. Given the possibility of errors in the figures from the municipal register (*Padrón*) due especially to duplications or delays in removing those who no longer reside in a Spanish town and who may have moved away from Spain, and based on

declarations from the President of the National Statistics Institute, 150 000 individuals may be subtracted from this figure. This leaves an admittedly tentative estimate of one million clandestine immigrants. A large number of these will have availed of the amnesty programme in operation between February and May 2005.

Attitudes to immigration

The recent rise in recent immigration, the fact that more migrants are coming from outside Europe, and the concentration of immigrants in a small number of geographic locations have all contributed to a higher visibility, and hence, to rising public concerns about the potential impact of immigration in Spain.

Such concerns have been manifested periodically in racist and xenophobic incidents. For example, in February 2000 a group of residents attacked undocumented Moroccan immigrants in El Ejido, Almería. An estimated 10 000 of the 45 000 residents of El Ejido were foreign workers, many living in slum conditions (OECD, 2004). The incident revealed the clandestine market for undocumented immigrant workers, and the exploitation and poor working conditions to which workers were subject. In August 2000, Molotov cocktails were thrown at an immigrant hostel in Lorca, Murcia. Several hundred undocumented workers, mostly Ecuadorians are employed in agricultural labour in the area (Zapata-Barrero, 2003). A report published by the European Monitoring centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) concluded that racial and xenophobic violence continues to increase in Spain, almost in tandem with the increase in immigration (EUMC, 2004).

National public opinion data also indicates a rise in concerns about the “immigration problem” in recent years. Zapata-Barrero argues that generally speaking, public attitudes have been slow to catch up with social change (with the notable exception of employers) (Zapata-Barrero, 2003). In 2002, 43.4% of respondents in a national survey stated that the Spanish population was quite tolerant toward foreigners, while 10.1% stated that it was not at all tolerant. Representatives of immigrant groups and service providers also express concern about prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory treatment of immigrants, particular of women in precarious employment. Research by Sole and Parella (2003) has found that non EU-immigrants in Spain, in particular, suffer from negative discrimination compared to native workers, in terms of both access to jobs and to working conditions, independent of their educational levels, qualifications or prior work experience (Sole and Parella, 2003).

It must be stressed that negative attitudes have only emerged relatively recently, perhaps because the changing migration patterns bring increased

competition with indigenous workers, (Sole and Parella, 2003) and because the issue has been amplified by the Spanish media which has conveyed emotive images and stories about the immigration issue to the Spanish population (Zapata-Barrero, 2003). It must also be acknowledged that the new Spanish government that took office in 2004 has attempted to shift the terms of debate on immigration from one based on fear to one based on acceptance and mutual respect.

Governance context

Changes to National Immigration policy

The change in Spain (as in Italy, Portugal and Ireland) from being a country characterised by high levels of emigration to a country of immigration, has been marked by a shift in policy approach, particularly following the change of government in Spain in 2004. The current period is marked “by a process of definition of an institutional framework to manage the issue of immigration” (Zapata-Barrero, 2003) and it may be said that the overall regulatory environment is in a state of flux. Since 2004, there has, in particular, been a marked re-orientation of immigration away from restriction and prevention and toward regularisation and the integration of the migrant population. This reflects a greater openness at national policy level to the possibility that net immigration may represent more of a benefit than a cost to the host society.

One of the most significant institutional changes has been the relocation of Immigration Affairs from the Ministry of the Interior to the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, in addition to the creation of a Secretary of State for Immigration and Emigration, and a new Directorate-General within the Ministry for the Integration of Immigrants. According to government officials, this creates a direct link between immigration and integration into the labour market. Previously, the issue was framed largely in terms of policing, with clampdowns by the authorities invariably resulting in migrant workers or rejected asylum seekers moving underground, i.e. into the informal economic sectors. The new emphasis is on filling employment gaps in the Spanish economy, in addition to supporting the social integration of disadvantaged groups. At the same time, the government is fighting against the “shadow economies” that attract and absorb illegal immigrants, or that induce regular immigrants into an illegal situation.

A key component of this approach has been the large scale regularisation programme for immigrant workers in the informal labour market that ended in May 2005. In May 2005, the number of applications made for regularisation was 690 679 (slightly below the government estimate of 800 000 illegal immigrants, partly because the regularisation only applies to those in

employment). Of those, 73% (504 786) had been processed by July 2005. Shortly after the closure of the period for registration in May 2005, the government announced that 500 000 inspections would be conducted to eradicate irregular labour up until December 2005. The government have planned for the enrolment of up to 1 700 inspection officers from the Department of Labour, and an increase in the order of 11% in resources available to the inspectorate. Fines will be imposed on employers who persist in hiring undocumented workers. The onus will be on the employer to prove compliance, and the immigrant worker will be protected if he or she has been hired illegally. The regularisation process also requires that immigrants are registered with the Spanish social security system. This has occurred in 97% of the cases in which a residence or work permit has been granted and ensures that immigrants pay taxes and contribute to the social and welfare system.³

The regularisation process was strongly decentralised to the municipalities and to the local town halls throughout Spain, and there has been a clear mobilisation in support of this change in immigrant policy throughout all levels of Spanish society. Mayors, council officers, civil servants at national and regional levels, trade unionists and members of NGOs have all been animatedly in favour of the regularisation programme. However the ultimate success of the programme will depend on a number of factors, not least the fact that illegal immigrants regularised under this process will receive a residence permit for one year. There is a risk that some immigrants will become illegal again after that period, if they are unable to maintain their employment.

Apart from the regularisation of undocumented immigrants, a number of policy initiatives have been put in place linking national, regional and local levels in the task of integrating migrants not only into the labour force, but also into Spanish society.

A new policy for integrating immigrants in the labour market

A new Strategic Plan for Citizens and Integration (2006-09) has been developed by the Secretary of State for Immigration and Emigration through the Directorate-general for the Integration of Immigrants focusing on twelve different areas of intervention (refugees, education, employment, housing, social services, health, infants and youths, equal opportunities, women, participation, sensitivity and co-development). There is a commitment to develop working guidelines for integration, a key element of which is easing the transition to employment through a range of interventions. To prepare the plan, the Spanish government undertook wide consultation through a co-operative framework involving the regions, municipalities, academics and organisations responsible for immigrant welfare. The plan includes the provision of guidelines on the reinforcement of public services, such as the

provision of housing, and the training of professionals in inter-cultural skills. The emphasis is on mainstreaming rather than the provision of special services.

The plan has been accompanied by a new Cooperation Framework for the “management of the support fund for refugees and the integration of immigrants, as well as for their educational reinforcement”. It was created in 2005 through the national budget, as a tool to establish a cooperation model between the general administration of the state, the autonomous communities and local councils, with the purpose of promoting and strengthening public policies in these fields and, consequently, reinforcing social cohesion. In 2005 a budget of € 120 million was approved, followed by a budget of € 180 million in 2006, of which 50% was directed to refugees and integration, and the other 50% for educational reinforcement. In 2006, Catalonia received approximately € 40.9 million (22.45%) and Andalusia approximately € 20.5 million (11.27%).

As part of the plan and framework there is a new discretion accorded to the local and regional levels in taking forward integration projects. In 2005, 50% of the overall funding allocation to the autonomous communities was required to go to projects that had been devised and delivered locally, while in 2006 the percentage is 40%. The political will behind this initiative and the availability of funds from central government provides local service providers with the opportunity to conduct pilot projects and test experimental programmes. In other words, it is likely to expand the culture of innovation already visible at the frontline of service provision. Experimental programmes that have been found to work can be successfully mainstreamed or delivered on a wider more systematic basis.

A key priority of the new integration strategy is to identify skill demands, and to speed up the process of bringing appropriate workers to meet these demands into the country. One mechanism for doing this is to streamline the process whereby employers can establish that there is no Spanish person available to do a particular job and therefore recruit directly from abroad. In particular, INEM (the public employment service) has developed a new initiative involving the development of a catalogue of unfilled vacancies (*Catálogo de Ocupaciones de Difícil Cobertura*). Using the new register, which is updated quarterly, employers can now directly recruit immigrants for these vacancies, without having to advertise in the first instance for Spanish applicants (the previous legal procedure). While labour legislation is the responsibility of the state, the management of employment occurs at the level of the autonomous regions and so the types of job placed on the register vary from place to place. The regional branches of INEM, who oversee the register, take responsibility for establishing in advance whether or not a particular job may be legitimately filled by an immigrant, updating this decision on a

quarterly basis. The catalogue of unfilled vacancies to date shows a concentration of low-level occupations, which is perhaps not surprising given the segmentation of the Spanish labour force and the fact that Spanish people are increasingly reluctant to accept low paid low skilled positions.

Legal context

The latest reform to Organic Law 4/2000 on the rights and liberties of foreigners in Spain and their social integration,⁴ introduced substantial changes to the regulation of immigration, constituting the first opportunity to produce, legislatively, a change in the direction of migratory policy. The new regulations include important new changes related to requirements and circumstances for granting authorisation to foreigners to reside and work in Spain. The objective of the reforms is twofold. On the one hand, to speed up authorisations based on job vacancies that employers are unable to fill with resident workers (through the development of the catalogue of jobs that area difficult to fill), and, on the other hand, to increase control in granting these authorisations. The regularisations have been developed following consultation with a newly created body: the Tripartite Labour Commission for Immigration (*Comisión Laboral Tripartita de Inmigración*), made up of the most representative national-level social partners and the State Secretariat for Immigration and Emigration. This body will provide a permanent channel for achieving social consensus over immigration policies.

Admitting new immigrants to Spain is based primarily on the need to fill jobs and, except under extraordinary circumstances, immigrants who want to work must obtain a visa in their country of origin allowing them to work or seek employment. Under the Organic Law residence permits and work permits in Spain are independent of each other and all immigrants in Spain must apply in the first instance for a residence permit. There are three types of residence permit:

1. For stays of less than 90 days there are traditional tourist residence permits.
2. Temporary residence permits, for more than 90 days and less than five years are granted to people who can support themselves and their families, or who have a work permit, or who have been living in Spain for five years. Residence permits may also be granted for humanitarian reasons. Residence permits are not normally granted to foreigners who have a criminal record.
3. Foreigners who have had temporary permits for a minimum of five consecutive years are entitled to a permanent residence permit.

In order to engage in labour market or any professional activity, foreigners over the age of sixteen years, must also obtain an administrative authorisation to work. Generally speaking, a work permit constitutes an

authorisation to work in Spain given to foreigners over sixteen years of age. The duration of a work permit must be less than five years. Work permits are renewable and become permanent after five years of residence in the country. The following specific conditions must be met before a work permit may be granted:

- There must be a documented shortfall of labour need.
- That labour need cannot be fulfilled by INEM.

Foreign students now also have the possibility to apply for permits to become employed or self employed if they have studied for three years study in the country, allowing highly qualified immigrants trained within Spanish institutions to access the Spanish labour market.

A resident foreigner has a right to family re-unification under the terms of Organic Law 8/2000, and the 2004 regulations have sought to accelerate such re-unification procedures. Foreigners may exercise their right to family re-unification if they have resided legally in Spain for one year and have authorisation for at least one further year. They must show proof of adequate housing and sufficient resources for subsistence. A spouse may obtain his/her own individual residence permit if s/he finds employment or can provide proof of having lived with the spouse for at least two years. Children may obtain individual residence permits when they reach adulthood or when they obtain authorisation to work.

The family members of a foreign resident enjoy all the rights that the Law grants to foreign residents. This means that all foreigners under eighteen years have a right to education under the same conditions as Spanish nationals. Resident foreigners have the same rights as Spanish nationals to non-compulsory education, and all foreign residents have access to the social security system, which includes unemployment benefits. Registration in the social security system is now a pre-requisite for the validity of residence and labour permits. All foreigners have a right to emergency medical services, and independent of their legal status, have the same rights to medical care as Spanish nationals as long as they are registered in their municipality. While basic social services are granted to all immigrants, social benefits within the social security system and access to housing benefit are granted to foreign residents only and not to undocumented immigrants. Finally, in the case of work requiring special qualifications, foreign workers and foreign self-employed persons must have their qualifications recognised by the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science.

The government has recently introduced a new target of one month to process new claims for permits, and three months for reissuing. Furthermore, increased numbers of administrative staff have been assigned to speed up the permit-granting process. The establishment of the new “catalogue of unfilled

vacancies” will also speed up the process of allocating work and residence permits for those whose skills are in demand.

Equality policy and the involvement of immigrant associations

The regulatory environment is undergoing a further change brought about by the introduction of equal opportunity legislation in 2003 in line with the EU Directive in this area. Recent legislation⁵ provides scope for ensuring that the principle of equal treatment and non-discrimination due to racial or ethnic origins is real and effective. Workers now have the right not to be discriminated against on the grounds of racial origin, ethnicity, sexual orientation, etc., and they have a legal right to protection against bullying in the workplace. The law has also allowed for the setting up of a quasi-state body, the “Council for the Promotion of Equal Opportunities and the Non Discrimination of Persons due to their Racial or Ethnic origin” along the lines of the successful Commission for Racial Equality which has operated in the United Kingdom for several decades. The council reports to the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs and focuses on the areas of education, employment, health, social benefits and services, housing, affiliation and participation in trade unions and business organisations, working conditions, professional development and vocational and continuing training. Its primary responsibilities include providing assistance to victims of discrimination when lodging their complaints, carrying out studies and publishing reports and promoting measures that contribute to eliminating this discrimination. There are some concerns that the close connection of the council to central government may mean that it is not perceived to have full independence or autonomy to undertake its tasks. However the aim is to ensure that the council acts with as much independence as possible. A major public awareness campaign is to be undertaken to promote the new organisation nationally and provide it with an independent identity.

A further aspect of the new policy framework for integration in Spain is the increasing importance being given to immigrant associations. Immigrant associations are particularly underdeveloped in Spain, perhaps because civil society itself has historically been weak.⁶ However, the Spanish government is committed to increasing support for immigrant associations as part of a new strategy aimed at capacity building on the part of such groups and organisations. The Ministry for Labour and Social Affairs has recently signed conventions with seventeen immigrant associations and it is hoped that these Associations will become more active within the new Forum for the social Integration of Immigrants (see Box 5.1), originally established in 1995 but reconstituted in 2006 with a broader composition of membership and with new consultative responsibilities. In addition to immigrants associations, the Forum also includes administrators and other organisations that provide

resources and services to immigrants. The Forum has been mandated to make recommendations on all subjects dealing with immigrants and must now be consulted with regards to any norm or general plan of action by the state that affects their integration. One of the measures to be submitted to the Forum is the new Strategic Plan for Citizens and Integration 2006-2009.⁷

In sum, there is considerable evidence of a shift toward a more integrated planning and joined-up thinking approach at the national level in Spain – particularly, between ministries dealing with migration, justice and employment issues. Furthermore, there is recognition that a cross-sectoral approach to immigration and integration involving all the main policy actors at state, regional and local level is the way forward for Spanish migration policy.

Decentralisation in the Spanish context

The new national approach to integration must, however, be seen in the context of the decentralised governance arrangements operational in Spain. Since 1979, Spain has undergone an intense period of regionalisation, and is now one of the most decentralised of the OECD countries. Responsibility for many domestic policy areas has been devolved to the 17 autonomous communities, of which Madrid and Catalonia are two examples, and two autonomous cities of Ceuta and Melilla. The autonomous communities account for about one third of public expenditure and employ more than twice as many civil servants as the central government (Mosley, 2004). They have exclusive responsibility for issues such as: government structure, territorial organisation, promotion of regional development, regional planning, urban policies agriculture, tourism, social assistance, health, education and culture.

In other areas, including labour market and employment policy, the autonomous communities share powers with the national government. In this case, the state defines policies and establishes enabling legislation, while the autonomous communities have responsibility for implementing this legislation. The public employment service has in particular been decentralised. The Employment Act of 2003 established that the national employment system now comprises both INEM (which is a public agency under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs) and the public employment services of each of the autonomous regions. Although the regional employment services have a degree of flexibility and can adapt labour market policy to their own regional needs, they are still required to spend funds for specified purposes and in accordance with state regulations, and have limited powers to shift funds between the budget lines.

While immigration policy itself remains under centralised control, decentralisation has led to variations in the local and regional capacity to act

Box 5.1. The Forum for Social Integration of Immigrants

According to the provisions of Article 70 of Organic Law 4/2000 (amended by Royal Decree 3/2006 dated the 16 January), the Forum for Social Integration of Immigrants is the consulting, informing and advising entity for the national government, and when appropriate, for the autonomous regional and local governments in matters of immigration. Among the forum's functions are:

- Draft proposals and recommendations that promote the integration of immigrants and refugees into Spanish society.
- Receive information on programs and activities carried out by the national, regional and local governments in matters related to the social integration of immigrants.
- Collect and channel proposals formulated by social organisations that are active in the realm of immigration.
- Prepare an annual report.
- Draft reports on the proposals, plans and programmes that may affect immigrants social integration as required by national governmental bodies.

The membership of the Forum for the social Integration of Immigrants is composed of the following: president, two vice presidents designated as members, a secretary and 30 voting members. The members are:

- Ten members representing the relevant government agencies.
- Ten members representing the immigrants and refugees, through their legally constituted associations.
- Ten members representing the social support organisations, to include the most representative labour unions and employers' organisations, that have an interest in the issue of immigration.

Source: Ministry for Employment and Social Affairs, Secretariat of State for Immigration and Emigration

because of variance in access to resources, and because national initiatives have to be adapted to be delivered within regional policy frameworks. Aparicio and Tornos point out that the availability of regional discretion has led to variation in the support available for the integration of immigrants, with the autonomous regions of Catalonia, Andalusia and Madrid placing greater emphasis on this policy area than elsewhere, as this is where most immigrants settle (Aparicio and Tornos, 2000). Outside of these regions, resources are scarcer. According to Zapata-Barrero, "In Spain, efforts aimed at the integration of immigrants are coordinated in large measure by municipal and regional bodies. Many of these institutions however lack the necessary

financing and infrastructure, which makes policy implementation difficult” (Zapata-Barrero, 2003). Therefore, even where there is a consistent national framework or a template of good practice in existence, how it is implemented (if at all) is currently dependent on local resources and conditions.

Local initiatives: responding to integration challenges

The remainder of this chapter will outline and assess local responses, initiatives and programmes designed to address barriers to the labour market integration of immigrants in the three case study regions of Madrid, Barcelona and Lleida in Spain, focusing on the roles of the principal stakeholders at the regional and local levels, before exploring the main types of instrument used.

The involvement of key stakeholders at the regional and local levels

The meso-level regions: the autonomous communities and provinces

The regional administrations in Barcelona and Madrid have been particularly active in creating strategic approaches to integration. Taking advantage of the flexibility granted to them in the decentralised system, these regions have developed effective cross sector support mechanisms for local level actors, setting out broad strategies for integration, sharing best practice and coordinating programme delivery. The kind of cross-sectoral, strategic thinking contained within the new national plan for integration is also reflected at this level.

The region of Madrid (CAM), for example, is in the process of drawing up a new plan for the integration of the Madrid community (2005-08). They aim to consult as widely as possible, and to be as inclusive as possible. All the key social players are involved in the consultations including experts in immigration from Madrid universities who form a technical support team, representatives from all programmes oriented toward immigrants, and representatives from different ministries. The plan is anchored in the community, and the aim is to bring theory and practice together through using a partnership approach. The creation of awareness in the different departments of the CAM is also an important part of the planning process. Local immigrant integration is pursued through specialist programmes aimed at immigrants, ethnic minorities, Eastern European women and women suffering from domestic violence. The budget for this work in 2004 was € 7.27 m, and a strong element of reflexivity is built into the approach through feedback initiatives.

The *Diputació de Barcelona* (the provincial government) is also committed to supporting immigrant integration as part of a wide policy to generate economic development and promote social inclusion in the region, partly through the support of local territorial employment pacts and productivity

networks. The *Diputació* has adopted a particularly useful role in supporting the sharing of good practice between local areas, and acting as an information resource to municipalities. The provincial government is made up of elected representatives from 311 municipalities, to whom they give technical, economic and legal support. Approximately 200 of these municipalities are currently carrying out some work with immigrant groups, although the most activities are occurring in municipalities where there is a concentration of immigrants, such as Mataro and Santa Coloma de Gramenet. The *Diputació* supports the mainstreaming of good practice projects that they have identified within these municipalities, and encourages other municipalities to adapt successful programmes to their own localities.

The *Diputació* has also been effective in using national and European funds to support the establishment and sharing of good practice in the province. One programme supported by INEM (see Box 5.2) has aimed to insert difficult to place groups into the labour market (including immigrants) and has been delivered in 14 different municipalities. Part of the rationale behind the project was the development of a programme that had the potential to act as a model of good practice for other local entities within the province. Between 2002 and 2004, each municipality took advantage of a common training methodology, but adapted this to the client group whose needs they wished to prioritise. Service providers took a highly reflexive approach to the assessment and evaluation of the service provision using it as an opportunity to reflect on ways in which the programme methodology could be improved.

A second project funded by the European Union EQUAL programme under the title ELIONOR, focused on producing methodological guides to help municipalities to improve the productivity of women, immigrants and young unemployed people in the province (see Box 5.3). The provincial government in this instance developed a partnership with a number of territorial employment pacts, a business association and the University of Barcelona, whilst also leading a trans-European network of partners from other localities and regions (*Diputació de Barcelona*, 2003). The main aim of the project was to give the target groups the tools to access the local labour market. Training and skills development was given less emphasis because it was recognised that a number of the inactive participants in the programme, particularly women, were already relatively well qualified – other factors were therefore thought to be important in restricting labour market access, such as knowledge of local labour markets, and the particular skills demands of local employers.

The Barcelona province has also been particularly effective in supporting the delivery of multi-agency approaches at the local level. Building on the European Territorial Employment Pact initiative and the successful experience of a pact established in the Vallés Occidental in the mid-1990s, the *Diputació* have focused on creating sustainable territorial models of economic

Box 5.2. **Experimental programme to facilitate the social and labour inclusion of non EU immigrants**

The employment and economic development division of the *Diputació de Barcelona* has developed a labour insertion programme directed at groups with special difficulties in accessing the labour force. The total budget of € 753 940 was funded primarily by INEM (82%) with the *Diputació* contributing (18%). Four experimental programmes were developed focusing on improving labour participation of women, labour insertion programme for people over 45 years, program of transition from school to work for early school leavers and a programme of welfare and insertion of immigrants. The programmes ran during 2002 and 2003 in a number of different municipalities. In total 2 344 were contacted, 717 were interviewed, 206 ended the program and 106 were successful in accessing the labour market.

The programme of welfare and insertion of immigrants targeted those between the ages of 25 and 45 years. Much emphasis in this programme was placed on practical, activist and participatory skills, and building networks between the immigrants and companies/relevant professionals. This programme showed the highest rate of insertion at 33%. The number of people contacted was 479, the number interviewed 184, the number of participants 111, 58 ended the programme and 36 were successful in accessing the labour market.

The strong points of the programme as determined in the evaluation:

- The strength of the coordination mechanisms particularly between local entities, the *Diputació de Barcelona* and the Employment offices.
- The relatively high level of labour market insertion given the particular difficulties of the target groups.
- High degree of collaboration between the municipal administration and the local enterprise network. (collaborating partners included Association of Construction of Catalonia, Federation of Construction and Woodwork of CCOO (trade union), Managers Association of Cronella, and Chocolat's Museum).

Weaker points:

- A high number of immigrants are excluded from projects of this kind because of their irregular status.
- Timing of project is crucial as programmes that run during holiday times, for example, are a disincentive to participation.

development and have secured 20 new territorial agreements or employment pacts through which a wide range of social actors agree to promote employment through participation, consultation, networking, improving

quality of service, evaluation and innovation. These have proved to be a useful mechanism for encouraging people to work together across administrative and sectoral boundaries on immigrant integration. In addition, the pacts have been able to work on issues which are not covered by mainstream programmes such as support for undocumented immigrant workers.

Box 5.3. **The Elionor project**

This European EQUAL project, led by the *Diputació de Barcelona*, involves a number of transnational partners across Europe. The project was conceived to help the inactive population (women, youth and immigrants) into employment and, in particular, to support persons without serious qualification problems in these groups. The work undertaken comprised a preliminary study of factors leading to inactivity in each locality and the production of material and methodologies for subsequent action. The project aims to provide the target groups with information on the labour market, how it functions and the jobs most frequently offered – in other words, to bring the job market and the inactive population (those who have never worked) closer together, and to provide the inactive with the technological skills required to enter employment.

Source: *Diputació de Barcelona* (2003) .

Local authorities

Local authorities have the power to act relatively autonomously in Spain, and two municipalities studied in the province of Barcelona (Mataro and Santa Coloma de Gramenet) each showed considerable latitude in terms of developing strategic initiatives and making choices about service delivery for immigrants. As local authorities do not have specific competency for employment issues, the focus was mainly on wider social cohesion issues, tackling poverty and providing emergency provision where necessary. However support in accessing employment was also provided in both these municipalities as one important aspect to supporting such wider social cohesion.

The two local authorities are both guided by a broad strategy to create a shared notion of citizenship and cohesion in their community (see Box 5.4). In the municipality of Mataro for example, it was felt that it is not enough to have strategies for the integration of immigrants, without also devising strategies for working with the indigenous community to counteract negative perception of immigrants. This has involved the development of programmes for sensitising the indigenous community to ethnic diversity and a new citizenship plan which focuses on the mainstreaming of services, stating

that all local programmes must welcome new arrivals. The citizenship plan was developed under the auspices of a special council made up of 35 representatives of municipal groups, citizen groups, and immigrant associations.

To achieve the objectives of the new plan, the town council in Mataro has proposed fourteen action programmes aimed at the integration of newly arrived immigrants, coexistence, and respect for the diversity and quality of life of citizens. These action programmes include the provision of information on vocational guidance (facilitating access to information and services); mediation (facilitating communication and reciprocal knowledge, ensuring understanding between newly arrived people and public services); an accommodation programme; and a programme for aiding job integration (with professional training and integration of those with particular difficulties). The programmes provide personalised and/or group assistance depending on what is deemed appropriate.

The aim of the job placement support programme, for example, is to guarantee vocational training and inclusion in the labour market for groups with difficulties and advise and qualify individuals who wish to join the labour market under good quality employment conditions. The programme is conducted with the participation of the IMPEM (*Institut Municipal de Promoció Econòmica de Mataró*). 21.4% of the users of the IMPEM service in 2004 were immigrants. In keeping with the general support for mainstreaming, the programme does not provide specific services to immigrants, but encourages them to use the municipal employment promotion services through personalised and group counselling. The municipality takes a cross sector approach and collaborates with other economic actors in the delivery of professional training.

The strategy in Mataro to target both the immigrant and non-immigrant population is also reflected at a practical level in the design of a local flagship project, the “Local Institute for Economic Promotion”. This centre provides a range of employment insertion and training programmes to immigrants and native born unemployed people alike, and the centre also houses incubator units for start up companies. Given the range of services, not just to immigrants but also to all residents of the municipality, the centre is viewed as a facility for the community as a whole. It thus has the potential to act as a mechanism for social integration and for developing human capital in the wider community, not just among immigrants.

While following the same broad strategy, the local authority in Santa Coloma de Gramenet has taken a more targeted approach to supporting immigrants in practice. Since 2001, the town council of Santa Coloma de Gramenet has carried out an Integral Action Programme aimed at preventing

Box 5.4. Strategies to promote common citizenship and interculturalism, Mataro and Santa Coloma de Gramenet

A. Mataro's New Citizenship Plan

Like many other municipalities in the Barcelona province, Mataro adopted a pact for new citizenship-*Pla Nova Ciutadania* in 2001. This pact has three key strategies:

- Integration of newly arrived immigrants in accordance with democratic principles and guaranteeing the rights and duties of all citizens.
- The normalisation of service provision, equality of opportunity and quality of life for all citizens.
- Promotion of cultural and social change with the consent and support of all social actors and political parties.

B. Principles underpinning the city's Intercultural Coexistence Development Plan, Santa Coloma de Gramenet

Similarly the principles which underpin the development plan in Santa Coloma de Gramenet include:

- Recognition of the rights and duties of all citizens whether they are indigenous or immigrant.
- Work against social, economic and political exclusion (for example try to move beyond ethnic barriers by getting employers to look beyond the colour of a job applicant's skin).
- Promote equal opportunities.
- Right to participate in associations and vote in municipal elections.
- Need for a reception site to provide legal advice for immigrants advising them of their rights and obligations.
- Promotion of co-responsibility with all elements of society.

social exclusion of newly arrived immigrants, working on actions that promote equal opportunities. The programme was developed by the local Department of Social Services and Economic Promotion, in collaboration with the Department of Labour of the regional government of Catalonia. Responsibility for taking forward the principle actions of the programme has been delegated to a local development company, *Grameimpuls S.A*, which is responsible for managing local economic and employment promotion policies. The company directs its activities at members of the local population that have been excluded from the standard training and occupational services, due to a lack of professional qualifications and/or lack of knowledge of their surroundings.

The local development company in Santa Coloma de Gramenet has the advantage of having access to the relatively wide range of powers normally allocated to local authorities whilst also retaining a relatively focused approach on economic development and integration issues. The company engages in many different activities, from providing training and education services and social support to migrants to carrying out neighbourhood mediation, attempting to regularise the local informal economy and influencing regional accessibility plans. The director of the centre has been able to build up a strong local profile as a representative dealing with immigrant issues, and has build up relations of trust with local employers, community organisations and government representatives. He feels that this trust is an essential element in supporting change and help immigrants out of situations of deprivation.

The local activities being taken forward by the two municipalities of Mataro and Santa Coloma de Gramenet confirm the findings of Zapata-Barrero and Gómez and Tornos that not all local authorities have the same levels of financing and infrastructure to support the integration of immigrants. The two municipalities differ considerably in terms of their socio-economic profile (see Box 5.5). Mataro enjoys a higher than average income (compared to other municipalities in Barcelona) and can generate more resources for local development. Indeed, one reason why the Local Institute

Box 5.5. Socio-economic conditions in Santa Coloma de Gramenet and Mataro

Santa Coloma de Gramenet is a municipality with more than 120 000 residents, about 25 km north of Barcelona city. It is one of the poorer suburbs of the province, with a weak economy and relative poor infrastructure. It is characterised by relative low income, low educational levels, low working skills and relatively high levels of recent immigration. In 2004, the number of immigrants stood at 16 000 which constitutes about 13.3% of the total population. Despite the many difficulties in this municipality, there has been an impressive mobilisation in the locality to address issues of labour market integration, spearheaded by a local development company, Grameimpuls S.A.

Mataro is a relatively successful municipality on the coast, 25 km North of Barcelona. 15 000 (12.5%) of the 117 000 population are immigrants. Compared to Santa Coloma de Gramenet and other municipalities in the province, Mataro has a high rate of economic activity, particularly in construction, agriculture and increasingly, tourism. The majority of immigrants in the locality come from Morocco, with the remaining groups coming from China, Gambia, Senegal and South America.

for Economic Promotion has been able to offer such a wide set of services to the local community is that it is partly funded by rates raised from local businesses. Santa Coloma de Gramenet, in contrast, has a poorer socio-economic profile and a weaker tax base, and therefore, cannot provide the same level of services. Accordingly, resources are directed specifically at those in most need, whereas in Mataro the services are more mainstreamed.

Non-governmental organisations (NGOs)

In both Mataro and Santa Coloma de Gramenet, NGOs were seen as a key resource for working with immigrant groups, in particular as they are able to work with immigrants who are excluded from mainstream services, either because they lack a work permit, or because they need more holistic support and advice.

NGOs are seen as effective in providing front line services in Spain in that they offer an integrated, client-driven approach. The region of Madrid has developed an NGO based system of local integration services for immigrants called the CASI programme (see Box 5.6). Each local authority area in the region has a CASI, which are managed by NGOs that compete for contracts in an open tendering process, and the programme has been identified as a model of good practice at the European level.

A key focus of the CASI programme is the integration of immigrants, particularly those who are in vulnerable circumstances. Each CASI client is dealt with from a holistic point of view. A team of professionals are provided locally (some drawn from the immigrant groups themselves) to provide a range of complementary supports, with clients being offered five different services within the same location, including social work, legal, labour, intercultural, and social/educational services. In addition the centres provide emergency accommodation.

The CASIs are often located in areas with a high concentration of immigrants. In particular rising house prices in Madrid have forced many migrants to settle in neighbourhoods on the outskirts of the city. Because they are based in local communities, the NGOs which run the CASI projects are able to offer a client based approach which is both welcoming and accessible to these local immigrants. Immigrants are offered services regardless of their legal status and in 2004, 17 000 people made use of CASI services.

An important aspect of the CASI model is that while being based on localised NGO provision, the programme also offers a mainstreamed approach. The entire region of Madrid is covered by CASI initiatives and all the local NGOs work to similar goals and methodologies, leading to a consistency in provision. There is a degree of in built flexibility in the programme, however, so that individual CASIs may take the most appropriate approach to

Box 5.6. The CASI programme in Madrid

The region of Madrid has devolved responsibility for front line emergency service provision to the CASI programme (*Centro de Atención Social a Inmigrantes*), a network of 19 Immigrant Assistance centres located throughout the metropolitan area. These centres are a second level support mechanism provided to complement the basic assistance provided by the general social services. They are intended to facilitate the social integration of immigrants who arrive in vulnerable circumstances and require higher than normal levels of social intervention. The objectives of the authorities in each area are broadly similar:

- To improve the employability skills of immigrants by identifying appropriate interventions and support programmes.
- To contribute to social cohesion by developing programmes and initiatives that actively affirm the presence of immigrants in the community, that codify their responsibilities and rights, and that seek to foment positive channels of communication between immigrants and the indigenous local communities in Spain.

The services offered by the CASI are in two streams:

1. Social assistance programme
 - ❖ social work support
 - ❖ socio-economic
 - ❖ psychological
 - ❖ legal
 - ❖ inter-cultural and education
2. Emergency admittance programme for people needing housing, for example.

The focus of CASI interventions is:

Individuals/families: people who turn to the CASI for specific needs that cannot be covered through the regular social services system.

Groups: use of the possibilities offered by groups and work with social networks for example: environment adaptation groups, domestic organisation, communication skills, entertainment and leisure, environmental preservation, etc.

Community: coexistence roundtables in neighbourhoods and municipalities, participation in neighbourhood associations, social services, public and private entities, cultural and social associations related to immigration, etc.

reflect specific local problems, and opportunities. In particular, each CASI receives a block grant rather than specific budget lines, which allows a freedom of expenditure.

The degree of budgetary discretion has allowed the CASIs to develop projects that are geared to the specific issues that occur in the local communities. For example, at the CASI in Fuenlabrada, Madrid, staff identified an information deficit among immigrant parents in relation to schools. Many parents did not fully understand the school system and there was no mechanism for providing information or explanations for them. So the CASI in co-operation with the parents association, the schoolteachers and social services developed a pilot project to provide information and support to parents in the April-June period in advance of the new school year, starting in September. They have also developed intercultural projects in local schools involving parents, teachers and school children.

Similarly, in the CASI located in Ciudad Lineal, Madrid a number of specialist projects were developed to deal with problems specific to that locality. The "Night Owl" project involved trained professionals visiting parks and other public places at night to identify homeless people and help to direct them to appropriate housing and social services. A second project is directed at second-generation immigrant children who form a gang culture that is transplanted from their countries of origin. They engage in territorial fights with other ethnic groups. Service providers from the CASI actively try to recruit these young people into activities such as dance programmes in order to provide an alternative to street violence.

In sum, the advantages of the CASI model include the provision of a standardised, professional service across Madrid while devolving considerable autonomy to each CASI to develop tailored programmes and initiatives based on local needs assessment. The tendering process of the programme presents some problems for NGOs however. The Madrid community stipulates that NGOs must re-tender every few years for the CASI programme which may be disruptive of programme provision, and certainly militates against longer term planning. From the viewpoint of CAM, the tendering process ensures that experienced professionals deliver effective services on the ground, however if a local contract is awarded to a new NGO there are implications for the continuity of programmes already put in place by existing service providers.

Trades unions

Trade unions representatives were seen as key partners in the citizenship strategy being taken forward in Mataro, Barcelona. The fact that the trade unions in Spain have a relatively broad membership and are not always

restricted to particular employment sectors can be seen to facilitate their involvement in broader integration issues at the local level. Sole and Parella (2003) argue, however, that in general the involvement of trade unions in immigration issues has been rather ambiguous. It has been difficult for the unions to represent the interests of those who work in the secondary and hidden economy, particularly as these workers are in direct competition with workers within the formal economy. The costs involved in potentially losing the membership of the formal economy workers, outweigh the potential benefits of representing immigrants in the secondary and informal sectors.

The trade unions have, however, put their weight behind the new government initiative on reform of immigrant and employment policy and have played an important role in the evolution and implementation of policies directed at immigrants. The establishment of the Tripartite Labour Commission for Immigration Issues at national level ensures that new integration policies are discussed in a tri-partite way between government, employers and trade unions, and the creation of the employment Catalogue under the auspices of INEM, in particular, is the outcome of social dialogue in the matter of labour regulation. Spanish trade unions have taken a pro-active role in the extension of immigrant rights, and the fight against prejudice and xenophobia, and have also been relatively innovative in providing training courses for new immigrants in skilled areas such as plumbing and electronics, and continuous education programmes targeted at immigrants who arrive with degrees. They have also taken a particular interest in the domestic work area which is notoriously unregulated and have lobbied for the reform of social security so that domestic workers may have the same rights as other workers.

Employers associations

Employers associations can also play an important role in tackling rights and quality of work issues. This was illustrated in the province of Lleida. The local farmers association (*Unió de Pagesos*, member of the Spanish network of agricultural and livestock organisations, COAG) has developed a useful model for promoting good quality employment for immigrants, bringing small-scale farmers together to co-ordinate and improve working conditions for temporary migrants (of up to nine months duration), and providing a variety of different forms of accommodation, training and social support (see Box 5.7).

The success of this case is based on two factors in particular: a) the strong motivation, care and commitment of managers and members of the *Unió de Pagesos*, and b) the need for a reliable workforce (the loss of the annual harvest is at stake). The advantage of the scheme from the employer's point of view is that the employees are accessible (through accommodation on site) and anti-

Box 5.7. The *Unió de Pagesos de Catalunya*

In Lleida, local administrators, entrepreneurs, the farmers association and the NGOs all work together in the management of seasonal immigration. In Bellpuig and Mollerusa in the Lleida region, the *Unió de Pagesos* works with local councils to actively manage and promote a flow of migration between countries of origin- primarily, Romania, Colombia and Morocco and the rural localities. They provide jobs, accommodation and some cultural activities for the workers during their sojourn in Spain, in addition to social support such as accompanying workers to hospital. It is required that these workers are paid the national wage rate, that they have access to housing and that at the end of the labour season the person returns to their country of origin. The work of recruitment and labour management is carried out by farmer's representatives, relieving the individual farmer of having to do this for themselves.

Nufri, for example, a private fruit processing company that operates throughout Spain, has a factory near Mollerusa. A programme for the provision of better accommodation for workers has been developed here through an innovative partnership between the company and the *Unió de Pagesos*, to provide air- conditioned units close to the factory for seasonal workers. The accommodation is paid for by the company, and conforms to regional government guidelines. There is no doubt that the enlightened approach taken by the *Unió de Pagesos*, has improved the conditions of the seasonal workers, through offering them better quality housing conditions during their stay in Spain and taking responsibility for the worker's general well being.

social behaviour or absenteeism can be more easily managed. On the other hand, the migrant workers have no additional commuting costs because they live and work locally, and are at least guaranteed a minimum standard of comfort in their accommodation, which would not necessarily be the case on the open market.

By working in partnership with the local council and private companies to bring in foreign workers for designated periods of time on an annual basis, the association has taken account of the transient nature of the rural migrant population in Spain. The project has an especially temporary notion of integration, and indeed, the awareness raising and community event activities that are organised by the association seem to be more about maintaining morale and increasing the acceptance of migrants amongst the mainstream population, rather than ensuring the integration of individual migrants. One of the progressive aspects of their programme, however, is the *transactional model* that supports the creation of development projects and leadership

training programmes in the immigrants' country of origin. Developing ongoing links with specific localities in sending countries has both supported a sustainable supply of workers and built a strong degree of trust, whilst also supporting local development overseas.

The *Unió de Pagesos* work in other local areas across Catalonia, and their approach has been shared with other regions. They have also come together to link shorter-term demands for migrant work to provide an ongoing work programme that allows migrants to move between different regions and stay longer in Spain. According to Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs officials in Madrid, the innovative integration model developed by the association has also been used elsewhere, although not always as successfully, partly because other regions in Spain do not have the same resource base as Catalonia (Rodríguez-Pose, 2003).

The instruments used

The previous section has focused on the main stakeholders involved in the local integration of immigrants in the case study areas we reviewed in Spain. However it is also worth focusing in more detail on the main instruments used.

Developing employability skills

The local initiatives visited in Spain used a relatively large set of tools and instruments to support greater access to the labour market for immigrant groups. For example, Grameimpuls S.A offers users the following services to immigrants, adapting their opening hours to the availability of their clients:

Within the programmes offered in the municipalities of Barcelona and Madrid, the main focus appeared to be on developing employability skills, however, rather than placing people in jobs. In the municipality of Santa Coloma de Gramenet, for example, there is a recognition that the immigrant client group is starting from a low skill base, and so the emphasis, as practitioners on the ground see it, has to be on personal development and literacy. As one practitioner commented, "The programme is not commensurate with normal employment programmes because very often you are dealing with a client base that lacks skills, knowledge and language". This is reflected in the percentage of participants achieving and maintaining employment through their labour market insertion programmes (for which data was available for 2001-3, see Table 5.5).

In the CASI in Fuenlabrada, Madrid staff operated a three-fold model to identify people at different stages of work readiness that proved very useful in directing resources toward those most in need. Each client at the CASI has a personal interview during which there is an assessment of skills. The focus is

Box 5.8. Training by Grameimpuls S.A to support labour market access by immigrants

Grameimpuls S.A offers users the following services to immigrants, adapting their opening hours to the availability of their clients:

- Professional information and guidance.
- Basic training in trades (construction, lamp-making, welding and clothes industry machine operators).
- Knowledge of the Spanish and Catalan languages.
- Familiarity with the surroundings.
- Knowledge of job searching techniques.
- On-the-job training.
- Labour exchange.
- Referrals to other training resources for increased specialisation.

Table 5.5. Number of participants achieving and maintaining employment

Date	Number of participants	Number securing employment	Number still in work the following year
2001	71	37	22
2002	86	38	23
2003	83	40	23

on getting the client to decide on a career or job path so that they can become self-supporting. Staff noted that those with highest employability were people with work permits and professional skills. They found it easiest to find a job, and crucially, easier to hold onto a job. The emphasis of support to this group was therefore help in finding a job, or appropriate occupational training. Those who are deemed to have low employability skills – generally women with children who have no Spanish and who are socially isolated – receive social and personal development training, are taught how to read maps and manage public space, and are given language and literacy classes. Tailoring resources to the particular needs of each immigrant requires considerable capacity and resources on the part of the service providers.

The diversity of the immigrant population and the variations in the contexts of reception, mean that no one model of labour market integration can be deployed at the local level. Rather, strategies and initiatives have to be evolved that address the specificities of each local case. A number of the local initiatives studied recognise, for example, that certain groups in the population have particular problems accessing employment and that cultural

factors have to be taken account when helping migrants to access local labour markets. It was also evident that attempts had been made to adapt labour market programmes at the local level to the particular lifestyles of migrants. For example, Santa Coloma de Gramenet run training courses all year around, and adapt the hours of operation and the services provided to the needs of the user. They felt this was necessary so that people could combine language and skills acquisition, and personal development programmes with their religious, ethnic, and familial obligations and responsibilities. Women who work in the home can access such programmes at times when their partners are available to take care of children.

In fact, several of the service providers particularly targeted female migrants in their work. Women face specific issues when they come to Spain as part of the family reunification programme. As part of the programme they do not have an automatic right to a work permit and therefore cannot access employment service support in finding work. Furthermore, some women are illiterate on arrival and have no knowledge of the locality nor of the facilities and services that might be available to them. Women's status in the host country is frequently linked to their husband's status through the family reunification clause. If they wish to become independent of their husband (because of ill treatment for example), they are often forced into the informal economy to look for a job, particularly in the domestic services sector.⁸

A number of the women being supported by the CASIs in Madrid are socially isolated and need considerable interventions before they can even be considered for employment programmes. These interventions take the form of a package that focuses on developing social and personal autonomy; language learning and identifying the immigrant's existing skills. CASIs are sometimes distracted from their main function of providing for the general integration of immigrants, however, because they are required to provide emergency housing and high levels of psychological and social support to women who are victims of domestic violence. Adequate childcare is also a factor. Forty per cent of the client base of the CASI in Fuenlabrada, Madrid is made up of pregnant women or women with young children, and it can be very difficult for such women to secure sustainable employment and balance work life with domestic commitments.

The Elionor project being taken forward by the province of Barcelona has also developed a particular approach for helping migrant women, set out in their Methodological Guide for Working with Inactive Women (*Diputació de Barcelona*, 2004a). The guide emphasizes the importance of encouraging inactive women to develop a balance of skills which will allow them to develop and enhance their own capacities, abilities and attitudes; identify the characteristics and demands of the job market; build their employability, become more goal oriented and develop a job/career trajectory. As in the CASI

project, there is a focus here on empowering women in terms of their diagnostic, relational and coping skills. Meeting the range of needs of these women is seen as a crucial prior step to labour market insertion initiatives.

A second target group being taken into consideration by the ELIONOR project is that of inactive youth. Youth participation rates are particularly low in the Spanish labour market and this is a problem that also affects migrant youth. In Santa Coloma de Gramenet, for example, local practitioners expressed concerns about unemployed young immigrants, who were not being served by their programmes, and were living on the margins of Spanish society. The methodology for helping such young people developed by the Elionor project involves taking a triangulated approach focusing on the person, the job and the insertion process in the job market (*Diputació de Barcelona*, 2004b). Considerable attention is paid to analysing the job market, researching companies and identifying their needs, and encouraging companies to become involved in training programmes and job orientations. The service does not end when a job contract is secured but continues into the workplace. The local job services continue to act as mediators where difficulties arise on the job, and to liaise with the company with respect to new job opportunities and initiatives.

In another project, the *Diputació* has used an even more targeted approach to helping specific groups within the migrant population. When developing a project to support women and young people without residence permits they decided to further segment their target groups into “incidence groups”, reflecting the different barriers which are faced by specific types of individual. Participants in the programme underwent an occupational analysis of strengths, weaknesses, potentials and barriers before identifying appropriate actions to support their labour market integration.

There continue, nevertheless, to be cultural and social barriers that militate against both women and men getting involved in training programmes. All the integration programmes examined operated some selection procedures and access to mainstream services is only open to legal immigrants. Consequently, some groups of people, often very vulnerable, are excluded from existing services and risk being further marginalised.

Engaging employers and the business sector

The focus of a number of the local initiatives on employability rather than direct labour insertion partly reflects the variety of barriers which immigrants experience to the labour market and the need for both education and training, and perhaps the level of competency of local institutions. However it also reflects a wider problem that local level initiatives find it hard to identify sustainable jobs for their clients. Officials at the *Diputació de Barcelona* point out

that they have had considerable difficulty in securing sustainable jobs for migrants. As one representative of the local development company, Grameimpuls S.A commented “The problem is not getting a job; it is providing people with employability skills so they could potentially get a better job, but the market is very tight. The labour market is precarious”.

Although the labour market can be partly blamed for this situation, local initiatives in fact partly contribute to the problem by providing training in particular areas, most notably, construction, culinary skills, and domestic service, which are notable for their transient and contingent nature. The IMPEM vocational training actions being taken forward by Mataro, for example, focused on relatively vulnerable positions such as that of waiters, kitchen assistants and domestic employees. In Santa Coloma de Gramenet, the primary area of labour insertion was the construction sector. In Ciudad Lineal, Madrid the kinds of jobs that clients of the CASI are most likely to obtain are as waiters, domestic cleaning and in construction. Although it may be more likely that immigrants will find local employment in these sectors, which traditionally have a high concentration of foreign employees, these sectors also have a high proportion of temporary work, which means that immigrants frequently go in and out of employment without making a great deal of progress toward more sustainable integration or developing a defined career trajectory.

One of the key challenges facing service providers in helping migrants to access jobs is motivating the business sector to become an active partner in skills development and training programmes. Labour market insertion programmes in both Santa Coloma de Gramenet and in Mataro are constrained because of the difficulties staff face in engaging employers within the business community. Despite having a relatively broad membership, the council responsible for the development of the Mataro citizenship plan did not involve any local businesses, for example. Officials at the province of Barcelona acknowledge that taking the initiative with employers, and encouraging them to hire immigrants, is a key area that required more attention. The province has started to work to a greater extent with employers in more general sense, especially within the context of European projects. The *Diputació de Barcelona* works with one hundred and fifty technicians who act as intermediary agents between the business community and the labour market. This is an evolving strategy which has proved challenging because staff are not used to working with business, having had hitherto a primarily social orientation.

NGOs in Madrid also identified that awareness creation among employers was an important aspect of their work. Through their outreach work the NGOs are attempting to break down traditional barriers between NGOs and employers and develop a methodology for promoting corporate social responsibility. Some NGOs work with employers directly to place

immigrants in work – for example, the Red Cross (Madrid) dealt with 60 000 clients in 2004 (53% of whom were female), and succeeded in inserting 28% of those in the labour market. In general, NGOs are also becoming increasingly concerned about the quality of employment on offer to immigrants and the levels of immigrant insertion into the labour market. NGOs now raise this issue more frequently with the employers with whom they were working. Representatives suggested that companies that perform well in terms of hiring and the conditions offered to immigrants should be showcased as positive examples, however there seems to be limited action in this area to date.

Heretofore, one of the problems faced by prospective employers was the time they were required to expend processing prospective employees. The market moves quickly and the municipality needs to be able to respond accordingly. Staff at the local development company in Santa Coloma de Gramenet saw the processing of paper work as an impediment to securing jobs for their clients. It is hoped that the new centralised catalogue of “jobs that are difficult to fill” (*Catálogo de Ocupaciones de Difícil Cobertura*) may help to overcome bureaucratic barriers for prospective employers.

Promoting inter-groups relations

While work is a key mechanism of integration, in a multi-cultural society, other facets of the integration process must of necessity be addressed. The literature on immigration has long highlighted the importance of social networks in facilitating the migration process.⁹ It is through social networks that norms operate and are reproduced and maintained in the host country. Social networks also provide the circuits through which information, opinion, attitudes, goods and services flow. They are therefore crucial to the socialisation of new immigrants into the ethnic community. In the municipalities of Mataro and Santa Coloma de Gramenet service providers on the ground showed a high degree of awareness in relation to this form of social capital, and, as discussed above, have put in place a number of initiatives to further the social and cultural cohesion of immigrants locally. Mataro’s “new citizenship plan” includes the explicit recognition that addressing the indigenous population’s attitude is one face of developing positive inter-group relations and better social integration, for example.

A further focus of the local initiatives reviewed was on tackling general issues effecting urban communities that have a high percentage of immigrants. Sole and Parella argue that there are three main dimensions to the rejection of immigrants by host communities in Spain, “lack of personal safety, fear that the presence of immigrants will lead to a loss of identity and of the neighbourhood and competition for work and public resources” (Sole and Parella, 2003). Practitioners on the ground in Santa Coloma de Gramenet

found that people pay more attention to noise and neighbour issues when they can be redefined as problems created by immigrants. The changing demographic composition of the local neighbourhood means that the traditional social networks of the indigenous community are receding, and new neighbours are arriving who have unfamiliar lifestyles and do not always share the same customs. The level of diversity is also on the increase, with more than 129 nationalities present in the municipality in December 2004. Some local people experience this as an “invasion”, and social stigmatisation and social stereotyping are prevalent.

Part of the work of the local development company, Grameimpuls S.A is to counteract these negative stereotypes by actively encouraging the indigenous community and the immigrant community to work together, to avoid “ethnicising” local problems. Grameimpuls S.A is innovative in that it places an emphasis on its dual role in both teaching and learning from immigrants. They also demonstrate commitment to the local delivery of services and programmes, and to the deployment of local staff with insider knowledge of the immigrant communities they serve. These mediators or intermediaries work with municipalities and promote the programmes that are available. For example, Grameimpuls S.A has developed neighbourhood councils for conflict resolution. These provide a forum where people can talk about problems and how to resolve them. The main aim is to manage and resolve social conflicts before they develop into ethnic conflicts.

Grameimpuls S.A also engages in informal low-level surveillance to identify possible illegal activities or enterprises. Mediators are used to try and help businesses to legitimate themselves in the first instance. If that is not possible attempts are made to close them down. The initiative takes the view that immigrants must be seen to conform to social and legal norms in order to gain local acceptance.

According to local staff at Grameimpuls S.A, children of earlier generations of immigrants also have difficulties coping. There are few role models in the locality for this younger generation and there is a 40% school failure rate in the municipality. One strategy adapted is through the promotion of inter-culturalism in schools. By encouraging children to learn about the different languages, cultural and ethnic practices in the community they hope to confront social stereotypes and guard against the emergence of anti-social behaviour. Grameimpuls S.A actively support the creation of circuits for discussion and exchange in local schools. They also foster exchanges between sports clubs and families to increase mutual understanding and thus, provide mechanisms for integration.

In a similar vein, the CASI in Fuenlabrada, Madrid is re-directing its energies toward challenging the stereotypes and prejudices among the

indigenous communities that act as barriers to integration, through, for example, inviting non-immigrant neighbourhood groups to make use of the CASI facilities such as meeting rooms. The CASI in Ciudad Lineal has a major housing problem in the locality. To address this issue and also improve inter-group relations they are working on an initiative that encourages older people living alone to sublet a room in their house to an immigrant in need of housing, in return for the latter performing some domestic services. This is a transaction that is outside market relations, based more along the lines of the Time Bank scheme that has been successfully developed in socially deprived areas in British cities.¹⁰ The big challenge is developing trust between older people and new immigrants, so professionals have been assigned to mediate between both parties and to follow up and monitor arrangements. The focus of the CASIs on attitudes towards immigrants within wider society will be given added impetus by the stated goal of addressing prejudice which is likely to be incorporated explicitly into the new strategic plan currently being devised by the region of Madrid's Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.

Despite the local emphasis on social cohesion and networking however, a major concern in Spain is the absence of immigrant representatives from civil society and the third sector in initiatives being developed at the local level. Elsewhere in Europe, immigrant associations often play a useful role in representing the needs of different migrant groups, ensuring that these needs are appropriately addressed in local projects and programmes, and in some cases directly delivering training and other services to their members. Officials at the region of Madrid recognise the relative weakness of immigrant associations and have launched a tender to provide subsidies to associations that qualify. These associations lack training and experience in representing their ethnic groups, and the CAM is actively considering providing such training through its cultural mediators programme.

Greater participation by immigrant groups, particularly those who are most vulnerable in the design and delivery of public services would constitute a practical example of active citizenship involvement and offer a range of possibilities including co-production, partnership, delegation and control. The increased consultative role being offered to immigrant associations at the national level, the Mataro new citizenship plan and the ethos that underlies the Grameimpuls S.A local development company, are attempts to affirm an "active" citizenship role for Spain's immigrants. It is important that this affirmative approach, which emphasises capacity building on the part of immigrants, is diffused into civil society and across all governance levels.

Conclusions and issues for consideration

In contemporary Spain, a number of key issues confront local and national government as each adapts to the reality of increased immigration, seasonal worker flows and the presence of undocumented immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers. In March 2005, the number of immigrants stood at just over 2 million. Following regularisation, this figure will have climbed to between 2.6 and 2.7 million, which constitutes between 5.5-6% of the Spanish population.

Sharing good practice between provinces and regions

The decentralised governance arrangements in Spain create a particular context for local interventions to support the integration of immigrants. In both Barcelona and Madrid, it is clear that the regional level has benefited from the flexibility available to them to develop strong strategies for integration involving a large number of stakeholders. The replication of the integrated, cross-sectoral approach being supported at the national level has produced valuable regional strategies targeted at both immigrants and the wider indigenous population. In the province of Barcelona, the networking between municipalities facilitated and supported by the provincial government has provided a particularly useful mechanism for information sharing, pilot-project testing and good practice exchange at local government level. This network model of governance could very usefully be adopted elsewhere.

At the local level, the joined up customised services for immigrants (the CASI programme, Grameimpuls S.A and the IMPEM in Barcelona) also offer useful templates for other local areas. The CASIs in particular offer a good example of a strong, local and flexible approach that has been successfully mainstreamed so that consistent services are offered throughout the Madrid region. The compactness of these local agencies, with a dedicated cross-sector team working on the ground, allows them the flexibility that is often lacking within larger, more bureaucratised institutions. Such flexibility is supported by the relative freedom which individual CASIs are allowed in expending their budgets. This type of delivery model should be supported and extended, where possible, by national and regional government.

Decentralisation has also produced differential access to resources at the local level, however, and certain policy contradictions. There has been strong shift in national policy support towards a broader approach to integration, evidenced by the new Directorate-general for the Integration of Immigrants the Support Fund for Refugees, the acceleration of procedures for family regrouping and the Integration of Immigrants and the Strategic Plan for Citizens and Integration 2006-9. However, national immigration policy is still

frequently dealt with from an employment perspective, whereas the regional and local levels are more concerned with ensuring social integration and citizenship in order to create local social cohesion. The national emphasis on permit based employment integration, for example, prevents the decentralised branches of national institutions, such as the employment services, from providing integration support to immigrants without work permits. The 2004 regularisation allows city councils to grant residence permits to immigrants on the grounds of exceptional circumstances. However in many cases NGOs are left to fill in the gaps. There also appears to be some confusion about the role of local municipalities in dealing with labour market issues. Authorities such as Santa Coloma de Gramenet are increasingly becoming involved in employment issues as a principal mechanism for broader social integration, despite the fact that they do not have specific competencies in this area.

The initiatives reviewed as part of this study were from two autonomous regions (Catalonia and Madrid) which have placed particular emphasis on the integration of immigrants as they have a high concentration of these groups. However, if Aparicio and Tornos are correct and the immigrant population is becoming more diffuse in Spain (Aparicio and Tornos, 2003), it is important that other regions also take forward similar initiatives. A recent OECD study has found that the rapid decentralisation in Spain has been accompanied by policy fragmentation and a lack of communication and co-ordination between and across levels of government, resulting in a limited diffusion of best practice (Giorno and Joumard, 2005). The national government needs therefore to play an important role in supporting the circulation of good practice between regions in order to overcome this relative lack of information sharing. Even where best practice is known about, regions may not have the resources to implement similar initiatives. Improved funding for the provincial and regional governments, and the more generalised establishment of local ring-fenced budgets for immigrant labour market and integration programmes, would make it possible for the good practice identified in the case study regions to be adopted elsewhere. The targeting of a significant percentage of funding for the new integration strategy to regional and local level actors will be of considerable help in this process.

Building local capacities

It is evident that some local projects succeed because there is a key local actor in place who can build local relationships in addition to having political leverage. Such “social entrepreneurs” can be valuable in raising the profile of immigration issues and building trust with other local stakeholders, including employers. Dependency on such individuals can make local projects vulnerable in the long-term however, and can also make service provision

paternalistic in character. Capacity building would be beneficial to help local projects to develop more robust mechanisms of service delivery for the longer term.

Moving from employability to longer term employment

In addition, despite the good practice which is evident in the case study regions, a number of problems remain in the approach to the labour market integration at the local level. Local initiatives often have problems getting immigrants into permanent jobs and there is a certain level of circularity with immigrants coming in and out of training programmes as they find temporary and unsustainable employment. These problems reflect a national level paradox in that the concept of integration being given priority by the new Spanish government (which implies equalisation of rights and responsibilities with the Spanish citizenry) is modelled on a traditional industrial economic model where immigrants can access relatively well paid, unionised, secure employment in traditional manufacturing and service sectors. This in turn would provide them with the wherewithal to put down roots in a community and to become socially as well as economically integrated. However, increasingly, one of the demands of the post-industrial economy is for labour power that is service oriented, flexible, mobile and relatively cheap.¹¹ Hence, there is a demand for an immigrant workforce that can be hired on short-term contracts. In such a scenario, a “good job” becomes more elusive and the experience of work (particularly for immigrants) becomes more transient and contingent.

There is, however, scope for local level actors in Spain to better adapt their programmes to help immigrants avoid the traps of low paid temporary employment. The current emphasis is on short term employability skills and the possibility of creating career paths or job trajectories that might lead to social mobility and greater access to more secure employment is not frequently explored, despite the fact that many immigrants who possess educational credentials are currently under-employed in unskilled jobs. The case studies revealed relatively few initiatives that specifically targeted such immigrants or that offered higher end skills training. There seems to be considerable scope to develop skills based programmes that target more highly skilled immigrants at the local level and support their onward progression in the labour market. The recognition of existing skills is also a matter of concern, and qualifications obtained in other jurisdictions are not readily acknowledged in Spain as is the case in many OECD countries. INEM should continue to work closely with the trade unions and employers associations to devise policies and programmes that will address the ethno-stratification of the workplace and improve employment conditions and

training opportunities for those in the low skilled occupations which are still so essential to the Spanish economy.

At the other end of the scale, it is clear that some migrants are still excluded from local level initiatives. Barriers remain in terms of access to labour market insertion programmes (particularly where work permits are required for access) and the fact that local integration programmes operate some selection procedures means that they can be out of reach for the most vulnerable. There is a risk in the longer term that this may result in greater marginalisation for some groups of immigrants and related problems of disaffection. Local level actors need to ensure that such groups are brought into programmes as far as possible and are better addressed through mainstream provision, including providing outreach services to specific communities where necessary.

Involving wider stakeholders

There is a clear attempt by officials at the regional and local levels to involve a wide range of different stakeholders in the integration of immigrants. However it is clear that there is still some way to go in effectively engaging the business sector in integration issues in Spain (Sole and Parella, 2003). The newly constituted Council for the Promotion of Equal Opportunities and the Non Discrimination of Persons due to their Racial or Ethnic Origin should go some way toward encouraging good practice amongst businesses in the employment of immigrants and ethnic minorities, whilst also ameliorating the situation of immigrants who have been discriminated against. But the success of this council will depend on raising awareness of its existence and being seen to process cases both with sensitivity and efficacy.

It is important that the new council works in partnership with the Forum for the Social Integration of Immigrants, the trade unions and NGOs to pursue actively an anti-discrimination agenda and affirm the rights and responsibilities of Spain's immigrants. The council is at an early stage of development and needs to promote its national visibility and assure potential clients of its independence from government. It is recommended that the council adopt a multi-level communications strategy in terms of information dissemination, education on the rights and responsibilities of employers and employees, and the promotion of greater inter-cultural understanding in the workplace. Such a strategy should include actively demonstrating the economic contribution of immigrants to Spanish society, and show-piecing the success stories of immigrant entrepreneurs. This would help to counter-balance negative stereotypes in the media of the immigrant population. The council could also set up an advisory panel to actively engage employers and the business sector (both indigenous and immigrant) in promoting the rights and well being of workers.

It is also clear that much of the work done to help integrate immigrants at the local level in Spain is carried out by NGOs whose resources are limited. They rely to a great extent on volunteerism, private donation and European grants such as EQUAL in addition to funds from the central administration. NGOs in Spain provide professional services to a range of immigrant client groups, and would benefit from having a more secure funding basis. European grants in particular are less likely to be available in the future given the needs of new member states of the EU. The government could provide a lead in this area by establishing an NGO network perhaps as a sub-group of the Forum for the Social Integration of Immigrants, making funding on a multi-annual basis for inter-cultural and cross-sectoral initiatives that are oriented toward the integration of immigrants and the mainstreaming of immigrant services in Spanish society.

Tackling the informal economy

Service providers in both Barcelona and Madrid emphasize the need to keep up the pressure in tackling the informal economy. Despite the recent regularisation programme, there are fears that the existence of this economy had become tacitly accepted by the authorities, because workers in the informal sector are prepared to do jobs that no one else will do. Concerns were expressed by a representative of an immigrant group in Mataro, Barcelona, for example, that “the law is made to deflect people from pursuing their rights and to allow a blind eye for the black economy. It is easy to get benefit out of people in informal economy, they are easy to manipulate and exploit”. The regularisation programme is viewed positively at the local level as an important mechanism for moving people out of the informal economy and into more formally regulated employment. However, the current scheme is only a temporary regularisation, and most service providers did not believe that this will signal an end to informal economic activity in the medium to long term. While it may become residualised, it will not disappear. It is likely therefore that service providers on the ground will continue to deal with undocumented immigrants for the foreseeable future, and that there will be an ongoing reliance on NGOs to support the undocumented migrants who do not fall under the remit of government offices and mainstream employment services.

Supporting the wider participation of immigrants in society

Local initiatives in Spain appear to be particularly aware of the wide variety of factors which contribute to social inclusion and integration for migrant groups. The citizenship plan in Mataro, the neighbourhood mediation activities of Santa Coloma and the Lleida programme of community activities for temporary workers all show an appreciation of the fact that integration in

the wider sense “implies a process of mutual acceptance and adaptation of cultural features that are exchanged on the basis of equality” (Sole and Parella, 2003). Inter-cultural initiatives such as those in place in the communities of Santa Coloma de Gramenet and Mataro offer examples of local practice in this area; however local practitioners believe that inter-cultural mediations need to become an integral part of all services provided to immigrants. This means more than just language translation but also training in conflict resolution and an openness to the transformation and adaptation of programmes to the cultural values and norms of immigrants.

Despite this, it must be noted that the prospect of full integration of Spain’s immigrants in terms of their capacity to enjoy the full range of rights and responsibilities available to Spanish citizens is still some way off. For example, the right to vote, even at local level, has not been seriously considered, although this right is available to non EU immigrants in other EU member states. A task force should be established under the auspices of the national government, drawing on the expertise of the new Council for Equal Treatment and the Forum for the Social Integration of Immigrants to examine mechanisms for strengthening immigrant political participation and civic engagement. As part of its remit, this task force should work cross-sectorally, and explore, for example, the impact of local initiatives such as the new citizenship plan in Mataro in devising national strategy. This task force could also feed into other governance institutions and bodies concerned more generally with political practice and associational life in Spain.

In the course of this study it also seemed apparent that the state and its agents are *providing for* immigrants, rather than immigrant groups and communities being active agents in articulating their needs and drawing down resources for themselves. This may be a consequence of a number of factors including the “newness” of mass immigration into Spain, and the low level of organisation of immigrant communities. It is possible that ethnic leaders and role models will emerge in the years ahead. In the meantime there is scope for a tailored programme aimed at the training and development of immigrant associations so that they are enabled to participate more fully in civil society and in the social partnership structures of local and national government. The NGOs could play a useful role here by devising appropriate training and development programmes, and mentoring newly formed immigrant associations.

Successful efforts to involve communities in their own governance are generally tailored to local circumstances and usually involve an empowering element. Successful involvement is predicated on sharing power and responsibility and on trust. Immigrant communities, individuals and groups can only progress in Spanish society if they can articulate their interests, and if they can develop the capacity to address them in partnership with host

society agencies and institutions. Indeed, greater participation by immigrant groups in the design and delivery of public and social services would constitute a practical example of active citizenship involvement and offer a range of possibilities including co-production, partnership, delegation and control.

Notes

1. Sole and Parella (2003) point out that immigrants are clustered at the lowest level of the occupation structure. They refer to this process as the ethno-stratification of the job market. Furthermore, according to Cachon (1997) sectors with high concentration of immigrants offer the lowest employment conditions in terms of human capital, labour relations, working conditions and wage levels.
2. Figures provided by INEM April 2005.
3. The inspectorate will not have jurisdiction over domestic employment, which means that workers in this sector will remain vulnerable to exploitation.
4. Organic Law 14/2003, dated 20 November 2004.
5. Section 2 of Title II of Law 62/2003 dated 30 December.
6. Blakeley (2001), for example, suggests that civil society in Spain is characterised by low levels of associational life and a “particularistic” political culture.
7. The GRECO plan introduced by the previous government was abandoned when the socialist government came to power in 2004.
8. This point was made by a representative of an immigrant women’s group in Mataro, Barcelona. The increasing employment of women in the domestic economy throughout Europe is highlighted by Cancedda (2001).
9. See for example Yucel (1987).
10. The Time Bank is a scheme which converts the hours that people spend with their community voluntarily helping each other into a type of tradable currency.
11. There is of course a parallel demand for highly skilled workers in sectors such as finance, law and technology but crucially, these highly paid workers rely on a whole host of goods and services that are generally provided by low income, immigrant groups. See Sassen (1998).

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