

Doctorate Dissertation

Inter-Ethnic Experiences of Polish Immigrants in South-Western European  
Neighborhoods. Comparing Sagrada Família, Barcelona, and Empuriabrava,  
Castelló d'Empúries

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*To Kasia*

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## **Introduction**

This dissertation presents the main results from a comparative study focused on the inter-ethnic experiences of Polish immigrants in two different Mediterranean neighborhoods: one located in a large city and another one placed in a small town. In particular, the research project upon which this dissertation is based is centered on the Sagrada Familia neighborhood of Barcelona (capital of Catalonia and the second largest city in Spain), and Empuriabrava neighborhood of Castelló d'Empúries (a small town in Alt Empordà county, Girona province). This dissertation has been developed within the framework of two international comparative research projects: “Concordia Discors. Integration and conflict in European neighbourhoods” funded by the European Commission, and “Immigrants’ integration and the role of a diversity of organizations in achieving sustainable small towns and rural areas” funded by the Spanish Ministry for Research and Innovation. Therefore, this dissertation has a twofold link to the abovementioned research projects, it either draws ideas from the general lines of the projects as well as adds to their developments.

The economic migrations, brain-drain phenomenon, forced migrations, troop’s movements and territorial borders shifts constitute the main reasons of why currently about one third of all people with Polish origin live outside the contemporary Polish borders (Curren-Briggs, 1982; Mach, 2005; Pacyga, 2004; Pieslak, 2009; Olędzka, 2007). As the following chapter indicates, the migratory processes have been present in the history of Polish society for centuries. The phenomenon of Polish migration has also been significantly influential on research developments in social sciences, including the most memorable footprint made by Thomas and Znaniecki (1918-1920) investigating the ‘Polish peasant’ in America.

Nevertheless, the economic and brain-drain migration were empowered in the last fifteen years by the difficult economic situation on the Polish labor market at the turn of the century, and the 2004 enlargement of the European Union followed by the opening of several European labor markets to Polish citizens. This phenomena also affected Polish migration to Spain. This country, which had been previously considered a minor-importance destination for Polish seasonal workers in agriculture and construction, became a medium or long term settlement objective for highly-skilled migrants too. This new Polish immigration took place in various Spanish localities, including a metropolis like Barcelona (Burrell, 2009; Kłos, 2006; “Lectura”, 2011; Observatorio Permanente De La Inmigración [OPI], 1996; OPI, 1997;

OPI, 1998; OPI, 1999; OPI, 2000; OPI, 2001; OPI, 2002; OPI, 2003; OPI, 2004; OPI, 2005; OPI, 2006; OPI, 2007; OPI, 2008).

In order to better understand the context in which this dissertation has been carried out, it is relevant to note that I myself form part of the post-2004 education-driven Polish emigration within the European Union. While taking part in a student exchange program at the Autonomous University of Barcelona I was given an opportunity to observe not only an increase of the Polish presence in Barcelona, but also to observe the inter-ethnic experiences of Polish immigrants living there. On the other hand, also for me, it was Barcelona where I primarily came across the ethnic diversity in a sense of long period experiences related to residence, work, study and other everyday's activities. As a person who, at that time, was completing a graduate degree in Sociology, I became involved in the issue from a scientific point of view. In this sense, I later undertook some additional graduate courses related to migration processes and inter-ethnic relations both in Spain and in Poland. Finally, an idea to carry out a research project devoted to the Polish immigration in Catalonia was brought to life. A project proposal based on that issue was kindly admitted by the dissertation co-directors and by the Geography Department of the Autonomous University of Barcelona. The main results of that study are presented in these pages.

Building on the statistical and historical data presented in the following chapters, it can be assumed that the post-migration settlement process is for many of the post-2004 Polish migrants, the first time they live and work within an ethnically diverse environment. As the current population censuses show, the territories of contemporary Poland, after centuries of being considered ethnically diverse, today hosts a relatively homogeneous society in ethnic terms, especially when compared to countries like Spain. Historical processes that will be described in posterior sections of this dissertation and a low current immigration rate explain that relatively low diversity. These are also principal reasons why surveys (e.g. Ośrodek Badania Opinii Publicznej [OBOP], 2008) show that less than one fifth of Polish people living in Poland have often or everyday contact with foreigners and only about half of those Polish residents have ever met a foreigner in their life.

In contrast to today's Poland, Catalan society, besides of the native Catalan and Spanish residents, is composed by a variety of ethnicities. At the beginning of year 2012, the registered foreign population in Catalonia was 1.186.779 people and constituted over 15% of the Catalan society (Instituto Nacional de Estadística [INE], 2012). The largest foreign groups are from Latin America, Africa, European Union and Asia, and the most represented nationalities are: Moroccans, Romanians, Ecuadorians, Bolivians, Chinese and Italians (INE,

2012). Migration is the main reason why there is ethnic heterogeneity in the Catalan society. The most significant migration waves took place between the fifties and seventies of the XX<sup>th</sup> century (Spanish internal migration), in the 1990s, and in the early part of the XXI<sup>st</sup> century due to the arrival of foreign immigrants.

These features of the contemporary Polish and Catalan territories constitute a potentially influencing social context for the individual immigrants' perspective on ethnic diversity at the destination, their interactions with other ethnicities (either natives or immigrants), and opinions on inter-ethnic experiences. The principal theories related to the contemporary research in inter-ethnic relations focus on various outcomes of inter-ethnic encounters as conditioned by various external factors. This dissertation, acknowledging contemporary scholarship and drawing on the theoretical frameworks of the Concordia Discors research project (Bergamaschi, 2012; Bergamaschi & Ponzo, 2011; Pastore & Ponzo, 2013), follows among others, the so-called Contact Theory (Allport, 1954) that treat an increased intergroup contact as a factor decreasing negative attitudes and increasing cooperation, while at the same time it takes into serious consideration several constraints imposed to this pattern. The latter are often related to Conflict Theories (Blumer, 1958) that assume that increased out-group presence would trigger negative opinions based on materialistic conflict, or Social-Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1982) that claim the emergence of symbolic conflict based on a need of exclusive treatment of in-group. According to contemporary research that will be tackled in the subsequent chapters, it is especially in times of economic recession and growing labor market competition that the increased inter-group contact might lead to negative inter-group attitudes and behaviors, instead of easing common understanding. Additionally, recent studies quoted in following sections (e.g. Lanceen & Dronkers, 2011; Pettigrew, Wagner & Christ, 2010) indicate a multiplicity of factors that are influential on the inter-ethnic interactions outcome and, therefore, postulate taking into account a multi-approach perspective in the analysis.

While recent studies combine several of the existing theories and look for explanations of inter-ethnic relations, there is also another relevant trend. In particular, for some authors, the focus should be shifted to the neighborhoods level as the lowest administrative tier where one can study interactions (e.g. Fonseca et al., 2012; Wilson, 2011). Obviously, it has to be underlined that neighborhoods were frequently considered in the research of inter-ethnic relations (e.g. Bergamaschi & Ponzo, 2011; Ley, 1974, Peach, 1975). However, the most significant studies at this sub-municipal level have been done in the United States, and often adapted a perspective of segregation while analyzing the neighborhood level . On the other

hand, a number of contemporary European academic literature has been mainly focused on large cities (e.g. Callens, Valentová, & Meuleman, 2013). There is no doubt that both of these perspectives brought a vast knowledge and background for current research.

In the case of this dissertation, however, instead of segregation the focus is rather on *superdiverse* environments located within a particular territorial concept of neighborhood (Vertovec, 2007). Therefore, apart from the ethnical diversity, there are also various types of public space users (e.g. residents, commuters, tourists), various economic statuses, different patterns of participation, etc. While each and every of these diversities tell its own fascinating story, for this dissertation the focal point will be their inter-section within the context of inter-ethnic relations. From still another perspective, the areas of low population density where migration influxes and integration processes take place have recently been studied by an increasing number of researchers (e.g. Hugo, Morén-Alegret, 2008; Kasimis, 2009; Morén-Alegret, 2005b; Morén-Alegret, 2008). Interestingly, while these are often analyzed as small towns, villages or rural areas, some of them also have sub-municipal administrative division, (i.e. neighborhoods). Thus, this interesting perspective of analysis, especially in contrast to large city's neighborhood, has been applied in this dissertation.

Nevertheless, the neighborhood does not constitute here solely a territorial or statistical background for the analysis. Although a human-built environment does not determine exactly how people interact with each other, it still can expand or reduce the range of possible interactions. Furthermore, the built environment is rarely thought as a means of communication, but it may have a quite similar role. The environment is a factor that has an impact on who communicates with whom and it can even influence the content of the statement (Lofland, 1998). This kind of interplay between human senses and external environment has been also highlighted by Yi-Fu Tuan (1977) who related that to the concept of experience. Following these perspectives, this dissertation focuses not only exclusively on inter-ethnic interactions, but embraces a wider idea of spatial experience. Thus, it considers a human-built environment in a twofold way. Firstly, as urban-fabric that could influence on possibilities of interactions, like in the case of the study carried out by "Gill and Bialski (2011) that even talk about the "tyranny of micro-geography" (p. 246) in referring to the impact that immediate neighbourhoods have on Polish immigrants of low socio-economic status when it comes to forming and accessing social networks" (Wladyka & Morén-Alegret, 2013, Introduction section, para.2). Secondly, although humans often are not aware of sense of place, "it appears persistently in everyday expressions" (Pascual-de-Sans, 2004, p. 348-349), thus the features of particular places might carry features of ethnic diversity (e.g.

commercial establishments with ethnically-stylized signboards) and therefore influence on the individual's perception of a group's presence.

The interviews with Polish immigrants and native and immigrant key informants as well as statistical and documental sources have been used in the following chapters in order to introduce the inter-ethnic experiences of Polish immigrants. Additionally, these experiences will be related to the opinions on other groups and to (multi)ethnicity as a context of everyday life. The analysis of the gathered data, while performed with the above mentioned spatial features in mind, also embrace issues like everyday life patterns, stage of life and social and economic factors that have been underlined in other researches elsewhere (e.g. , Callens et al., 2013; Lopez-Rodriguez, 2010; Pardos-Prado, 2011; Ryan, 2011).

Concretely, the first chapter of this dissertation introduces the phenomena of Polish migratory flows in a historical perspective with special consideration of a post-communist transition period and the European Union enlargement. Furthermore, some features of ethnic composition in contemporary Polish society are provided as a background. Finally, contemporary Polish immigration in Catalonia is introduced in the context of Catalan ethnic diversity.

The second chapter introduces theoretical approaches of inter-ethnic interactions based on previous research carried out worldwide. Special consideration is given to Contact, Conflict and Social Identity Theories as well as the most recent multi-approach developments. Additionally, some relevant examples of contemporary research that involve Polish immigrants has been included in that chapter too.

The third chapter explains the methodological premises of the research, focusing on the research questions, research design, contextual description of researched locations, and, at last but not least, introducing research participants.

The fourth chapter offers a picture of perceptions in the researched neighborhoods taken from the standpoint of interviewees and subsequently contrasted with various data (statistical, documental, etc.) that has been accessed during ethnographic fieldwork. This chapter introduces contemporary characteristics of the researched neighborhoods as a context for the following analysis of inter-ethnic experiences.

The fifth chapter introduces the analysis of spatial and social features of inter-ethnic experiences of the interviewed Polish immigrants. Furthermore, the detailed analysis of opinions among various groups is presented. Additionally, the intra-group Polish interactions and natives' perspective on the Polish immigrants have also been considered in this chapter. The patterns observed are contrasted with theoretical approaches and other research tackled in previous chapters, as well as some additional sources. Both researched neighborhoods are analyzed separately, but comparative remarks are presented at the end of the chapter and in the concluding section of the dissertation.

In the sixth chapter, the main conclusions of the study are presented from a comparative perspective. Additionally, it offers several questions for further discussion.

## CHAPTER I – MIGRATORY AND ETHNIC CONTEXT OF THE STUDY<sup>1</sup>

### 1.1. The Historical Context of Polish Migrations

In Polish Academia, as well as for the Polish authorities and mass media, the body of people that acknowledge their Polish descent and live abroad (although not necessarily born in Poland, neither having Polish passport nor even actively speaking Polish language) is called ‘Polonia’ from latin denomination of Poland. In the same time in the English language publications and in the English translations of the names derived from Polish Academia the same phenomena is most commonly called *Polish Diaspora*.<sup>2</sup> According to Walaszek (2003), the denomination ‘Polonia’ was used for the first time in the United States in 1875 and twenty years later in Poland for the description of the imagined community of Polish immigrants. The ‘Polska Diaspora’ (Polish equivalent of *Polish Diaspora*) was used for the first time in the 1971. It’s meaning, apart of the Cohen’s (1997) general traits of diaspora (e.g. shared memories, idealized conceptions of home and solidarity within group), highlights the presence of “victims”, “fighters”, and “workers” (Kapralaska, 2004; Walaszek 2001). It is noteworthy that the ‘Polonia’ and *Polish Diaspora* denominations may have various significances. While for most of the use it is a general term that does not assume any individual’s involvement in the activities of the Polish communities abroad, in some particular cases it would be used in more utilitarian perspective of social movement (or often as a call for it), as described by Florian Znaniecki: „This part of Polish society [which lives overseas] must not be totally separated from our society, it should live and develop ties with the homeland’s life. Various cultural-economic ties must be established with Poles living abroad, and, in turn, they should help to develop Poland.” (as cited in Walaszek, 2003, p. 2 - 3). The following pages of the dissertation explain also ethnic diversity of Polish territories, therefore it should be highlighted that members of Polish historical ethnic minorities that live abroad are often not considered as a part of the phenomena of *Polish Diaspora* (e.g. Pacyga, 2004). On the other hand, research on contemporary Polish migratory processes overwhelmingly uses the terms ‘migrants’ and/or ‘immigrants’. Therefore, hereafter the term *Polish Diaspora* will be used only with goal of historical contextualization when it is consistent with the sources, but contemporary migratory flows will follow the terminology of the recent research.

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<sup>1</sup> The preliminary versions of fragments of this chapter have been included in Wladyka (2009) post-conference publication that has been developed within the framework of this dissertation.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g.: [http://www.msz.gov.pl/en/foreign\\_policy/polish\\_diaspora/](http://www.msz.gov.pl/en/foreign_policy/polish_diaspora/) ; [http://pau.krakow.pl/zaproszenia/zaproszenie\\_2526062010.pdf](http://pau.krakow.pl/zaproszenia/zaproszenie_2526062010.pdf) ; [http://www.iaispluj.edu.pl/en\\_GB/start](http://www.iaispluj.edu.pl/en_GB/start).



At the beginning of the XXIst century, between 15 and 20 million people that live in over 90 countries around the world is considered as belonging to *Polish Diaspora (Polonia)*. (Pacyga, 2004; „Polish Diaspora”, n.d.; Sawicki, 2009). This number is equal to about fifty percent of the current population of Poland. Accordingly, ‘Polonia’ represents one of the largest diasporas around the world (see Groves, 2013; Olędzka, 2007; Pacyga, 2004; Pieslak, 2009). Economic migrations, forced migrations, or troop’s movement have not been the only reasons of such an elevated number of people belonging to *Polish Diaspora*. The changes of borders and the lost of oriental territories where there are significant Polish minorities living also contribute to create this situation (see Curren-Briggs, 1982; Kapralska, 2004; Pacyga, 2004; Mach, 2005; Olędzka, 2007; Pieslak, 2009; Walaszek 2003). On the other hand, some significant features of the post-2004 migrants are their particular age-span and their education level. For instance, according to various researches and statistics from the United Kingdom and Ireland, the post-2004 migrants are visibly younger than those who left Poland in previous years. On the other hand, those young migrants are mostly well educated what increase the “brain drain” phenomenon. Even in Spain, that was traditionally perceived as the destination for migrants working in agriculture and construction sectors, the increase of highly trained Polish migrants is visible in metropolis like Barcelona (Burrell, 2009; Kłos, 2006; “Lectura”, 2011; OPI, 1996; OPI, 1997; OPI, 1998; OPI, 1999; OPI, 2000; OPI, 2001; OPI, 2002; OPI, 2003; OPI, 2004; OPI, 2005; OPI, 2006; OPI, 2007; OPI, 2008).

The statistical data on *Polish Diaspora* worldwide is mostly recollected by Polish organizations based on e.g. national censuses (see Groves, 2013; Pacyga, 2004; Olędzka 2007; Pieslak, 2009). Following this data, the largest *Polish Diaspora* live in the United States of America (US) and includes about 10 million people what constitutes around 3% of American population. In Germany this number reaches 1.5 million people. According to diverse sources, the *Polish Diaspora* in Brazil is estimated between 800.000 and 2-3 million. In France and Canada the estimates go upwards of around one million. Great Britain, apart of the previous immigration related mainly to second World War, is an example of more recent immigration. The statistics about *Polish Diaspora* in this country vary between official numbers of 300.000-500.000 people and estimates that assume a number of 2 million.

Some basic facts of the history of Polish migrations must be presented in order to understand the variety destinations and size of *Polish Diaspora*. The history has an impact on contemporary movements and is reflected in the willingness to migrate abroad. According to Eurobarometer research from 2006, it is estimated that the Polish citizens are the most willing

to migrate among all the European Union countries. 52% of Polish interviewees positively responded to the possibility of emigration in the case of job loss. This result significantly exceeds the European average of 38%. This kind of readiness to migrate has its roots and effects in the world's dispersion of *Polish Diaspora* and historical and contemporary migration processes of this nation (Maruszewska, 2007).

### ***1.1.1. XVII – XIX Centuries: Looking for Work and Fleeing to Overseas***

The first travelers, priests, traders and representatives of Polish diplomacy, travelled throughout Europe in medieval ages and also approached Spanish territories. In the early seventeenth century the first Polish settlers landed in America, and hired by the famous captain John Smith collaborated on the development of the colony of Jamestown. The captain had known the Polish when they had fought under the command of Prince Zygmunt Batory, nephew of the King of Poland, against the Turks. From this time on John Smith thought of the Polish artisans as serious, reliable and good craftsmen (Orli, 2008; Pula, 2008). It is also noteworthy, that according to some historical sources the Polish craftsmen in Jamestown were also the authors of first and successful strike action in the United States provoked by the discrimination based on ethnical reasons.<sup>3</sup> The positive opinions about Polish workers' skills are also echoed in comments, research and newspaper articles about members of the later Polish migration waves (Wierzewski, 2007). In this sense, it is worth quoting the work of Anne Green, David Owen and Paul Jones (2007), British geographers who have carried out research on the latest wave of Polish immigration in England, who show that the good opinion about Polish workers in England lead some immigrants from new EU-countries to pretend to be of Polish origin (p. 147).

### ***1.1.2. Loss of Independence***

A significant number of Polish migration waves began in the time of the partition of Poland. The political emigration appeared after the loss of independence. The division of Poland between its neighbors and the disappearance of the country from the political map of Europe in 1795 were sufficient factors to launch a migration wave that had never been seen

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<sup>3</sup> The discussion about Polish involvement in the construction of the Jamestown colony can be traced in the historical publications, including scholarly journals (e.g. Grizzard, 2007; Orli, 2008; Perlmutter, 1999; Pula, 2008; Wiewiora, 1976) and publications issued by Polish organizations and media in the US and Poland (e.g. Holshouser, Brylinska-Padney & Kielbasa 2007; "The First Polish", n.d.; "Świat zawdzięcza", 2011 ; "400<sup>th</sup> Anniversary", n.d.). It is worth consideration that in the recent years the Polish engagement has been also recognized by local authorities (see: "Jamestown Poles", 2012).

neither in Poland nor throughout Eastern Europe. Poland also became the country with the oldest tradition of migration in this region of Europe. The repressions caused by the insurrections were another cause of displacement. In the case of the failure of the November Uprising (1830 - 1831), a significant percentage of the immigrants were part of the political and cultural elite. The main destinations were France, Britain, Belgium and the United States. The next wave came after the fall of the January Uprising (1864) and incorporated a lot of people from the intelligentsia, scientists, teachers, engineers and doctors. Thousands of men were sent to Siberia to work in order to coerce people's obedience towards foreign rulers (Kapralaska, 2004; Pacyga, 2004; Sakson, 2004; Kaźmierkiewicz, 2009). The Polish presence is also spotted in the first half of the nineteenth century in Spanish lands, especially in the military which took part in the War of 1808-1814 and the First Carlist War (Stanek and Sobczak, 2008).

### ***1.1.3. Brazilian Fever and the Polish Peasant in America***

Since the late eighteenth century, emigration from Poland has not almost stopped for a moment. What has been changing are the reasons for migration, the kind of social groups that migrate or the destinations and numbers of migrants. In the second half of the nineteenth century, labor migration to Germany, USA, Brazil, Argentina and elsewhere began to take place. In the late nineteenth century, the flux of Polish peasants and workers migration was still increasing. A good example is the "Brazilian fever", which in Polish migratory researches means a mass movement in the nineties of the nineteenth century to Brazil. In fact, the final migratory destinations of Polish immigrants to South America were more diverse. The participation of Poles in the great migration in Europe in the nineteenth century was driven by many factors, of which overpopulation and the desire to maintain their identity and culture stood out. The later, although sounds like a paradox, was caused by the processes of Germanization and Russification of Polish people on the dependant territories. Those processes established itself as push factors for dozens of years in the history of emigration of Polish people. Another influencing factor was the influence of travel offices from Hamburg and Bremen that agitated very intensively in the territory of Poland. These offices send advertisements-purpose letters to the people who lived in territory of Little Poland. The letters included information that aimed to present the destinations, including Argentina, in a very attractive way. These letters were sources of information and became a sort of "pull" factors for potential immigrants. And these factors were: a very cheap land, free hunts and exemption from taxes. Indeed, thanks to this propaganda thousands of people went to Argentina in the

hope of a better future (Klarner, 1975, Sikora, 2006, Malczewski 2007). Statistics show that between 1860 and 1914, 10 million Poles emigrated, of which 3.6 million permanently. A timely and important destination from the point of view of maintaining Polish culture was the United States, where there were between 1.2 and 1.8 million Poles between the years 1899 to 1932. Florian Znaniecki and William Thomas (1918 – 1920) were investigating back then the so-called ‘Polish peasant’ immigrants in America, what constituted the basis for future immigration research and social sciences in general (Pacyga, 2004).

#### ***1.1.4. Twentieth Century: War, Communist Regime and Migration***

During the interwar period, labor migration continued. In France, the main destination, the mass migration of Polish people approached the figure of 600,000. In total during this period between 1.2 and 2 million people migrated (Pacyga, 2004; Sakson, 2004). Between 1936 - 1939 some 4,000 Polish citizens fought in the Civil War in Spain, most of whom supported the Republican forces (Stanek & Sobczak, 2008).

With World War II, forced migration began. Prisoners of war were transported to Germany and Russia. Additionally, many men fled the country to join the Polish military units in France and Britain (Sakson, 2004). There was even a route through Spain that soldiers and Polish refugees crossed to get from occupied Europe to Britain. Many of them were incarcerated in prisons and concentration camps in Spain. Historians estimate that almost 2,000 people of Polish origin passed through the Miranda de Ebro camp, but it is difficult to calculate the exact number. After the war, dozens of them decided to stay in Spain. People who came during or just after the war to Spain created a small Polish community that was very well organized. Another event that should be emphasized was the arrival of a group of 150 young students, fellows of Catholic Project for University Assistance and mostly ex-soldiers of the Polish Armed Forces in the West, which had a major impact on the development of the activity of Polish community in Spain. Those who remained in Spain became the heart of the Polish diaspora in Spain and also strengthened the intellectual elite of Spanish society (Stanek & Sobczak, 2008). Another important fact is the arrival in Barcelona and the stay there from 1946 to 1956 of over one hundred Polish children, especially those stolen by the Nazis as the result of the "Lebensborn" program. They were protected by the International Red Cross, the Polish Honorary Consulate in Barcelona and the people associated with these institutions. After their stay, education and often after work, a lot of them moved from Catalonia to several destinations: United States, Great Britain, Italy, Poland

(Barbería, 2008; Pernal, 2008). According to the population census of 1950, 258 people of Polish origin were known to reside in Spain (Stanek & Sobczak, 2008).

#### ***1.1.5. To Flee or to Live under the Communist Regime***

In the postwar period the return of migrants, mostly soldiers, took place; however, not all refugees were eager to return to a country that was in the hands of communists. Therefore, many migrated to Britain, United States, Australia and New Zealand. After a short period of time, Poland, as part of the communist bloc, introduced a ban on international migration that lasted 25 years (Okólski, 2009). Despite this fact, people could not stand living under the totalitarian regime and in many cases fled the country taking advantage of a law allowing families rejoining, especially based on international treaties with Germany. The mass emigration of Jews between the years 1968 – 1969 is also very important from the social and cultural point of view (Sakson, 2004). Since 1974, at the time of Edward Gierek's government, there was an opportunity to leave the country for short stays, family visits, scholarship, etc. Thereafter, there was a mass exodus of Poles to developed countries. Some were visiting relatives in the United States, other informally emigrated to Western Europe, where they requested political asylum.

Although one could distinguish two groups, first those that migrated to America and those that migrated to European countries, it turned out that at the end of the trip the overwhelming majority modified their migration project and settled in the United States. The same happened with migrants that at first choose migration to Spain. The popularity of this destination increased after the death of General Franco, in form of business or scientific contacts or tourist travel between Spain and Poland. Nevertheless, between 1000 and 1500 Polish immigrants left from Spain to the United States and other overseas countries until 1989 (Stanek & Sobczak, 2008).

#### ***1.1.6. The Promised Land: The United States of America***

There were several “pull” factors in the case of the United States. The Polish community in America was quite large and could support new migrants and even influence American politicians. There were no major problems with employment and further laws were so liberal that it was possible to come from Poland or Europe on a tourist visa, have it expired and get a job. Furthermore, the currency exchange in the 1980s was so lucrative that returning immigrants became rich people in Poland. Also in the eighties new push factors that gave

additional impetus to leave the country appeared: the economic crisis linked to policy gridlock and the simplification of emigration process. The introduction of martial law in Poland still increased permanent migration, especially to the United States. The estimated number of emigrants from Poland between 1945 and 1990 is 1.2 million people, but in reality this number could be much higher (Każmierkiewicz, 2009; Pacyga, 2004; Sakson, 2004).

#### ***1.1.7. Incomplete Migration***

An interesting phenomenon which took place is that many people who migrated in the eighties of the twentieth century to West European countries did so in a circular way. They migrated, then migrated again. This phenomenon continued in the nineties and during, at least, the first four years of this century. Marek Okólski (2001) named the phenomenon “the incomplete migration”. This type of migration characteristic for of Central and Eastern European countries involved mainly unskilled workers from rural areas and small towns. The main reason for this migration are high wages abroad and the possibility of spending the money that is left in the country of origin, where the cost of living is much lower. What is linked to this type of migration is the lack of family support abroad and being liable to illegal work in precarious conditions. Nevertheless, the flaws seemed not to overshadow the pull factors. From a standpoint of the labor market this migration complements the needs of the country of destination. From the standpoint of the migrant it is relatively easy, given that the stay does not exceed a period of three months which before Poland's accession to the European Union was the period allowed to stay in the territory of the Western Europe countries (Okólski, 2001; Okólski, 2009). This particular type of migration could also be seen in the case of Polish migration to Spain, although a number of people refused to go back and decided to stay, increasing the Polish diaspora in this country. So between those who took advantage of the arrival in Spain before heading out to the Americas and those who migrated for short periods of time there was a space for those who chose Spain as a country to reside in the longer term. Thus the number of Polish immigrants in Spain grew gradually. The sociologist Maria Dolores Arnal estimated that in the early 1990s there were 7,500 Poles in Spain (Stanek & Sobczak, 2008).

## **1.2. The Polish Immigration In The Context of the Economic Transition and The European Union Enlargement**

After the capitalist transition, overseas migration decreased, which was linked mainly to the increase of the value of Polish currency against the dollar. In addition, the procedures for obtaining a visa to the United States were increasingly difficult, while migration within Europe was greatly facilitated<sup>4</sup>. In the first five years after the transition about 150,000 Poles went to Western Europe or America. Thanks to new possibilities for international travel and bilateral agreements with Germany, Greece, Belgium, Spain, etc., the importance of permanent emigration decreased while the number of temporary migration, particularly the incomplete migration increased (Duszczyk & Wiśniewski, 2007; Maruszewska, 2007; Ośrodek Badań nad Migracjami Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego [OBMUW], 2007).

According to a comparative research carried out in 1991 in five countries of Central and Eastern Europe - Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland and Russia - up to 68% of respondents expressed the desire to migrate to the West for a period of several months, 38 % were prepared to remain abroad for two years, and 14% up to 6 years. Only 7% of respondents considered the permanent residence abroad (the highest percentage: 13% in the case of Polish respondents, which is not surprising given the context of Polish migration tradition). Mostly prospective migrants were young men and the dominant push factor were due to economic reasons. Among the popular destinations among Polish respondents in 1991 the United States still dominated with 47% of answers, followed by Canada - 37%, Germany - 25%, Australia and New Zealand - 20%, France - 18%, Scandinavia and Italy - 14 %, Switzerland - 11%, Austria 9%, Britain - 7%. Of course the preferred destination was not always possible to reach. Thus neighboring Germany became the biggest recipient of Polish immigrants. Another research, conducted in late 1991, verifies this information by saying that only 1 in 10 people who expressed willingness to migrate fully strove to achieve the objective (Sakson, 2004).

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<sup>4</sup> In the same period the statistical quality on migration in Poland decreased. Although it has never been a truly reliable source, in the period of communist regime the complicated paperwork to leave the country made it possible to record most of the cases. Unfortunately, the quality of migration statistics could not be seen accompanied by the development of the country. Most statistics are based on the official drop out in the register, but it does not reflect the significant number of migrants who left the country, even for a few years, but dropped out in the register. And it still does not record migrations of short periods. For these reasons the number of Polish immigrants in the host country statistics always exceeds the number of migrants captured by the Polish statistics.

### **1.2.1. *Why and Where?***

Among temporary migrants in the early nineties, about 44% stated that the reason for leaving was work (Maruszewska, 2007). Throughout the nineties the negative effects of economic transition were noted; among them we could mention an uncontrollable and significant increase of unemployment (especially of the structural unemployment, characteristic for economies in transition), the increase in the scale of poverty, wage and quality of life differentiation. In addition, the economic situation in Poland was unstable, i.e. after a very tough early years, we observed some improvement in the labor market situation, but in the last two years of the nineties unemployment rose again to reach 20% in 2002. In the last years of the nineties, the importance of the economic motive to leave the country rose to 48% among temporary migrants. Those who really left Poland were, in most cases, from weeks to 3 years abroad. During the stay they supplemented specialist labor markets of recipient countries, participated in fellowships as guest workers, worked as employees of Polish companies that were supplying Western European companies, and often undertook an au pair job quite popular in the nineties (Duszczyk & Wiśniewski, 2007; Główny Urząd Statystyczny [GUS], 2004; Maruszewska, 2007).

The migratory destinations of labor migration during the nineties have been almost the same as in the beginning of the decade. Germany was the main destination with 200,000 Polish workers each year, after the U.S. with 180,000 and Canada 50,000. Other European states did not accommodate more than 20,000 workers from Poland, and Spain in this ranking took a marginal position with 2,592 Polish workers registered in 1995 and 3,767 three years later (GUS, 2004; Maruszewska, 2007; OPI, 1996; OPI, 1998).

### **1.2.2. *We Are a Million***

The increase of the migration was more visible at the beginning of the XXI century. That is when the serious economic situation coincided with the entry into the labor market of young population from the demographic boom from the first half of the eighties. According to population census from 2002, 786,000 Polish citizens lived abroad, but to get a more likely figure 300,000 citizens should be added<sup>5</sup>. Interestingly, comparing this data with the census of 1988 a radical change could be observed as the previous census showed that 900,000 Poles were living abroad (GUS, 2004; OBMUW, 2007). This means that despite the economic downturn and enormous unemployment the growth of the official indicators of migration in

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<sup>5</sup> People who left the country without modification of the local census data



the early twenty-first century was by no means explosive, but relatively stable. The situation began to change since the accession of Poland to the European Union. It seems clear that what was missing was a political impetus, a law change that would transform short trips to an irregular work to a dignified and safer way to make money.

### ***1.2.3. And we are Looking for a Job***

Out of all emigrants captured by the census in 2002, looking for a job abroad was the main reason to leave the country to at least 346,000 people. However, considering that the reason of 20% of leaving was unknown and that in these times the irregular work still functioned, it can be said that the work was the reason to leave for nearly half a million Polish citizens (GUS, 2004). This figure seems to be confirmed also by the governmental analysis according to which in the late nineties and early twenty-first century 400,000 Polish citizens worked for a period of one year in 15 European Union countries and it is estimated that 100,000 to 150,000 Polish citizens worked irregularly (Wiśniewski & Duszczyk, 2006). The results of the Study of the Labour Force Survey (BAEL)<sup>6</sup>, seem to confirm the tendencies mentioned above. They show that the migration grew gradually in the days of the crisis on the labor market (from the year 1998 and 1999) and that the significant growth of emigration took place only after the accession to the European Union (Maruszewska, 2007; OBMUW, 2007).

### ***1.2.4. New Century, Old Destinations of Economic Migration***

Despite the flaws in the statistics and various figures from different sources and research, what can be said with some certainty is the installation structure of Poles by countries. According to BAEL research, the country mostly chosen by Polish immigrants as a destination in 2002 was Germany with 33.5% (OBMUW, 2007). This percentage is approximately repeated in different sources. For example, data provided from the population census from 2002 shows that 115,000 people were declared as labor migrants that worked in Germany, what constitutes 33% of the total number of people who left Poland in order to seek work. The overall number of Polish migrants in Germany which is 295,000 represents 37% of Polish migrants in total. The second place in the ranking of migrants is the United States with a figure close to 20% of migrants, which according to the Census from 2002 accounts for nearly 160,000 people. Then there are: Italy (7%), Canada (3.7%), Britain (3%), France (2.6%), Spain (1.8%), Belgium (1.7%), Austria (1, 3%) and other countries with

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<sup>6</sup> It's a regular research in Poland. Although it does not intend to track migrations, it is useful to show some important patterns and trends.

fewer than 10,000 people (GUS, 2004). But even this picture is not perfect. For example the number of Polish immigrants would be different if we used data from the U.S. Census Bureau according to which in 2000 there were nearly 470,000 people of Polish citizenship living in the United States (OBMUW, 2007).

#### ***1.2.5. Spain and Catalonia: The First Growth***

As it was mentioned before, the reason for people to leave the country was above all else the search for a job. According to the Population Census of Poland quoted above, in Spain there were 14,492 Polish citizens, of whom 70% looking for work (GUS, 2004). In Spanish statistics, a confirmation of this number can be found. The Statistical Yearbook of Immigration 2002 confirms the number of 15,285 registered contracts of Polish workers, which represents a significant change, particularly when comparing the data with 5,776 Polish workers in the year 2000 (3,319 in Madrid and 504 in Catalonia). However, it should be noted that most of the contracts registered in 2002 (over 5,000) referred to the temporary work in the agriculture sector in Huelva and in no way increased the magnitude of the permanent Polish diaspora in Spain. Leaving aside short-term contracts, it is worth mentioning the 4,204 contracts registered in Madrid and 1,860 in Catalonia. Almost 5,000 Poles took up jobs in the services sector, another 3,500 in construction and just over a thousand in industry (OPI, 2000; OPI, 2002).

#### ***1.2.6. Work in Spain, Study in the United States***

The 70% of migrants who chose Spain as their destination considered the economic motive as the most important what constituted the highest percentage among all destination countries for Polish migrants. A very high percentage, 68%, was also Ireland, followed by Greece, Italy and Belgium exceeding 60% with the reason for job search. A much lower percentage of leaving the country caused by an economic motive, is to the United States with 48% and Germany with 40% (Maruszczyńska, 2007). These data could be surprising unless we again consider the Polish tradition of migration. This means that migration to Germany and the United States have their own stories, which are very old in origin. It is easy to understand why 33% of the people migrated to Germany for family reasons and that 30% settled in the United States for the same reason. The difference can also be shown when the education purposes are considered. In the United States there were nearly 10,000 Polish immigrants pursuing an academic degree (nearly 7% of total immigration), while in Spain studying as the purpose was reported by less than 500 Polish immigrants (about 2% of total immigration)

(GUS, 2004). The reason of this differentiation can be explained by the following: the English language is clearly known better in Poland than Spanish, second, there is support for the Polish community in America, and third, recognition of the destination country.

#### ***1.2.7. Various Destinations, Various Professions***

Comparing Polish immigrants in the United States and Spain create some intriguing differences at the level of education. In 2003, more than 3000 Polish employees in Spain did not have any education completed, about 11,500 had completed high school and fewer than 400 people had finished post-secondary education (including university), which is only 2% of the 17,534 Polish workers registered in Spain in that year (OPI, 2003). In contrast, in Chicago region, considered the biggest Polish agglomeration outside of Poland, according to research in 2003, up to 25% of new immigrants had a university degree, 70% had completed secondary education and they signed more and more employment contracts as professionals with vocational qualifications (Maruszevska, 2007). In fact, the two cases are the specific trends of migratory waves from the period before Poland's accession to the European Union. The U.S. data, in accordance with the trend of the years 1998 - 2001, when the participation in migration flows from Poland of people with higher education rose to 15% , are related to the particularly serious situation of youth in the labor market during this period (Kłos, 2006). On the other hand, the Spanish statistics fit very well with the Polish governmental reports that show that up to 280,000 workers with a tendency to "incomplete migration" working in the fields of construction and agriculture, which does not require a high level of training in period before the accession to the European Union (Wiśniewski & Duszczek, 2006).

#### ***1.2.8. "Polonization" of London and Dublin***

The forecasts before Poland's accession to the European Union spoke of the danger of a huge migration wave of several million people migrating to fifteen European Union countries directly after the opening of labor markets. These calculations had a political impact and caused that the former members of the EU put restriction periods in their labor markets to Polish workers and workers from new member countries in general (Olędzka, 2007; Orłowska, 2008; Pełnomocnik Rządu do Spraw Negocjacji o Członkostwo Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w Unii Europejskiej, 2001).

The new possibilities of legal employment in countries like the United Kingdom and Ireland, which did not introduce any restriction caused significant changes in the direction of

Polish immigration. After 2004 these two countries became very frequent destinations, providing crucial pull factors such as lack of labor force, a strong currency in reference to the Polish currency, the language, that at the basic - intermediate level is well known in Poland, and a reasonable distance from home (especially compared with the U.S.). Although experts reassure that the migration was not as tremendous as some predicted, the number of Polish citizens who found work abroad between 2004 and 2008 can approach 2 million (Fihel, 2007; Fihel & Pietka, 2007; OBMUW, 2007; Radiukiewicz, 2006).

According to the research carried out by the European Citizen Action Service (ECAS), since the enlargement of the European Union until August 2006, 1.12 million people emigrated for economic reasons from Poland to other EU countries (Kłos, 2006). In the same report it is underlined that migration destinations changed in favor of countries like Britain, Ireland and Italy. While Germany still maintained its position as the first migratory destination, it is less and less popular, especially when compared to Great Britain (Maruszevska, 2007). Public opinion polls conducted by the Center for Public Opinion Research (CBOS) confirm most of these changes. In five years, between 2001 and 2006, a significant change in the preferred destinations of labor migration can be observed. As leaders of this trend, the UK (increase from 9% to 39%) and Ireland are specifically mentioned. The later, although in the past had no popularity among Polish immigrants, in 2006 already reached 15% of the described indicator. The loss of preference can be noted in traditional destinations such as Germany, which loses from 48% to 20%, and France (from 9% to 3%). Moreover, unlike in the migration statistics of ECAS, Italy lost 2% of preferences. In the case of Spain we can observe a slight rise from 2% to 4% in this indicator (Każmierkiewicz, 2009).

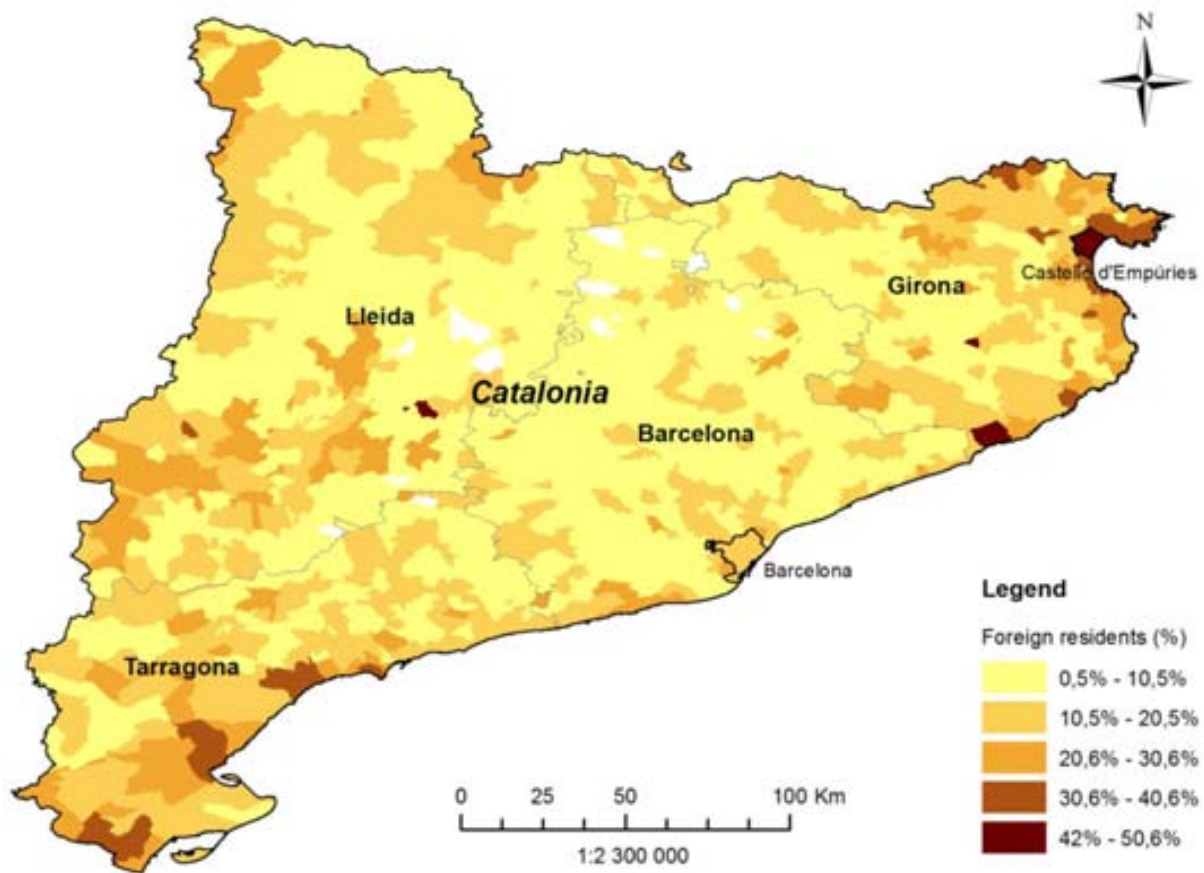
Along with the liberalization of the labor market in Britain a Workers Registration Scheme (WRS) was introduced. Although the system is not perfect, parallel investigations say that between 50% and 70% of new migrants was recorded in the WRS. According to statistics from the mentioned scheme, 308,000 Polish workers were registered, between May 1, 2005 and end of December 2006. The enormous growth in the participation of Polish workers in the labor market in the United Kingdom is also confirmed by data from the Social Security System thanks to the numbers (NINo) obtained by Polish workers. This source shows that in only three years between 2002 and 2005, Polish workers rose to first place among all foreign workers in the UK, which represents a tremendous change when you consider that in 2002 they were out of the list of the top ten nationalities (OBMUW, 2007). Official statistics from Ireland also mark a major increase of Polish workers number. According to the statistics od

Public Public Service Number (PPS) between 2004 and 2006 about 100,000 Poles worked on a regular basis in Ireland (Wiśniewski & Duszczuk, 2006).

### **1.3. The Polish Immigrants in the Contemporary Catalan Society**

Contrary to what was mentioned in the case of Poland, Catalonia, according to Joan J. Pujadas, "is an example of difficulties in introducing a national state model and culturally homogenizing" (Pujadas, 1999). However, it should be underlined that the Spanish state as a whole is rather also an example of national heterogeneity. Already unified Spanish state from very beginning was composed of nationally distinct regions, that especially in case of Catalonia, Galicia, and Basque provinces possessed certain degrees of authorities, and own political and economical goals, like Galician's inclination toward Atlantic trade, or Basque mixed orientation toward continental and Atlantic activity. The differences were even more visible at the beginning of the nineteen century. For example, during that time the Catalan nation was characterized with movements featuring modernization, when Basques rather defended traditional values. The Franco's dictatorship that emerged in the next century suppressed a freely demonstrations of national minorities endeavors, at a cost of propagation of the unified nation-state notion. Still, the national minorities, importantly supported by the European politics that at the time highlighted nation-building as being possibly separated from the state itself, started to regain their prerogatives at the end of the seventies. The introduction of the Autonomous Communities and recognition of co-official languages were one of the landmarks of these processes. It should be recognized here that this processes are clearly visible in Spanish politics till today, leading for example to strong independence oriented socio-political movements in Catalonia backed up with e.g. politics of promotion of Catalan language (see Banton, 1994). Although, it should also be noted that there are clear differences between the various national minorities in Spain when it comes to dealing with the similar processes, those are not a central issue of this dissertation and therefore will not be developed here, but can be consulted within the literature cited hereby (Hroch, 2003; Keating, 2000; Mar-Molinero, 2000).

**Map 1. Foreign registered residents at municipal level in the Autonomous Community of Catalonia, 1<sup>st</sup> January 2012**



*Elaborated by Dawid Wladyka. Georeferenced data provided by the Institut Cartogràfic de Catalunya [ICC] and Instituto Geográfico Nacional (IGN). Population data source: INE, 2012.*

In principle, there are two basic identities in Catalonia: Catalan and Spanish, but there is also a variety of other groups, mainly of immigrant origin (see Map 1). According to the Ongoing Census statistics provided by the Statistical Institute of Catalonia [*IDESCAT: Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya*], in 2008 the foreign population in this region surpassed one million people and constituted almost 15% of the Catalan society (Statistical Institute of Catalonia [*IDESCAT*], 2008). Two years later the number of foreign population in Catalonia reached its hitherto peak with 1,198,538 people that constituted 15.95% of the Catalan residents. In the context of unfavorable economic climate, only a steady decline of foreign residents number that reached 1,189,779 has been visible during the 2011 and 2012. Nevertheless, the preeliminary data from INE for 1<sup>st</sup> January, 2013 show somehow more

visible drop of the foreign residents number that counts 1,154,477 inhabitants. This number is lower than at the beginning of the year 2009.

**Table 1. Foreign registered residents in Catalonia: distribution by continents, 1st January, 2012**

	Foreign population	% of total foreign population
<b>Europe</b>	<b>367.193</b>	<b>30,94</b>
European Union (27)	309.706	26,1
Central and eastern Europe	52.424	4,42
Rest of Europe	5.063	0,43
<b>Africa</b>	<b>322.673</b>	<b>27,19</b>
Nothern Africa and Magreb	252.328	21,26
Subsaharian Africa	67.486	5,69
Central and southern Africa	2.859	0,24
<b>America</b>	<b>353.330</b>	<b>29,77</b>
North America	6.985	0,59
Central America	64.185	5,41
South America	282.160	23,78
<b>Asia</b>	<b>142.879</b>	<b>12,04</b>
Middle East	3.933	0,33
Central and eastern Asia	124.792	10,52
South-eastern Asia	12.079	1,02
Japan	2.075	0,17
<b>Oceania</b>	<b>662</b>	<b>0,06</b>
<b>Stateless</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>&lt;0,01</b>

*Source: IDESCAT, based on ongoing census data.*

According to the IDESCAT database, at the beginning of the year 2012, the largest groups were from Europe, America, Africa, and Asia (see Table 1). The most represented nationalities were: Moroccans, Romanians, Ecuadorians, Bolivians, Chinese and Italians (see Table 2). Sources of ethnic heterogeneity of the contemporary Catalan society are mostly migratory processes.<sup>7</sup> Two main periods of migration should be mentioned in particular. The first, which took place between the fifties and seventies, was characterized by the Spanish internal migration, i.e. the arrival of people from other regions of Spain to Catalonia. The

<sup>7</sup> Additionally, also the Roma People left their footprint on the ethnic diversity of Catalonia. Although the significant arrival of Roma people is often linked to the 1960s rural-urban and south-north migration processes, it has to be underlined that the presence of Roma people as a historical minority in Catalonia has documented roots at the beginning of 15<sup>th</sup> century (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2006). While, they were “included in discussions about cultural identities” of Spain in general (Morén-Alegret, 2005a), the Barcelona (in 1447, 1460, 1477) and Castelló d'Empúries (in 1484) are some of the locations where the presence of Roma people in 15<sup>th</sup> century in Catalonia were confirmed by e.g. Leblon with historical sources (as cited in Escudero, 2000).

second, more visible in the last ten years, is the arrival of foreign immigrants. Their number has grown rapidly from 2% (121,361) in 1998 to 15% (1,103,790) in 2008. This has very significant effects on all sectors of Catalan society and will also have a visible impact for the future of this society. To understand the influence of migration processes in the diversity of the contemporary Catalan society the following example is useful: one in every four newborns has at least one relative abroad and that one in five marriages includes at least one foreign spouse (IDESCAT, 2008).

**Table 2. Foreign registered residents in Catalonia: most numerous nationalities, 1st January, 2012**

	<b>National population</b>	<b>% of total foreign population</b>
<b>Morocco</b>	239,218	20,2
<b>Romania</b>	106,030	8,9
<b>Ecuador</b>	59,453	5
<b>Bolivia</b>	50,188	4,2
<b>China</b>	49,612	4,2
<b>Italy</b>	49,111	4,1
<b>Pakistan</b>	47,490	4
<b>Colombia</b>	41,958	3,5
<b>France</b>	33,875	2,9
<b>Peru</b>	30,873	2,6
<b>Argentina</b>	26,294	2,2
<b>Dominican Republic</b>	22,931	2
<b>Germany</b>	22,680	1,9
<b>Brazil</b>	21,556	1,8
<b>United Kingdom</b>	20,850	1,8
<b>Senegal</b>	20,806	1,8
<b>India</b>	19,709	1,7
<b>Honduras</b>	18,332	1,5
<b>Ukraine</b>	17,571	1,5
<b>Rusia</b>	17,565	1,5
<b>Gambia</b>	16,848	1,4
<b>Paraguay</b>	15,484	1,3
<b>Portugal</b>	15,281	1,3
<b>Chile</b>	13,957	1,2
<b>Bulgaria</b>	13,675	1,2
<b>Poland</b>	13,457	1,1
<b>Uruguay</b>	12,160	1,0
<b>Philippines</b>	10,463	0,9
<b>Venezuela</b>	10,220	0,9

*Source: IDESCAT, based on ongoing census data.*

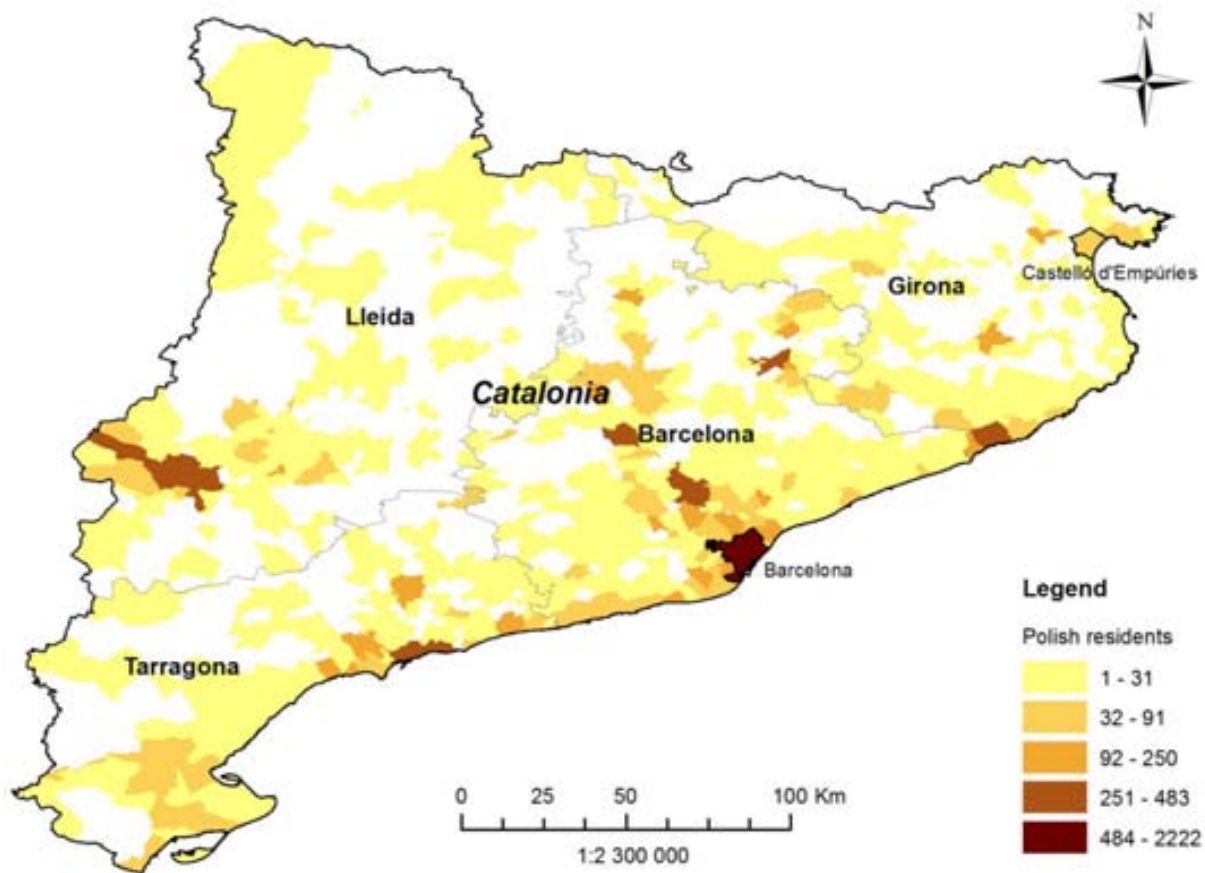


### ***1.3.1. The Increased Presence of Polish Workers in Spain and Catalonia***

Data from the Permanent Observatory on Immigration (*OPI: Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración*) impresses about the large 21<sup>st</sup> century's increase of economic immigration in Spain and also about the increase of Polish workers presence (see Map 2). In 2004, there were 23,559 registered contracts of Polish employees in Spain, representing an increase of 50% compared with 2002. In Catalonia, the rise was even more visible: 3,242 contracts in 2004 marked an increase of 75% compared with 2002. In the following year there were 27,623 contracts registered in Spain, showing a decline in growth's dynamics at a statewide level. In contrast, the 6,191 contracts registered in Catalonia, meant a maintenance of the dynamics of growth in this community. But still, these data should be cautiously interpreted. In comparison with the number of Polish immigrants with valid residence permit at this time, which in Spain was nearly 35,000, and over 4,000 in Catalonia, it can be concluded that a large part of the Catalan contracts were temporary. In fact, those with the duration of less than six months in Spain constituted about 30% of all contracts. One can also reach the conclusion that the difference between the Polish immigrants registered in Madrid (approx. 18,000) and 5,000 contracts registered there means that a good portion of this group worked irregularly (OPI, 2002; OPI, 2004; OPI, 2005). The fact that some researchers estimated that the actual number of Polish immigrants in 2005 in Spain ranged between 45,000 and 60,000 people would confirm this assumption (Stanek & Sobczak, 2008). Although, illegal employment of Poles in the European context decreased significantly from 23% to 12% between 2004 and 2006, this means that still some 200,000 Polish workers were part of the informal European economy at that time (Duszczuk & Wiśniewski, 2007).

One of the factors in the decline in the percentage of Polish immigrants involved in the irregular labor market was the opening of the labor markets of Britain and Ireland that followed European Union (*EU*) enlargement in the year 2004. From that time the Polish immigrants can work there legally. From March, 1 2006 the Spanish government removed the restrictions and Poles also can work legally in Spain (GUS, 2008). This liberalization has significant consequences for the number of contracts ascribed to Polish workers in this country. According to the OPI statistics, already in the 2006, the number of contracts registered to Polish workers more than doubled, reaching a number of 64,620 in Spain and 12,169 in Catalonia. The intensive growth continued also in the year 2007 when the number of contracts registered to Polish workers totaled 95,035 in Spain and 17,677 in Catalonia (OPI, 2006; OPI, 2007).

**Map 2. Polish registered residents at municipal level in the Autonomous Community of Catalonia, 1 January 2012**



*Elaborated by Dawid Wladyka. Georeferenced data provided by the ICC and IGN. Population data source: INE, 2012.*

### **1.3.2. Women in Agriculture, Men in Construction**

The above mentioned observations, show that with the changes in international politics, some of the characteristics of the group of Polish immigrants has also changed. Although, the migration wave from the years 2004 - 2006 had little immediate impact on the level of education of Polish employees in Spain, some statistics on emigration from Poland to the European Union countries show different results, i.e. significant growth of the "brain drain" phenomenon (Kłos, 2006). The 2006 OPI's data on contracts of Polish immigrants in Spain show, as in the previous three years, that a significant percentage of contracts have been registered to people without any recorded education level: 18%, and a low percentage of contracts have been registered to Polish immigrants with higher education: 2.6% (OPI,

2006).<sup>8</sup> Although the latter increased to 3,6% at the end of the 2008, the 60% of contracts were still registered to the immigrants that completed secondary education (OPI, 2008).<sup>9</sup> Still, it should be underlined, that this numbers do not necessarily reflect the education level of Polish immigrants in general, but rather popularity of the short-term contracts (32% of contracts in 2008 were less than 6 months, and only 10% were permanent) and job lability (albeit there were 76,170 registered contracts in the 2008, the number of professionally active Polish immigrants inscribed to Social Security was twice lower).

Following the OPI (2006) statistics, in terms of sectors of activity, in 2006 (the year of the Spanish labor market opening for Polish immigrants), in the same way as during previous years, the agriculture dominated among women (15,066 contracts were registered, which was a half of all contracts registered to females) and construction among men (14 906, 43%). There was also an increased participation in the sector of services (women: 13 987, men: 9946, constituting 37% of all contracts). Two years later, the construction was still a sector with a highest number of contracts registered for males (35%), but services gained nearly equal position (32%). In the case of females, the contracts in the services sector dominated (55%) by the end of 2008, followed by the agriculture (39%). It should be noted that while relative importance of accordingly construction and agriculture for men and women dropped, the absolute number of contracts in this sectors was the same at the dawn of the economic recession as two years before (OPI, 2008).

### ***1.3.3. The Arrival of Polish Stopped by the Crisis***

According to the Spanish National Statistics Institute database (*INE: Instituto Nacional de Estadística*), on 1<sup>st</sup> January of 2012, there were 84,281 Polish residents living in Spain. This is a slight 2,36% decrease comparing to the year 2010 that – despite the economic recession that started in 2008 – reached a peak in the number of Polish registered residents, with 86,324 people<sup>10</sup>. This is a reversal of the growth trend visible across the XXI century,

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<sup>8</sup> During the ethnographical fieldwork, some local authorities cast doubt on the quality of the statistics regarding the education level of the immigrants, especially these indicating the low levels of education. These data could be produced in the effect of the linguistic misapprehensions or inaccuracies, and it should be considered with caution.

<sup>9</sup> This is the last nationwide published record of education level attained to contracts with Polish immigrants. Further statistics on education and economy sectors merge Polish immigrants within the other EU residents.

<sup>10</sup> It should be observed here that the principal rule for the European Union citizens is that a particular inscription in the Spanish Continuous Register (i.e. *padrón*) lasts five years and thereafter should be renewed (appropriate reminders for an inhabitant are issued) if an individual did not changed his address beforehand (the new five years are counted in this case) or unsubscribed (See: Ley 7/1985, de 2 de abril, Reguladora de las Bases de

that was mostly noted after opening Spanish labour market to Polish immigrants in 2006. During 2007, the number of Polish residents in Spain exceeded 70,000 growing by one-third just during one year. According to the data from 2009, the growth's dynamic shown above began to slow down, and in the 2011 finally reverted (see Table 3).

**Table 3. Polish registered resident population in Spain and Catalonia, 2000-2012 series, data for 1st January**

	Spain <sup>(1)</sup>	Male <sup>(1)</sup>	Female <sup>(1)</sup>	Catalonia <sup>(2)</sup>	Male <sup>(2)</sup>	Female <sup>(2)</sup>
<b>2012</b>	84,281	42,383	41,898	13,457	7,023	6,434
<b>2011</b>	85,956	44,046	41,910	13,591	7,340	6,251
<b>2010</b>	86,324	45,157	41,167	14,166	7,946	6,220
<b>2009</b>	85,040	45,354	39,686	14,380	8,359	6,021
<b>2008</b>	78,560	42,354	36,206	12,998	7,795	5,203
<b>2007</b>	61,464	33,026	28,438	9,745	5,917	3,828
<b>2006</b>	45,797	23,857	21,940	6,273	3,668	2,605
<b>2005</b>	36,477	18,577	17,900	4,607	2,599	2,008
<b>2004</b>	27,862	13,800	14,062	3,177	1,687	1,490
<b>2003</b>	24,897	12,413	12,484	2,448	1,231	1,217
<b>2002</b>	18,818	9,411	9,407	1,544	771	773
<b>2001</b>	13,469	6,620	6,850	952	453	499
<b>2000</b>	8,164	4,085	4,079	647	309	338

Source: INE & IDESCAT databases, based on ongoing census.

The similar Polish residents' number change has been observed in Catalonia. Interestingly, in case of this Autonomous Community the number of Polish residents reached peak one year earlier and afterwards entered in a stagnant decrease. The number of Polish registered residents at 1st January of 2012 in Catalonia dropped by 0,98% comparing to the previous year, and was over 6% lower than the highest ever registered number in 2009 (see Table 3)<sup>11</sup>.

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Régimen Local, modificada en relación con el Padrón Municipal por la Ley 4/1996, de 10 de Enero ; Reglamento de Población y Demarcación Territorial de las Entidades Locales aprobado por el Real Decreto 1690/1986, de 11 de julio, modificado por el Real Decreto 2612/1996, de 20 de Diciembre). Accordingly, the mentioned decrease could be also an effect of automatic removals from the Continuous Registers of the Polish immigrants that arrived shortly after the Poland joined the European Union.

<sup>11</sup> It should also be noted here that the immigration statistics provided by INE and based on the Ongoing Census vary slightly from the data provided by the OPI and based on the Central Foreigners Register (*Registro Central de Extranjeros*) and permanent residence permits. Although, there is no significant differences at the national level, the fact that the OPI's data are based on the one-time issued documents with the attached place of issue, the posterior changes of residency are rarely mirrored in these statistics and therefore might produce erroneous image, especially in short-term patterns at the level of Province or Autonomous Community (compare: OPI, 2006; OPI, 2007; OPI, 2008; OPI, 2009; OPI, 2009a; OPI, 2009b; OPI, 2011).

However, the Social Security inscriptions of professionally active Polish residents show that the economic recession did influenced the Polish migration earlier and in higher degree that it would be inferred from solely the residency statistics. The peak number here was reached in the year 2008 with over 43,000 affiliates. The following two years have seen a sharp reduction, and from 2010 to 2013 there was a stagnant decrease towards 23,333 affiliates in January 2013. At this point, it is worth to note that the simmilar trend for Catalonia again anticipated Spanish results for a year, reaching the peak number of affiliates in 2007 (see Tables 4 and 5).

It is also worth to underline that according to Social Security statistics, the number of professionally active Polish males was higher before the recession and also dropped more drastically during the economic turndown (see Table 4). The simmilar beginning of the declining trend can be noticed while analyzing the 20% drop of number of contracts registered to Polish workers in the year 2008 comparing to 2007. These observations appear to be related to the difficulties of the construction sector that was an important employer of Polish males (compare OPI, 2009; OPI, 2008; OPI, 2009).

**Table 4. Social Security inscriptions of professionally active Polish immigrants in Spain, 2000-2013 series, data for 31st January**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
<b>2013</b>	23333	9857	13476
<b>2012</b>	24208	11355	12852
<b>2011</b>	26136	12950	13186
<b>2010</b>	28011	14251	13759
<b>2009</b>	32757	17895	14862
<b>2008</b>	43711	26385	17326
<b>2007</b>	38931	24253	14678
<b>2006</b>	17749	11609	6140
<b>2005</b>	14490	8464	6026
<b>2004</b>	12891	6869	6022
<b>2003</b>	10147	6050	4097
<b>2002</b>	7860	4798	3062
<b>2001</b>	6073	3700	2373
<b>2000</b>	4143	2649	1494

*Source: Ministerio de Empleo y Seguridad Social. Retrieved from <http://www.empleo.gob.es/series/>*

**Table 5. Social Security inscriptions of professionally active Polish immigrants in Catalonia, 2000, 2002-2012 series, data for December each year**

2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
504	1 860	1 366	1 656	2 632	5 434	6 897	5 768	4 698	4761	4535	4315

*Source: OPI (2000- 2009) for 31st of December; Ministerio de Empleo y Seguridad Social (2010 – 2012) average for December.*

#### **1.3.4. Gender and Age Patterns Sensitive to Economic Climate?**

Interestingly, the participation of men and women in the general number of migrants seemed to depend on the labour demand in the agriculture and construction sectors. According to the INE statistics, during the 21<sup>st</sup> century, till the year 2004 there was a certain equality between men (49,5%) and women (50,5%) among Polish registered residents in Spain. Two years later there still was an approximate equality, but with the numbers reversed: 52% of men and 48% of women. These changes in participation of sexes seem to be quite frequent in case of Polish immigrants in Spain. The year 2008 was a peak for Social Security inscriptions of professionally active Polish immigrants (see Table 4) and also for a prevalence of males (53,91%) over females (46,09%) among registered residents in Spain (see Table 3). Interestingly, four years later, the decrease of professionally active Polish immigrants inscribed in Social Security match the another alignment between men (50,28%) and women (49,72%). The data for Catalonia show very similar dependencies (see Tables 3 and 5). It is noteworthy to underline, that both in Spain and Catalonia the number of registered Polish female residents did not decreased till the 2011. Only in the 2012 the statistics for Spain show barely noticeable decrease, while the number of Polish female registered residents still grows in Catalonia. Simultaneously, since 2009, Polish male registered residents, steadily decreased in number in both Spain and Catalonia (see Table 3).

In terms of the age patterns, Polish residents in Spain and Catalonia follow the european trends of the Polish 21<sup>st</sup> century's migration, i.e. the majority of Polish immigrants constitutes a young group of between 20 and 39 years of age (see Tables 6 and 7).

**Table 6. The age of Polish registered residents in Spain, 2000-2012 series, data for 1st January**

	Total	0-19	%	20-39	%	40-59	%	60- 74	%	75 and more	%
<b>2012</b>	84281	14507	17,2	45365	53,8	21804	25,9	2326	2,8	279	0,3
<b>2011</b>	85956	14757	17,2	47510	55,3	21373	24,9	2066	2,4	250	0,3
<b>2010</b>	86324	14579	16,9	48976	56,7	20800	24,1	1748	2,0	221	0,3
<b>2009</b>	85040	13882	16,3	49762	58,5	19796	23,3	1417	1,7	183	0,2
<b>2008</b>	78560	12535	16,0	47161	60,0	17568	22,4	1134	1,4	162	0,2
<b>2007</b>	61464	10177	16,6	37022	60,2	13292	21,6	842	1,4	131	0,2
<b>2006</b>	45797	8061	17,6	27260	59,5	9745	21,3	613	1,3	118	0,3
<b>2005</b>	36477	6595	18,1	21836	59,9	7480	20,5	464	1,3	102	0,3
<b>2004</b>	27862	5225	18,8	16770	60,2	5431	19,5	347	1,2	89	0,3
<b>2003</b>	24897	4647	18,7	15061	60,5	4759	19,1	326	1,3	104	0,4
<b>2002</b>	18818	3668	19,5	11381	60,5	3446	18,3	236	1,3	86	0,5
<b>2001</b>	13469	2837	21,1	8012	59,5	2369	17,6	165	1,2	85	0,6
<b>2000</b>	8164	1941	23,8	4587	56,2	1428	17,5	128	1,6	79	1,0

Source: INE database, based on ongoing census.

**Table 7. The age of Polish registered residents in Catalonia, 2000-2012 series, data for 1st January**

	Total	0-19	%	20-39	%	40-59	%	60- 74	%	75 and more	%
<b>2012</b>	13457	2084	15,5	7768	57,7	3270	24,3	302	2,2	33	0,2
<b>2011</b>	13591	2107	15,5	7944	58,5	3276	24,1	235	1,7	29	0,2
<b>2010</b>	14166	2102	14,8	8411	59,4	3428	24,2	198	1,4	27	0,2
<b>2009</b>	14380	2005	13,9	8757	60,9	3441	23,9	153	1,1	24	0,2
<b>2008</b>	12998	1759	13,5	8057	62,0	3046	23,4	114	0,9	22	0,2
<b>2007</b>	9745	1304	13,4	6046	62,0	2294	23,5	80	0,8	21	0,2
<b>2006</b>	6273	901	14,4	3820	60,9	1487	23,7	50	0,8	15	0,2
<b>2005</b>	4607	688	14,9	2774	60,2	1098	23,8	33	0,7	14	0,3
<b>2004</b>	3177	511	16,1	1946	61,3	688	21,7	22	0,7	10	0,3
<b>2003</b>	2448	430	17,6	1546	63,2	444	18,1	18	0,7	10	0,4
<b>2002</b>	1544	276	17,9	979	63,4	261	16,9	20	1,3	8	0,5
<b>2001</b>	952	185	19,4	602	63,2	143	15,0	14	1,5	8	0,8
<b>2000</b>	647	123	19,0	406	62,8	96	14,8	15	2,3	7	1,1

Source: INE & IDESCAT databases, based on ongoing census.

The statistics of medium age show that Polish residents in Spain and Catalonia are a few years younger than other residents from the European Union. The largest age difference is visible for females that are over ten years younger than the general population of Spain and Catalonia. While the data for Spain show that Polish residents (both male and female) are also younger than general the population of foreign residents, the data for Catalonia show this pattern only for females (see Table 8).



**Table 8. The medium age of Polish registered residents in Spain and Catalonia, 1st January 2012**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Foreign citizens</b>	<b>European Union citizens</b>	<b>Polish citizens</b>
<b>Both sexes</b>				
<b>Spain</b>	41,6	34,7	38,9	33
<b>Catalonia</b>	41,3	31,8	35,5	32,7
<b>Male</b>				
<b>Spain</b>	40,3	34,7	39,1	33,7
<b>Catalonia</b>	39,9	32	36,1	34,2
<b>Female</b>				
<b>Spain</b>	42,9	34,6	38,6	32,3
<b>Catalonia</b>	42,6	31,6	34,9	31

*Source: INE database , based on ongoing census.*

Nevertheless, the changes of age patterns throughout the 21<sup>st</sup> century are best visible for the small age groups. Some especially significant changes are those observed among the Polish residents of age groups between 20 – 24, and 25 – 29. For example, till 2008 there was a dynamic growth in number of migrants aged 20 to 24 years (the group increased its size by sixteen times in Spain and by twenty five times in Catalonia), but at the beginning of the year 2012 only the half of the group's peak population was still visible in the statistics (see Table 9). The older age groups, although also importantly increased their presence until 2008, they did not decreased as significantly in size or even continued growth (see Table 6 and Table 7) (compare OPI, 1996; OPI, 2001; OPI, 2003; OPI, 2006; OPI, 2009). Following the fluctuations in the numbers of young Polish residents, and taking into account the changes in economic situation as well as the Social Security statistics (see Tables 4 and 5) one can make assumptions about high vulnerability of young Polish immigrants. Still, it should be remembered that an important part of this group may be constituted by students (limited by the economic recession). On the other hand, these immigrants might be the most flexible and unattached ones, and therefore able to make relatively quick redefinitions of their migratory destinations depending on the economic climate.



**Table 9. The changes in size of 20 – 24 and 25 – 29 age groups of Polish registered residents in Spain and Catalonia, 2000-2012 series, data for 1st January**

	Spain				Catalonia			
	20-24	% change	25-29	% change	20-24	% change	25-29	% change
<b>2012</b>	4890	-19,1	13511	-10,8	917	-18,4	2571	-4,2
<b>2011</b>	5824	-25,4	14966	-5,4	1086	-31,1	2679	-6,2
<b>2010</b>	7305	-21,7	15776	-2,8	1424	-19,4	2844	-3,2
<b>2009</b>	8891	-8,8	16222	5,4	1700	-0,6	2935	9,0
<b>2008</b>	9670	22,4	15342	20,6	1711	26,0	2671	25,7
<b>2007</b>	7501	30,8	12177	23,5	1266	47,0	1984	30,2
<b>2006</b>	5192	15,8	9311	18,2	671	25,8	1384	25,2
<b>2005</b>	4371	20,1	7620	22,2	498	24,7	1035	26,9
<b>2004</b>	3492	8,1	5926	9,8	375	17,9	757	19,2
<b>2003</b>	3210	27,1	5343	24,8	308	37,3	612	37,3
<b>2002</b>	2339	33,6	4016	31,8	193	37,3	384	45,6
<b>2001</b>	1552	62,1	2738	45,3	121	45,5	209	35,9
<b>2000</b>	588	-	1499	-	66	-	134	-

*Source: INE database , based on ongoing census.*

#### **1.4. Contextualizing Polish Immigrants' View on Diversity: The Ethnic Composition of Contemporary Poland**

In Europe there are states with a long tradition of foreign immigration as the United Kingdom, or territories like Catalonia characterized by high rates of foreign immigration occurred in recent years. There are places where one can find a society characterized as heterogeneous by its extensive diversity, created as the result of migration flows or creation of a foundation nation-states that embrace several national and/or ethnic minorities. What is very significant in many of these areas is that diversity is not only visible in statistics but also in the street. The daily life of these societies consists of daily interactions between people of different religions, customs, modes of dress, languages, gestures, etc..

Apart from the aforementioned countries, enriched by the cultural diversity, there are countries in Europe, such as Poland, where the cultural, religious or ethnic diversity is not seen in the street. It's not easy to find, even in the largest cities, people of different phenotypes or ways of dressing, nor of diverse customs. That is a society where 96% of the population declared Polish nationality (GUS, 2003). However, the media discourse is partially similar to that in countries receiving massive immigration, i.e., news about boats with immigrants in the Canary Islands or riots in the suburbs of Paris are known in Poland. What varies is the fact

that members of Polish society do not have their own experience based on social interaction that would allow them to understand the phenomenon and create their own personal views and attitudes. According to research from the Institute of Public Affairs only one in four Poles knows any foreigner living in Poland (this figure has not changed over the last ten years) and only one of ten Poles know a foreign non-European who lives in Poland. Hence, in the case of Poland, we can see that the media plays the most important role in the creation of attitudes toward the phenomenon of immigration and various ethnic and national groups that appear in European countries in its outcome (Wenzel, 2009)

Obviously, there are processes that can change this dependence. The most important of these processes is the emigration of Polish citizens. Poland is one of the most significant sending country of Western civilization. The Polish immigrants' destinations such as Britain, Spain or the United States are composed of societies with extensive cultural diversity where daily interaction between various cultures is virtually inevitable. According to research cited previously, the Poles who know any foreigner living in Poland support the idea of hiring foreign workers much stronger than the other part of society. Furthermore, the most visible difference exists in the general level. That is, in case of non-EU workers from Eastern Europe the change of the relation "to know - to accept" is not as convincing as in the case of very generic dependence "to know any foreigner - to accept the hiring of foreigners" (Grzymała-Kazłowska & Jasińska-Kania, 2011; Wenzel, 2009)

#### ***1.4.1. Past Ethnic Diversity of Poland***

In late medieval times the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (also called Republic of Two Nations or, especially in Western European countries, Poland) expanded into Eastern Europe, creating the largest country in Europe. In these territories resided the following groups: Poles, Jews, Ukrainians, Belarusians, Lithuanians, Germans, Czechs, Karaites, Armenians and other religious and ethnic groups. In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, religious wars and the prevalence of absolute monarchies with increased central power could be observed in other European states. But simultaneously, in that Commonwealth, the development of religious and ethnic tolerance, democracy, federation and pacifism were taking place. Because of this the Polish territories were considered at this time as a refuge for heretics in Europe and for a variety of ethnic groups (Tazbir, 2000). Although the Poles were not the majority in the territories of the Commonwealth (neither in the original Polish territory of the Commonwealth), their culture gained great prestige among the other minorities,

especially among the upper classes. Neither the followers of the Catholic Church were a majority when compared with the followers of the Orthodox Church (compare Gordon, 1983; Plokhly, 2006; Tazbir, 2000). Judaism was also an important part, since according to some sources even up to 80% of Jews worldwide, lived in Poland (see Frank, 2001; Johnson, 1988; Sanford, 2003; Weiner, 2013). During the time of the Reformation many noble Catholic converted to the new religion, but the Counter-Reformation led to an increase in the power of the Catholic Church and most returned to Catholicism. It should be emphasized that, unlike other countries, these conversions took place peacefully and without relevant social conflicts (Gella, 1989; Gordon, 1983; Frost, 2000; Sucheni-Grabowska & Dybowska, 1993; Plokhly, 2006; Tazbir, 2000).

#### ***1.4.2. Invisible Diversity of Contemporary Poland***

This ethnic richness and huge mix of old Poland is today only a background, a history of contemporary Poland. After three hundred years during which the country has suffered losses of territory, partitions, wars, the Holocaust, the communist regime and especially economic, political and forced migration, Polish social structure has significantly changed.

According to the National Census of Population and Housing from 2011 about 98,2% of the population of Poland said that their birthplace is in Poland and 99,7% are Polish citizens. Only about 57,5 thousand people (0.1%) did not have Polish citizenship (Nowak, 2012). The Ministry of Internal Affairs of Poland recognizes that today live in Poland the following national and ethnic minorities: Jews, Ukrainians, Belarusians, Lithuanians, Germans, Czechs, Armenians, Russians, Slovaks, Karaites, Lemko, Gypsies, Tatars (Ministerstwo, 2009; Wolnicz-Pawłowska & Zych, 2010).<sup>12</sup> These minorities are historical minorities that have, in many cases, their roots in the days before the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

According to the National Census of Population and Housing 2011, around 871,000 people (2,26% of total population of Poland) declared both Polish and other 'national-ethnic

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<sup>12</sup> The distinction between national and ethnic minorities is rooted in Polish law that determines requirements for both as: a) numerically smaller than the rest of the population of Poland; b) significantly differs from the remaining citizens in its language, culture or tradition; c) strives to preserve its language, culture or tradition; d) is aware of its own historical, national community, and is oriented towards its expression and protection; e) its ancestors have been living on the present territory of Poland for at least 100 years; f) the difference between both is that a national minority identify itself with a nation with its own independent state in contrast to ethnic minority (Wolnicz-Pawłowska & Zych, 2010)

identity’<sup>13</sup>. Additionally, there were 597,000 people (1,55% of total population of Poland) that identified exclusively with non-Polish or two non-Polish identities. According to the Polish Central Statistical Office, these results show “the increase of the sense of the ethnical distinctiveness of regional communities in Poland”, that however go along with acclaiming the sense of Polish national identity (Gudaszewski, 2013).

The most common ‘national-ethnic identities’ observed are Silesian (847,000) and Kashubian (233,000). It should be mentioned that in the previous census from 2002 more than 170,000 people with Silesian nationality suddenly appeared (GUS, 2003). Although the nationality is not recognized by Polish nor European governments, a form of protest was prepared by members of the association for the Autonomy of Silesia. The objective of this movement is to gain economic and cultural autonomy for the region of Silesia. As the results of the 2011 Census show the movement is gaining an important popularity and its pre-censal activities appear to be effective. The following three largest ‘national-ethnic identities’ are Germans (148,000), Ukrainians (51,000), and Belarusian (47,000) followed by Roma people (17,000), Russians (13,000), Americans (12,000), Lemkos (11,000), and English (10,000). (Gudaszewski, 2013; Nowak, 2012).

Although the variety of these ethnicities seems to be rich, they are small collectives visible only in some particular sites on the map of Poland. Only in 181 communes<sup>14</sup> out of 2479 existing, at least 10% of the inhabitants declared any other ‘national-ethnic identity’ than Polish (see Map 3).

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<sup>13</sup> This term ‘national-ethnic identity’ is used here after the Polish Central Statistical Office which applied it within the National Census of Population and Housing methodology. According to the Censuses’ methodology, the questionnaire gave a possibility of not only select a ‘national-ethnic identity’ from a closed list, but also to declare a one that did not appeared on the list. Additionally, in the year 2011 (in the first time in Polish Censuses history) the respondents had an option to select ‘complex national-ethnic identity’ that would be composed of two identities. In the effect, over 200 of various “national and ethnic groups, as well as ethno-regional, regional, and local” identities were recollected (Gudaszewski, 2013).

<sup>14</sup> In Polish ‘Gmina’, is the third level of administrative division in Poland (in some cases equal to municipality).

**Map 3. Polish communes with at least 10% of inhabitants declaring non-Polish ‘national-ethnic identity’ (green color)**



*Source: Gudaszewski, 2013*

To complete the description of the structure of contemporary society in Poland, the recent immigration should be mentioned. At the beginning it should be stressed that Poland is not a net-immigration country. It is true that in recent years the living conditions and career opportunities are growing and hence, the immigration, especially from the eastern states like Ukraina is also growing. Poland, however, still does not attract immigrants as, for example, its neighbor to the west, Germany. After accession to the European Union, Poland became a country of massive economic emigration.

However, there are some immigrant groups. Research such as Labour Force Survey (*BAEL: Badanie Aktywności Ekonomicznej Ludności*) allow to assume that about 1% of the population of Poland (less than 400 thousand people) is of immigrant origin. Some researchers propose that the actual number, counting illegal immigrants, is twice as high (GUS, 2008a; Paszko, 2009). Anyway, some important features of these immigrants must be mentioned in order to understand the nature of this immigration. Almost half of these people is older than seventy. 81% evaluates themselves as people who are not in employment. The often mentioned reason for the arrival is the family rejoining. It was indicated by 62% of immigrants. Most of these people came to Poland during the childhood. The cited research also shows a figure of 240,000 children of immigrants (GUS, 2008a).

It should be emphasized that a significant percentage of all the people mentioned above are Polish or Polish children repatriated who due to the change of boarder lived in a territory of the former Soviet Union and later returned to Poland. In many cases those people do not considered themselves as immigrants and do not differ themselves from the rest of the country's population (GUS, 2008a). For the same reason one should be careful when quoting some statistics from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [*OECD*], which said that in 2002 more than 700,000 immigrants lived in Poland. This data was usually based on place of birth outside Poland (OECD, 2006). For a more realistic picture of immigration to Poland it is better to analyze the annual influx of foreigners. In 2007, it exceeded that of 40.000 people (OECD, 2009).

#### ***1.4.3. Invisible Ukrainians and Belorussians***

In a similiar manner, the contemporary immigrant groups from Ukraine and Belarus can also be understood. Although they appear to be the significant immigrant groups, their presence has no effect of visible cultural distinctiveness, also as already mentioned, they are also historical minorities that have existed for centuries in Eastern Poland. Although many do not meet the requirement of highly qualified migrant belonging to the middle class they may be called invisible immigrants. What allows us to use that name in an important part of the features that Salt (1992) use talking about this kind of immigrant. Those are in particular: the similarity when it comes to culture and their phenotype. These immigrants from the countries placed outside the eastern border of the European Union confirmed that they feel in Poland as at home and have no problem with the native population and integration. Even some opposing attitudes might be recorded. Before the introduction of visas for Poland's eastern neighbors in Eastern Poland there was a very intensive trade exchange between Poland and the residents of eastern bordering states. Mostly with Ukrainians and Belarusians who crossed the border daily or migrated cyclically. The inhabitants of the region of Poland where these movements took place remember these times as times of prosperity and economic growth that were ceased with the introduction of visas because of the Schengen treaty obligation. The new visa law provoked protests by the Polish citizens who lost a very important source of income. Right now the Belarusians and Ukrainians are coming mostly as temporary workers and students in the same way as Poles came to Western Europe for many years in the past. And this is the group which is considered the most socially visible among immigrants in Poland. Given that, for example in 2008 immigrants from 161 countries came to Poland, we can

imagine the limited number of the immigration, its low visibility and little impact on social everyday life of Polish society (Kosowicz, 2009a).

#### ***1.4.4. Other Immigrants in Poland***

This does not mean that immigrants from other countries go through Poland completely invisible or are not subject to any xenophobic incident. Although the research show that the Polish people consider themselves as very tolerant and open, both racist and tolerant behavior can be found. Whatever is the case, it was confirmed by various studies that the presence of immigrants of diverse origins in Poland is not a very important social issue. Neither in daily life nor in the media where a foreigner in Poland is presented as an exotic theme or that nurtures curiosity. He or she is not shown as a person who conducts his or her life in the same place that the natives (Kosowicz, 2009b, pp. 15 - 16).

Those who come from most different culture, according to the BAEL survey and population censuses from 2002 and 2011, are mostly Vietnamese, American, French, Greeks, Italians, Armenians, Bulgarians, Turks, Nigerian and lately more and more numerous, Chinese (GUS, 2003, GUS, 2008; Nowak, 2012; Paszko, 2009). Out of these, only a few dozens of thousands of people differ in important ways, by their customs, culture and phenotype. These are mainly Asians who after Eastern Europeans became, especially in the 90's, a socially visible group. They have a reputation of hard-working people, disciplined who live in the national enclaves and are closed having no desire to have any relationship with others (Halik, 2009, pp. 108 – 109; Kosowicz, 2009a, p. 22). The number of immigrants whose characteristics differ significantly from the native people in Poland is lower than for example in Germany. The number and severity of xenophobic acts also appear to be lower than in Germany, Russia or Ukraine (Kosowicz, 2009c, p.39). According to that author, those who mentioned violence with xenophobic background are mainly African immigrants and African-Americans who suffer racist acts because of the issue of skin color. Other scarce, but existing, racist acts are directed against Asians. Another type of xenophobic actions takes place in football stadiums. The object of these acts is expressly skin color of some players. Although these cases are isolated and do not cause a major concern there is another issue related which causes concern. It is the lack of appropriate action undertaken by the police or justice as well as by the citizens who face the situation (Kosowicz, 2009c, p.35 – 41, compare Grzymała-Kazłowska & Jasińska-Kania, 2009).

#### **1.4.5. Muslims and Poles**

Another issue which needs to be considered is the attitude towards Muslims. The cohabitation of Poles with the small community of Tartars, who traditionally were representatives of this religion in Poland, was very positive over hundreds of years. This situation has changed recently with an increasing proportion of Arabic immigrants. According to research conducted by The Center of Social Opinion Research (*CBOS: Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej*) in 2008, Arabs are less welcome foreigners, but the hostility towards them has decreased in a visible manner since 2001. More than 55% of Poles would not like their daughter / son to marry a person of Arabic origin. Other less popular nationalities mentioned by Poles are Turkish, Russian and Romanian. Those who show least prejudice are young and educated people. Moreover, a more positive attitude towards immigrants is shown by people who had prior contact with immigration or were immigrants themselves (Marek, 2009). According to that Marek (2009), negative attitudes towards Muslims, showed in the CBOS survey, seems to have lack of consistency with the beliefs of the Poles. The author argues that since Muslim Tatars lived in Poland for six hundred years and are very well integrated with Polish society, this should lead the Poles to the conclusion that a successful living arrangement with Islam followers is possible (Marek, 2009, p. 80).

And in fact, given a macro image, an image taken from a quantitative study in order to reflect the attitudes of all Poles the same doubts that the author has could be mentioned. Unfortunately, by implying a lack of consistency in the beliefs of the Polish, Marek (2009) did not mention that the history of coexistence is only one of the factors that influence ethnic relations. What is forgotten and what is very important in drawing a conclusion on ethnic relations are the concepts of space, interaction and complicity of the mental construction of the ethnicity itself. These are exactly some of the three interrelated constructs that build the foundation of this dissertation.

#### **1.4.6. Influence of the Media**

While the attitudes of the Poles as a group towards Muslims in general (or Tatars in particular) are not an objective of this research, its mention in the text of Marek (2009) can show very well the importance of place and interaction in terms of ethnic relations. For some hundred years of history of Poland, the presence and influence of the Tartars was marked not only by their role in the Polish army and diplomacy but it also figured prominently in works



of literature and culturally significant. However, in contemporary times the Tatars are a very small group located primarily in the region of Podlasie and the Tricity. Therefore, the place within Poland where they are situated is quite small. But, as that text explains later, the place for social relations means not only territorial lines but it is an inseparable part of everyday life experience and therefore the interactions. It is exactly this experience that a majority of Poles surveyed by CBOS and mentioned by Marek (2009) lacked. The study results show no lack of quality of learning from history itself by the Poles but the lack of interaction with the culture in question.

As the example of the study on attitudes where the denomination of “Arab” was introduced in 2001 has shown, the issue of immigration in general come to the Poles through media. The rhetoric of the media in Poland brought in news on immigration in Western Europe also includes information on drug, cigarettes or alcohol traffickers who operate in trains from the East of Europe. News also mention police success as to break the gangs of drug traffickers from Latin America. However, these cases appear more like a isolated issues than as a common social problem (Marek, 2009). What is the most visible and repeated in the media of the countries of Western Europe is the rhetoric of "invasion" or "flooding". The repeated complaint among researchers of immigration is that instead of showing the reasons for migration or instead of describing the daily lives of immigrants, media show images of crushed ships full of irregular immigrants while on his way to Europe, drug traffickers and immigrants working as prostitutes on the street. Also, since September 9, 2001 the trend of alarming about the growing importance of Islam in Europe increased. At this point, it should be noted that the claim of this discourse should not try to delete these news from the agenda of the media. Rather, the scientists aim to put these news in a broader context. It is about a transmission that puts some specific events in a reality of daily life rather than in a reality of sensation. This transition isolated from the context, what brings is stigmatization of immigrant groups (Agozino, 2000; Calavita, 2005; Uchańska, 2005).

## **CHAPTER II –THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **2.1. Introduction**

One of the primary questions in this study is if the Polish migrants move to Catalonia with prior awareness of ethnic diversity that awaits them in the destination. It is also one of the objectives to describe changes in opinions about the ethnic diversity in general, and about the members of ethnic and national groups that are noticed by Polish immigrants in particular. It is hoped to describe the experiences of interactions between Polish and other immigrants. As mentioned above this change might be especially interesting in case of a person who previously had a sporadic physical contact with people of different ethnicities. That comes from a culture where diversity is not and was not in recent years the subject of daily life. That was inserted in the highly diverse contemporary Catalonia. What makes this issue even more important is also the fact that the scarce number of mentioned experiences acquired in Poland does not mean that there are no opinions about other ethnicities. On the contrary, surveys mentioned in the previous chapter show that Poles who live in Poland have their own opinion and insight on various nationalities and ethnicities, that is mostly created by media. Although Poland is not the unique country where the media influence on opinions about ethnicity, it is one of the few places in Europe where these media coverages can only rarely be compared to the experiences of everyday life. This situation is noteworthy especially in the perspective of the popular Contact and Conflict Theories of inter-ethnic relations. The Polish media set-up a kind of anonymous contact with a phenomena of immigration while the audience have little possibility to develop physical, especially acquaintance based contact. As it is explained in the following pages of this chapter, an insertion into the Catalan society caused by migration process might influence on the conversion of this contact to more tangible one and therefore an interesting development of attitudes could take place.

The theoretical background of the inter-ethnic relations research in social science during second half of twentieth and the beginning of the twenty first century have been mainly rooted in the Conflict, Contact, and Social Identity theories as well as in their further developments. While some researchers have explained social phenomena using exclusively one of these theories, other, especially recently, attempted to acquire a more global perspective and apply various of them in order to explain their observations of inter-ethnic relations. The following paragraphs, partially based on the theoretical developments within the Concordia Discors research project which are embraced in this dissertation (see

Bergamaschi, 2012; Bergamaschi & Ponzo, 2011; Pastore & Ponzo 2013), not only introduce the most popular theories that back-up most research on inter-ethnic relations while highlighting their usefulness for the research developed in this dissertation, but also approximate the most recent integrations and developments of multidimensional theories that appear to be a useful analytic tool for the topic.

Additionally, it should be stressed that interest of this dissertation exceeds traditional perspective of inter-ethnic relations studies and draws from the research that included spatial dimension in their considerations. As it is explained on the following pages, the researches that consider urban and rural areas, neighborhoods' diversity (and previously segregation), urban fabric and particular places of encounter have been fundamental for this dissertation. An interdisciplinary character of this research assumes as its main interest the inter-ethnic experiences in everyday life of Polish immigrants in two neighborhoods: one belonging to a large city and another one to a small town. The interdependent ideas included already in the title and derived from cross-cut of "social" and "spatial" will also be explained in the later parts of this chapter.

While describing various theoretical approaches and studies, it should be remembered that the literature on inter-ethnic relations provides a variety of terms to describe the issue in question subjects of the research. One of the most significant polemics that introduced the terminological differences is the one related to the use of the terms of 'race' and 'ethnic group'. Already in 1986, Yinger stated that "*almost no scholars now use the term 'race' to refer to a few, immutable, clearly separate subspecies of Homo sapiens, although that may not be far from the modal view of general public*" (Yinger, 1986, p. 21). Subsequently, Yinger (1986) proposed, following Montagu (1974), that the term 'race' should be abandoned in the sociological theorizing or at best, following Van den Berghe (1983), used within a concept of ethnicity as a case of groups that are socially perceived (both internally, and externally) as phenotypically different from other such groups. Indeed, especially as an aftermath of the work of population geneticist Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza (2000) who ruled out the existence of the significant variations of genes among the humans and supported the notion of one human race formed in the result of genes-crossing resulted mostly in effect of hundreds of thousands of years of migration processes, the scientific use of the 'race' should not be regarded as nothing more than a mere social construct. Still, nowadays, similarly to what has been noticed by Yinger (1986) in the eighties, the 'race' is often used as a demographical label in a plethora of, mainly, United States based social research and surveys, including the Population Census (e.g. Humes, Jones, & Ramirez, 2011). Still, in these studies,

although the label ‘race’ is used, it is in fact introduced as a substitute or a special case of ‘ethnicity’. Therefore, the latter *“has come to refer to anything, from a sub-societal group that clearly shares a common descent and cultural background [...] to persons that share a former citizenship although diverse culturally, to pan-cultural groups of persons of widely different cultural and societal backgrounds, who, however can be identified as ‘similar’ on the basis of language, race [socially constructed] or religion mixed with broadly similar statuses”* (Yinger 1986, p.23). While leaving the discussion at this current state, the following chapters will return to the questions of denomination of terms related to the ethnicity in the context of everyday’s life experiences of individual actors.

Nowadays, according to the Bergamaschi and Ponzo (2011), the interethnic relations (see Rex & Mason, 1986; Scheepers, Gijsberts, & Coenders, 2002) and interracial relations (see Hallinan & Maureen, 1989; Quillian & Campbell, 2003) most frequently describe the researched issue, when the most frequently used denominations of units of analysis are ‘natives – immigrants’, ‘ingroups – outgroups’, ‘insiders – outsiders’, or ‘majority groups - minority groups’ (Bergamaschi & Ponzo, 2011, p.4). Although these various terms are usually used to describe the same or similar phenomena, the decision to use one or another is rooted often in socio-cultural context of the researched population and the academic background of the researchers. This dissertation, because of its focus on an immigrant population, will mostly use the “natives” and “immigrants” terminology together with national and ethnical denominations. On the other hand, while referring to the researched phenomena in general, the use of ‘ethnicity’ and ‘ethnic groups’ is introduced with regard to Yinger’s (1986) inclusive explication of the term. Still, during analysis these general terms will most often be substituted with the particular ethnical, national or other group denominations such as ‘tourists’, etc. That is because (as precisely explained in following paragraphs) the assumption here is that ethnic denominations are of relational and dynamic nature, a result of negotiation between self-identification and perception of others. Therefore while carrying out and analyzing the research project, it has been taken into consideration that “ethnic groups are seen as the result of a reversible social process of boundary making, rather than as given component parts of the social world” (Wimmer 2007, p. 13). Following this premises, and aiming at analysis that embrace world from a point of view of researched individuals, this dissertation recognize the actor and observer difference in understanding e.g. national and ethnic boundaries laid out by e.g. Banton (1994). Therefore, it has to be underlined that although the distinctions and denominations made by research participants might not follow

the formal- or self- distinctions between national and ethnic boundaries, resulting from existence of plurinational states or controversies in recognition and denominations of ethnic and national minorities, (e.g. including amazigh as Moroccan or silesian as Polish) the analyzis will follow the perspective of the interviewed individuals. Also, in any case, the following presentation of background literature will be mostly faithful to the original terms that particular authors have decided to include in their works.

## **2.2. Conflict, Contact and Social Identity Theories**

The Conflict Theory rooted in the studies of Blumer (1958) assumes that an aim of hostile attitudes and behaviors of majority towards minorities is to socially integrate majority and to protect the higher status related to exclusive privileges it offers. Blumer assumes that socio-economic factors like competition on the job market, access to the housing or social services drive to increase of conflicting attitudes. This competition however does not necessarily represent the realistic image of socio-economic situation, and therefore the conflicting attitudes and behavior may be based only on perceptions and not on a real threat (Bergamaschi, 2012; Bergamaschi & Ponzo, 2011). The important point here is that the external observation of inter-ethnic relations is not sufficient to describe it in the perspective of the Conflict Theory. Rather it has to be complemented by the individuals' insights. This remark is especially important when the groups that are observed during the research are small in number or socially "invisible" - e.g. like some highly skilled Polish immigrants in Ireland (Bobek, 2010). This situation can take place if the main goal of a study is to analyze interactions of one minority group with others minorities. Although, most of the Conflict Theory research on inter-ethnic relations has been focused on the native or majority group, there are every time more studies that focus mainly on the ethnically different minority group(s) and relations among them. For example, Gunthrie and Hutchinson (1995) focused on the cross-racial interactions between Afro-Americans and Asian communities in San Francisco social housing projects. The importance of this research is not only to focus on two groups considered minorities, but also on bringing to the socio-economic conditions of inter-group competition such a particular examples like housing, use of public spaces (streets, parks, commercial establishments, etc.) and public safety. This analysis constitutes one of a direct links between the Conflict Theory and the spatial context of inter-ethnic interactions. A similar observation has been made by Hickman, Crowley, and Mai (2008) while underlining how important the existence of shared private and public interaction spaces are in the UK

localizations, especially regarding young people. Also, another example that includes relation between Eastern European immigrants and other groups, Hickman, Crowley, & Mai (2012) examined Eastern European immigrants' drinking alcohol outdoors in Peterborough (UK) but which were described by South-African immigrants as disturbing or even threatening the public order (Hickman et al., 2012). Therefore, while for individuals of some ethnicities outdoor sociality is habitual or even homely as pointed out by Hickman et al. (2012), others may feel disturbed by manifestations of social activity in neighborhood's public places. Still, ethnicity is not the unique factor here, it is rather accompanied by "cultural constructions and experiences (...) informed by specific intersections of ethnicity and class" (Hickman et al., 2012, p.86). Another relevant example here, but with reverse role of Polish immigrants' is their negative perception of Puerto Ricans' use of public spaces in New York's Greenpoint neighborhood (Sosnowska, 2008).

While the main feature of the Conflict Theory is that the inter-ethnic competition surrounds some tangible benefits, the Tajfel's (1982) Social Identity Theory brings the attention to the symbolic sphere. The key of this perspective is a need of the individuals to be a part of a group that this individual perceives as superior to the "others", what results with improvement of the individual's self-esteem in a more effective way than solely personal achievements and features (Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990; Luhtanen & Croker, 1992). In order to achieve the goal of supra-positioning own group, common mechanisms are to favor one's own group and to underestimate the external group(s) (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). Still, it is noteworthy that this mechanism does not have to be accompanied with hostile behavior toward the "others". Although the Tajfel's symbolic theory is usually presented in opposition to the more materialist Conflict Theory some similarities and complementarities have to be drawn. It should be specifically highlighted that as in Conflict Theory, the conflicting attitudes are driven by the necessity to preserve the higher social standing (albeit symbolical and based on cultural rather than economic values). Here, this superior social status of one's own group suppose to work as a buffer zone that would impede mixing with "others" (Bergamaschi, 2012; Bergamaschi & Ponzo, 2011). Interestingly, the usefulness of Social Identity Theory for this research exceeds the pure perspective of inter-ethnic interactions. The improving self-esteem "sense of belonging" as highlighted by the theory can be additionally applied to the spatial perspective of the research. Inhabiting a particular city, neighborhood (or even one of its parts) may be in a similar way used to improve self-esteem, especially if used in contrast to those living in "other" areas. This sense of membership could cross-cut

ethnic perspectives and set-up interesting opinions and attitudes of involved individuals and therefore it is worth to be taken into account in the analysis.

One of the most impacting approaches on the contemporary research on inter-ethnic relations and also highly useful in this dissertation is Contact Theory, which has its roots in the work of Allport (1954). This approach takes a different angle on inter-ethnic interaction and attempts to explain situations when contact between various ethnic groups improves relations between them instead of leading to conflicts. During years, a number of studies confirmed not only Allport's assumptions on positive effects of increased contact between ethnic groups, but also confirmed that there are at least several conditions to be fulfilled (i.e. absence of competition between groups, equal status of the groups, institutional education or control, cooperation between the groups on a common goal) in order to pave a way to positive effects of inter-ethnic contact (Bergamaschi, 2012; Bergamaschi & Ponzo, 2011; Brewer & Miller, 1996; Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, & Christ, 2011).

It is essential to highlight here that Contact Theory distinguish between anonymous and acquaintance/affection based contacts. The research in the matter (e.g. Hallinan & Maureen, 1989) mostly indicated that the improvement of the relations between ethnic groups can only be achieved if the latter has been established. Still, these studies consider anonymous contact as a preliminary requirement. Therefore, conversion from more superficial to more profound contact has gained a lot of research interest. On the other hand, the recent study by Pettigrew et al. (2011) is an example of an attempt to abandon the contacts' type distinction and generalize that any more frequent contact would generate less hostile attitudes. Both, however, suggest that cohabitation of the ethnically heterogeneous population is an effective tool at a policymaking level to improve inter-ethnic relations. This is supported by studies like one carried out by Quillian and Campbell (2003) which found that the lower is the minority group(s) ratio the more persistent are minorities actions to maintain own cultural habits.

The above statements led to the raise of an important discussion about the impact of ratio of minority group(s) and community's heterogeneity on the decrease of hostile attitudes. Bisin, Patacchini, Verdier and Zenou (2006), concluded their research focused on the US neighborhoods, that the more ethnically diverse the neighborhood, the more perseverant are minorities' actions to maintain proper cultural traits. Although Bisin et al. (2006) do not advocate for neighborhoods' segregation in a perspective of the obtained data, they suggest that ethnicity appears to be indissoluble from conflict and therefore they challenge the previously cited calls for heterogeneous neighborhoods as solutions for inter-ethnic conflicts. Another critical voice here comes from Putnam (2007) who in his US based study found that

individuals who live in ethnically heterogeneous neighborhoods are less likely to participate in a community's life. Instead of segregation however, Putnam call for even strengthening plural understanding of the unity of the nation. Interestingly, he asks for this change in an all-American way that permeates through the title of Putnam's publication that starts with "E Pluribus Unum" motto.

Also, other studies derived from the Contact Theory provide results regarded by some scholars as controversial and therefore disputed. The causal relation between physical interaction between ethnic groups and lack of hostile attitudes suggested by Pettigrew (1997) is one of them. The similar interdependence has been shown by Matsuo (2004) at the neighborhood level studies in the United States. A more cautious approach has been shown in research carried out in urban areas by McLaren (2003) where contact appears to play more a role of intermediary between ethnical diversity and hostile attitudes. According to this findings, in highly ethnically diverse urbanized areas the individuals with more frequent inter-ethnic contacts are expected to produce less hostile attitudes than those experiencing less inter-ethnic contact. Still, some research provide even more puzzling evidence about hostile attitudes which exist at the same time as acquaintances/affective relations between ethnic groups (Bergamaschi, 2012; Bergamaschi & Ponzo, 2011; Brewer & Miller, 1996; Brown & Turner, 1981). While these findings do not overwhelmingly undermine previously explained basis of the Contact Theory, they constitute a relevant reminder about the basic Contact Theory conditions mentioned at the beginning and can be understood as an accurate call for more interdisciplinary approach.

### **2.3. Contact and Conflict Theories in a Single Explanatory Model**

Importantly, in order to answer the above posed concerns, some studies which attempt to bring together multiple theories have been carried out. For example, a significant work has been done on German population by Pettigrew et al. (2010) in order to verify whether the quantity of outgroup population and outgroup/ingroup population ratio would make an effect on prejudices emerging within ingroup towards outgroup. Importantly, Pettigrew et al. (2010) made an attempt to bring together Conflict and Contact theories. Thus, the main theoretical assumptions made by the authors are based on two simultaneous phenomena rooted in the increasing outgroup population. Firstly, the threat of outgroup population arises among the ingroup while the outgroup population number increases. Secondly, with the increase of the outgroup population number the inter-group interactions between outgroup and ingroup



became more frequent. The theoretical framework of Conflict and Contact theories cited by the authors indicates that these two processes may have contradictory impact on the emerging of prejudice.

First, Pettigrew et al. (2010) claim that most of the sociological and political theories and research leads toward the conclusion that increase of outgroup population lead to the increased threat of outgroup within the ingroup. This implies that more numerous outgroup's population would increase the prejudice towards this outgroup within the ingroup. On the other hand, Pettigrew et al. (2010) point out that there is also some valuable literature that deals with exceptions to the above rule. Building on the previous findings authors state that threat and intergroup contact are in fact "competing influences on attitudes towards outgroups" (Pettigrew et al. 2010, p.637). Explaining this position, authors accurately mention the number of factors that on both micro and macro level impact on the mentioned relation. The mostly highlighted factors are related to the residential patterns, e.g. segregation and the population density of particular areas. The latter, if high, is assumed to result with more prejudice than low density.

That assumption is especially understandable from the perspective of Simmel's developments on "distance" explained in the context of inter-ethnic relation by Keith (2008, p. 194) who stated that the "distance" means that the one who is near is far and strangeness means that the one who is far is actually near. This idea has been repeated by Siebel (as cited in Bergamaschi & Ponzo, 2011, p.2) with the assumption that urban integration is ruled by Simmel's characteristics of urban life as indifferent, aloof and airiness results with indifference toward foreigners.

Again, Pettigrew et al. (2010) underscore that apart of observations from the macro perspective, the individual level is necessary to understand more profoundly the problem-in-question. Following that thinking and building on work of Stephan and Renfro (2002), Pettigrew et al. (2010) introduced in the analysis the distinction between the collective threat (understood as perception of an economic or cultural threat to the ingroup) and individual threat (respondent's perception of personal threat from the outgroup). The aforementioned distinction is especially interesting in the perspective of this dissertation since the individual level could be more tangible in case of small size groups.

The abovementioned assumptions have been also supported by other research, e.g. Stein, Post and Rinden (2000) concluded that more positive attitudes toward Latinos in Texas

are to be found among Anglo-Americans who live in low-density areas, and Semyonov, Rajman, Tov and Schmidt (2004) found that even a perceived high ratio of ethnic minority (not correlated with real data) within the German population increase the exclusionary attitudes.

Pettigrew et al. (2010, p. 636) made an attempt to incorporate both: heightened threat and increased intergroup contact into “single explanatory model”. Thus, they assumed that the greater the perceived population percentage of an outgroup, the greater respondents experience both individual and collective threat which in turn relate to greater prejudice against the outgroup, and on contrary that the greater the actual population percentage of an outgroup, the greater the amount of intergroup contact; and this in turn will relate to reduced individual threat, collective threat, and outgroup prejudice. Additionally they claimed that “the precise balance between these threat and intergroup contact processes is determined by a host of structural factors, especially group segregation” (Pettigrew et al. 2010, p.641). That also is where the additional factors deterring inter-group contact, which in some cases should be classified as part of cultural differences (history of intergroup contact, the understanding of national identities or multiple distinguishing characteristics like ‘race’, language or religion) played their role. The authors concluded that relation between outgroup’s number and ingroup’s prejudice toward the outgroup is “multivariate and complex” (Pettigrew et al. 2010, p.646) and that both these processes influence on hostile attitudes.

Most importantly Pettigrew et al. (2010) rejected the assumptions that hostile attitudes are irrelevant to intergroup relations. They firmly support the position of the importance of prejudice research and the role of prejudice in predicting discriminatory behavior. It is also implied that introduction of practical output of this kind of research by empowering intergroup interaction and diminishing intergroup threat would lead to reduced prejudice and concomitantly would suppress discriminatory behavior. Although the single explanatory model proposed by Pettigrew et al. (2010) should not be considered a complete one, it is a noteworthy multidimensional theoretical approach that if enriched with some additional features (e.g. deepened spatial dimension) provides an analytical tool in inter-ethnic interaction research.

## **2.4. Participation: Social Capital and the Constrict Theory**

While the Pettigrew et al. (2010) single explanatory model approached the researched issue from a point of view that combines various theories, there are alternative approaches that offer even more profound insights into the spatial features of inter-ethnic interaction. A valuable piece of research here has been carried out by Lanceen and Dronkers (2011) that took a look at Dutch neighbourhoods when explaining e.g. the quality of contact with neighbors and inter-ethnic trust. Their assumption was that previous studies, e.g. Putnam (2007), simplified the relation between a neighborhood's ethnic diversity and lack of social capital, therefore the conclusions of these studies would be biased. Although previous studies based in the Netherlands (Lancee & Dronkers, 2010) confirmed previous Putnam's (2007) United States' based results about the short-term impact of the ethnic diversity on the quality of neighborhood's contact and trust in the native group, they did not confirm these results for other ethnic groups. Also other studies (e.g. Tolsma, Van der Meer, & Gesthuizen, 2009) found the opposite to Putnam's (2007) original work. Therefore, among the other ethnic groups, the increase of the inter-ethnic trust related to increase of ethnic diversity was observed. According to the results presented above as well as studies carried out by Letki (2008) in the UK and Leight (2006) in Australia, Lanceen and Dronkers (2011) assumed that although diversity is indeed influential on trust in the neighborhood, it should be researched not only from multidimensional, but also spatially oriented perspective. The above mentioned studies looked at socio-economic status or language proficiency and concluded that those factors have even higher influence on trust in the neighborhood than ethnic diversity has. Still, the authors argue that none of the studies took simultaneously into account more than two variables in order to analyze the effect on the trust in the neighborhood. Therefore, Lanceen and Dronkers (2011) state that a study that takes into account various factors is necessary to develop valuable conclusions. Concomitantly, they included ethnic, economic, religious, and linguistic diversity as the variables that have effect on inter-ethnic trust and the quality of contact in the neighborhood while controlling for the individual, neighborhood and municipal characteristics. Albeit criticizing some of the Putnam (2007) conclusions, Lanceen and Dronkers (2011) based their understanding of social capital on Putnam's (2007, p. 137) "social networks and the associated norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness" and following developments on distinction between structural and cognitive social capital (e.g. Harell & Stolle, 2010).

The implications of diversity for social capital have been allotted by Lanceen and Dronkers (2011) to the thematic dimensions that constitute the concept of social capital. In this point authors highlighted the importance of the distinction between inter-ethnic and more general forms of trust. Therefore, trust towards other ethnic groups is here seen separately to the general social relations. Furthermore, the inter-ethnic trust concept has been embedded by Lanceen and Dronkers (2011) in the diverse environment by relating them to the Putnam's (2007) Constrict theory. This theory was built as Putnam's response to the Contact and Conflict theories that, as it was mentioned before, oppositely states that accordingly: increased diversity empowers more inter-ethnic tolerance and solidarity, or that increased diversity results with out-group distrust and tightening in-group ties. On the other hand, Constrict theory assumes a decrease of both in-group and out-group trust as a result of increased presence of "others" and concomitantly lesser presence of people that one can identify with and build social connections. That, if confirmed could constitute quite a puzzle while it comes to bridging ethnic groups at the neighborhood level, especially from a perspective of the Contact Theory that in majority of works assume the importance of the conversion from the anonymous to acquaintance/affective type of contact. Decrease in building of social connection could provoke here less participative neighborhood what would mean that some spaces of interaction could be limited in their role of inter-ethnic encounter sites.

Interestingly, while constructing the research Lanceen and Dronkers (2011) built on Contact, Conflict and Constrict theories altogether as related with additional evidences in order to construct the particular hypotheses. This flexible approach resulted with a set of diverse, and in some cases alternative hypothesis. While, the research carried out, only partially supported contact and conflict theories it rejected completely Putnam's derived constrict theory. Nevertheless, the outcome of the research showed a significant value of the authors' assumptions about the impact of various dimensions of diversity on the social trust of residents. While religious diversity decreased the quality of contact with neighbors, trust in the neighborhood and inter-ethnic trust only for Dutch people, the economic diversity increased trust in the neighborhood and inter-ethnic trust for the entire population. On the other hand, the ethnic diversity negatively influenced the quality of the contact, even when controlled for other dimensions, but did not decrease the trust in the neighborhood in neither case and positively affected inter-ethnic trust for Dutch. The explanation for this variation could be driven from Contact theory developments (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew 1998) that sets-

up several conditions (equal status between groups, common goals to be reached, inter-group cooperation, support of laws and customs and the potential for friendship) for mostly positive outcomes of contact between different ethnic groups. Some authors conclude that ethnic and religious diversities deal with different values and norms, thus widely different norms and values do not set-up conditions for optimal contact. The economic diversity is a factor that according to Lanceen and Dronkers (2011) conclusions in a most neutral and complex way support contact between different ethnic groups. Authors' state that although economic differences also assume negotiations between different values and norms, these are not as related to individual's identity, and therefore have less potential to generate distrust. Therefore, Lanceen and Dronkers (2011) suggest that local integration policies should be more careful with ethnic diversity and focus more on economic diversity since the latter may create synergies for other dimensions of diversity in the neighborhood.

## **2.5. Conflict Theory, Support for Integration Strategies, and Perspective of Superdiversity**

Still another recently published research by Callens et al. (2013) carried out in ethnically diverse Luxemburg (43% of foreign residents in 2008) attempts to take into account at least two under researched perspectives in the discussed topic. The authors' assume that discrepancy between the expectation of immigrants and natives in Europe toward the integration schemes poses a threat to peaceful coexistence between them, and therefore highlight that integration strategies should be researched among various groups and not focused primarily on natives. The focus of the research on groups other than native ones and fully considering a point of view of the immigrant' background population is a valuable example for this dissertation that also primarily focuses on an immigrant group that constitutes only one of the ethnicities present in studied environment.

Callens et al. (2013) state that although various studies, like Teney (2011) on the attitudes toward integration have been carried out, there are still some important but under researched questions in this field. They indicate especially the evolution of the integration attitudes and differences in the perceptions among minority and majority groups. The authors studied two central issues: how attitudes toward integration differ between native residents and those with a migratory background and the evolution of these attitudes during a ten years period. At the theoretical level Callens et al. (2013) mostly based their research on a work of Esser (2006) and his definition of integration as a dynamic process that could lead to various

outcomes in the forms of different ways of co-existence. At the individual level Esser (2006) explained four integration models of inclusion/exclusion of individual belonging to ethnic minority into the host society: multiculturalism that assumes the possibility of maintaining own cultural heritage if it is nested within shared national boundaries, assimilation that assumes complete identification with the host society and abandoning the culture of origin, marginalization that assumes the exclusion of both the ethnic group and host society, and segmentation that assumes inclusion within the ethnic group with simultaneous exclusion from host society. At the societal level, the selection of the strategy depends on how the integration is defined by the dominant social actors of host society at the time. In this sense, Callens et al. (2013) followed Rodríguez-García (2010) in highlighting three models: a) assimilation model that includes the adaptation into the host society in all life spheres; b) multicultural model that respects and protects the diversity allowing the same rights to ethnic minorities as to majority in all life spheres; and c) segregationist model that assumes the exclusion between the ethnic communities in certain life spheres.

Callens et al. (2013) pointed out that although most of the research treats separately the attitudes of majority and minority groups toward the integration models, the combined studies - e.g. Schalk-Soekar and Van de Vijver (2008) or Berry (2006) - are more relevant. This is supported by studies that show differences between these groups in integration strategies preferences (Maisonnette & Testé, 2007). The bigger support for assimilation strategies from majority group, the higher support for the multicultural model from minorities, and also the importance of the socio-demographic factors are the patterns emerging from previous research. The additional factor applied in this study is the longitudinal change. The authors evoke the Conflict Theory in order to explain the evolution of support for integration models in the scope of contextual changes. This theory, as it was explained before, assumes that negative attitudes toward other groups emerge from perceived competition for scarce goods. The perception of threat and therefore negative perceptions would increase in case of e.g. economic recession or important growth of minority group size. This, in turn, would increase support of the majority group toward the assimilation model.

The above mentioned passages underline a complexity of shifts regarding support for distinct models of living-together, and a need for research from perspectives of multiple actors present in the studied environment in order to understand mentioned changes. Those calls acquire even more significance if one look at it from a perspective of *superdiversity* paradigm. The latter emerged from the studies of Vertovec (2007) on the complexity of social

structure in the contemporary United Kingdom (UK). The introduction of thinking about *superdiverse* society unveiled a change in thinking about *ethnic minorities* in the UK. In fact, the later paradigm strongly attached to presence of immigrants originating from a particular commonwealth countries has been substituted in order to capture not only new waves of immigrants (e.g. Polish and other Central and eastern Europeans) that increased UK's ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity, but also to highlight that within all of the immigrants groups exists a mosaic of individuals characterized by distinct gender, socio-economic statuses, experiences, patterns, and motives for migration.

Although thinking about *superdiverse* society promptly spread within and beyond the UK, there are several recent studies that highlight a need for change in way of thinking, not only by academics, but especially local policymakers. The most significant observations for this dissertation regard the entrepreneurship and language. For example, Ram et al. (2013) analyzing the immigrant entrepreneurship, underline on the examples of e.g. Polish resident, that immigrants (equally as natives) often attempt to be self-sufficient, and e.g. seek for various external founding like European funds or bank credits in order to develop own business. On the other hand Blommaert and Rampton (2011) highlight a need for more research for language and literacy in superdiverse environments. The authors highlight a necessity to focus on various actors such as institutions of formal education, local organizations, religious settings, and families. Blommaert and Rampton (2011), also underline that although the ongoing review of ideas about languages, speakers, and communication related to *superdiversity* take place in the academia setting, the language policy and practice, but also world of commerce is still emerged in the previous, somehow stiffer way of thinking about language and communication.

## **2.6. Ethnic Competition Theory and Ideology as Moderators of Conflicting Attitudes**

Still another perspective on the factors influencing development of inter-ethnic relations has been provided by Pardos-Prado (2011) who states that when socio-economic context of native population and Ethnic Competition Theory (assuming that that economic vulnerability and competition for scarce resources negatively influences attitudes towards immigrants) often back-up the research on xenophobic attitudes, there is a scarcity of studies that would take into account the ideological structures as the influencing factor. Thus, the main goal of the Pardos-Prado (2011) research is to complete this deficiency while finding a solution to the question: "to what extent and under what individual and contextual

circumstances do people make use of broader and more stable ideological categories in terms of left-right self-placements in order to articulate their attitudes towards immigration?” (Pardos-Prado 2011, p.1000). The author’s expectation is to support the assumption that ideological left – right self-placements significantly influence the attitudes towards immigrants while there is no high direct experience of competition for scarce resources.

The socio-economic and educational statuses are the factors that according to that author would shape the development of attitudes towards immigrants in a first place. Pardos-Prado (2011) builds this assumption on the Zaller’s Receive-Accept-Sample model of political predispositions (as cited in Pardos-Prado, 2011, pp.1000–1003) . The underlying assumption is that while low statuses would necessarily activate the attention, concern and exposition to any information regarding the immigration issues, the high statuses related with secure social position would not be as vulnerable to the information flow, and would need more extensive cognitive patterns in order to develop appropriate opinions. According to that author, the ideological-political affiliations follow these patterns in case of attitudes toward immigration. Following the Sniderman, Brody, & Tetlock developmens about notions of minimalism and cognitive heuristics present in public opinion research (as cited in Pardos-Prado, 2011, p.1000), Pardos-Prado (2011) states that political affiliations work as a shortcut that frame opinions on issues that an individual has a limited information about.

Furthermore, the Ethnic Competition Theory and Zaller’s Receive-Accept-Sample model in relation to contemporary empirical studies (e.g. Coenders, Gijsberts, Hagendoorn, & Scheepers, 2004; Kauffman, 2003; Oliver & Wong, 2003) show that lower educational and socio-economic status makes a native individual less familiarized with the transformations of post-industrial societies, and more likely to compete for the same jobs and resources as immigrants. Concomitantly, the immigrants are more likely to be considered as a threat by those natives who compete for the same commodities. These individuals are more likely to be exposed to different flows of information and affective categorizations of immigrants. This is because a particular socio-economic situation of a threat by immigrants would engage different levels of attention towards the issue. Pardos-Prado (2011) assumption follows again Zaller’s model, and suppose that the information and predisposition are interrelated when constructing attitudes towards immigration. Concretely, the position of vulnerability is a crucial feature here. Therefore, migrants would not be perceived as a threat among less vulnerable individuals, and concomitantly they interest in information on the immigration is limited. Pardos-Prado (2011) hypothesizes at this point, that the less vulnerable individuals



would rely on previous political affiliations as a cognitive cue that reduces complexity and enables the articulation of coherent opinion. Building on the further literature, Pardos-Prado (2011) adds to the assumption on individual context, an implication of the importance of the context to the left-right political preferences. The higher competition on scarce resources with immigrants, the articulation of hostile attitudes would be more straightforward and the need for the previous ideological affiliation is less needed.

Following this reasoning, the assumption in this dissertation is that the position of vulnerability is not exclusive to natives, but can be shared by any immigrants' group or its part characterized by particular educational and social statuses described by Pardos-Prado (2011). Therefore, this perspective becomes another useful tool to research inter-ethnic interactions while focusing on particular groups of immigrants instead of natives.

## **2.7. Spatial Dimension of Human Experience**

The above mentioned theories and studies frequently use the terms “contact”, “relations” and “interactions”. This dissertation, especially since it attempts to add the spatial dimension to the analysis, should explain in the following pages its understanding of these pieces of social life from the perspective of spatial analysis. The interactions are traditionally seen in sociology as fundamental to social-relations. The latter are in turn described as regular and long-term normalized relations between various levels of social structures. Since this dissertation deals with interactions mostly between individuals belonging to various ethnicities, the terminological fundament considered here points rather at the ethnic-relations instead of social-relations that encompass a wider spectrum of phenomena. Following methodological premises of previously presented theoretical approaches to inter-ethnic relations, the research presented in this dissertation describes the micro-level of these structures - the individual interactions, but it also intends to seek its reflection at other levels of the structure like the neighborhood organizations, community gatherings and, at the end, it studies how the experiences of individuals translates into their image of other ethnicities.

The substitution of the term “relations” with “experiences” in this dissertation’s title deserves to be explained here. The social (or ethnic)-relations are often described as a part of social dependencies and organizations, and as composed from regular and normalized multiple interactions between the same agents (see Park, Burgess, & McKenzie, 1925; Szczepański, 1970; Sztompka, 2002). Subsequently the interaction itself constitutes its

singular component. This dissertation partially reaches beyond the micro-scale of ethnic-relations, notwithstanding, its main interest lies in the proper interactions between the individual agents. Subsequently it analyzes them even if these interactions are not repetitive, normalized nor lead to outputs at the level of social macro-structure. Furthermore, this dissertation does not restrict to proper interactions that would involve more or less aware interplay between two or more social agents. The observations of actors that do not involve the proper interaction or third-party accounts are also taken into account while building some concluding images. Following this assumption not even the notion of “interactions”, but “experiences” appears to be more suitable and useful in the following chapters.

The use of the term “experiences” is especially legitimate in the framework of this dissertation since it underlines the spatial factor of interactions depicted here in the notions of neighborhood and urban fabric. The “experience” was a concept especially highlighted by Yi-Fu Tuan (1977, p. 9), it assumes the interplay of human senses with external environment. At the end, it sets-up the relation between individual and world, and generates the notion of “place” as different from the abstract idea of “space”. According to Tuan, place is filled with meaning, more secure and stable. It is an intermission in the flowing space (Tuan, 1977). Following this idea suggested by Tuan, in this dissertation, “experiences” would describe the diversity of inter-human interactions, encounters, observations, but also the interplay with the (urban) environment.

Obviously, Tuan was not the first to mention or define the spatial element of social life. It should be however mentioned, that earlier there was a lot of “separatism” between the geographical and sociological preferences of scholars. Vidal de la Blache and Lucien Febvre inclined towards the separation between sociology and geography stating that the latter one should not be occupied with the social phenomena (Philo & Söderström, 2004, p. 112). Durkheim stood in the middle of the road while suggested the splitting of sociology itself into two disciplines from which only one would include the input of geography or demography and another one would persist the proper sociology. Many times, at best social geography was seen by authors like Hoke (1907) as nothing more than dealing with distribution in space of social phenomena. Nevertheless, already in 1923, Barrows asked for making clear the relationship between natural environments and the distribution and activities of man and for showing the interactions between man and particular environments (Philo & Söderström, 2004, pp. 111-120). Finally, the contribution of Robert Park (1926) highlighted the importance of the interaction between social processes and space that would be followed by

Chicago school researchers. Also Durkheim (1933) introduced the concept of social space in his thoughts underlining the sociological dimension of differentiation in space. Nevertheless, space did not constitute a central point in works of theorists like Durkheim, Weber or Marx, although many scholars intended to build understandings of space based on their, often brief or collateral remarks (Sayer, 1985, p. 51).

The first attempts to incorporate space in social research were rather oriented on the macro-level like the studies by Shevky and William (1949) and Bell (1953) of Los Angeles and San Francisco that searched for the dependencies between spatial census tracts and some indexes like segregation or urbanization (Wilson, 1980, p. 136). One of the first to define social space was Maximilien Sorre, a geographer that saw it as a set of areas that contained certain privileged points – centers of social activity (e.g. schools, theaters). According to the author of this theory, various groups intended to have their own social space that would reflect their values and activities and the density of social space was a reflection of the interactions between groups (Buttimer, 1969, p. 419). Following the thoughts of Sorre and building on work of Chombart de Lauwe, social space is explained by Anne Buttimer as a “framework within which subjective evaluations and motivations can be related to overtly expressed behavior and the external characteristics of the environment” (Buttimer, 1972, p. 282).

Urban spaces have often been invoked from diverse perspectives, as it was done by Lynch (1960) who considered the influence of the physical environment on the psychical image or Strauss (1961) who sought the importance of symbolic meaning in reception of environment. The merger of those factors led to emerging concepts like ‘life space’ (Lewin, 1936) or ‘schema’ (Lee, 1968) that encompassed the importance of both physical environment and surrounding people. While in Lewin’s (1936, p. 25) conception the social actors were only as long influencing on the individual as they were immediately present, Lee (1968, p. 262) saw the social surroundings more important while seeking the dependencies within the factors of age, social class or seniority of residence (Wilson 1980: 138). Additionally, the concept of ‘life-world’ (e.g. Buttimer, 1976, Ley, 1977) put emphasis on the everyday, ordinary life that constitute a spatio-temporal horizon of individual, but also a likely place of socialization (Morén-Alegret, 2002, p. 15).

Along with the development of theoretical approaches, geographers like Cox and Golledge (1969) or Horton and Reynolds (1971) began to research the socio-spatial dynamics on the micro-level. Their focus of social interaction as crucial to the experience of space is

worth of mentioning here especially that it described the racial discrimination as leading to spatial segregation of residency and social activity (Wheeler, 1971). Those spatial segregations however have been noted to represent various degrees of social stratification in the particular social systems (e.g. church) that could potentially drive to deeper areal concentration of social interaction (Wilson 1980, p. 137). Interestingly for this dissertation, those considerations have often been accompanied by the studies (e.g. Gans, 1962; Michelson, 1970; Young & Willmott, 1957) of urban spaces' social interactions described as life-style, life-stage and social-status dependent (Wilson 1980, p. 137).

The difference between place and space must be also highlighted. According to the previously quoted geographer Yi-Fu Tuan (1977), place and space differ greatly from each other. The first is more secure and stable. The place is a break, a stop within the movement within the space which in turn is more abstractive, insecure, free and open. (Lofland, 1998, p. 64). Still, the Tuan's notion of space had its disputants, like Lefebvre (1991) who's understanding of space is more differentiated from the Tuan's one. Lefebvre puts emphasis on a space that is more specific than Tuan's one. Lefebvre's "representational space" is "directly lived" and associated with "images and symbols" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 39) while Tuan's space would be for Lefebvre rather the conceptual "representation of space". On the other hand, other geographers like Doreen Massey (1997) contest the notion of place brought by Tuan. She describes place as rather not possessing particular limits, as crossroad of various identities and histories, the result of mobility of various individuals. While in many cases places merge one into the other and their boundaries are unimportant, somehow similarly to what Massey (1991) propose, in other cases these are crucial for people to define their knowledge of where the place starts and finishes and consequently who belongs to the place and who is the stranger (Johnston, 1991, p. 188). Some theorists explained the territoriality embodied in boundary making as biologically rooted and genetically dependent like Ardrey (1966), others used more a social perspective where "affect, influence and control" (Sack, 1986, p. 2) as well as reaching some sort of place's "exclusivity" (Smith, 1986, p. 482) are decisive factors. What is especially useful in the perspective of this dissertation is that also "relationships" and "phenomena" (Sack, 1986, p. 19) are the ones to be controlled in the determined territory. In this sense the Smith's (1986) contribution that sets-up the society, culture, time-frame and scale of social activity as conditions for the development of territoriality should be noted. Thus, he supports that territoriality influences the social interactions by regulating them. According to Sack's (1986), one of the tendencies of use of the territory as a strategy at a

variety of spatial scales is its reification in a sense that it displaces the attention from the interpersonal relations to the role of territory as the factor that determines them (Johnston 1991, p. 189). Pascual-de-Sans (2004) who considering the differences between space and place builds on Sack's arguments underlines "that places cannot exist without us and that we cannot exist without places". She also develops the argument that although humans often are not aware of sense of place "it appears persistently in everyday expressions" and while talking about it human beings often speak about a "system of places and their flows and interactions through space". (Pascual-de-Sans, 2004, pp. 348-349)

It was mentioned before that an important part of the opinion of the Polish population on other ethnic and national groups has its source in the media messages and not in the individual experience. Paradoxically, the importance of place for this research is even more significant if the understanding of place is connected directly to both: interaction and media. Firstly, although the man-made environment does not determine exactly how people interact with each other, it can expand or reduce the range of possible interactions. And inter-ethnic experiences are the main goal of this research. Secondly, space or built environment are rarely thought about as means of communication. Actually it has a quite similar role. The environment not only is the factor that impacts who communicates with whom, as it happens in communication, but even influence the content of the statement or constitutes it in case of urban environment. (Lofland, 1998, pp. 181-186).

As illustrated above, space, place and the importance of its limits have been continuously discussed by social geographers and sociologist. Sayer (1985) in his critique of various notions of space challenged e.g. Soja's ideas of spatial structures as constituted by "production and class relations" as too narrow. As Morén-Alegret (2005b, p. 4) noted "for a solvent approach one must consider not only the place where the experience takes place, but it should be assumed that the place is integral to any structure and possibility of experience". Whether one supports Sayer's critique, it is crucial to take into account that "the spatial is partially constituted by the social, but it is reducible neither to natural nor social constituents" (Sayer, 1985, p. 59).

## **2.8. The Neighborhood as an Intersection of Spatial and Ethnical Experiences**

The notions of space and place have been long discussed and researched by social geographers and sociologists. As Anne Buttimer (1972, p. 282) suggested, there are both

types of studies, ones which show interdependence between physical design of the residential environment and social life (e.g. Yancey, 1971; Young & Willmott, 1957) and others which challenge that idea (e.g. Gans, 1961; Gutman, 1966).

Interestingly, the urban neighborhoods and the particular spaces within them existed in this discussion in more or less explicit way nearly from the beginnings of the debate. The Chicago school, urban geographers and sociologists like Burgess or Park that suggested that social relations could reflect spatial patterns definitely put one of the fundamentals of the discussion (Philo and Söderström, 2004, p. 122). According to Packard (1972, p. 16), the authentic community is set-up by people of various kinds, social statuses and age that encounter and often interact with each other in the streets, stores, sport parks or gatherings. They understand their environment as a special place with well-known center and boundaries. The community and its proximity also constitute the base for most of their daily activities. David Ley studies (1974, p. 219) focused on the neglected neighborhoods of Philadelphia and the “existencial space” of the street gangs’ everyday life. The explanations of his findings were based in Schutz’s considerations which focused on meanings that drive individuals thoughts and actions as constructed in everyday routines, interactions, conversations or practices. Ley also put emphasis on developing the everyday activities within the social groups. The later was the condition of possessing the shared meanings that would gave similar resources to various group members, although not necessarily in a conscious way. Relph (1976) also postulates that the space (or rather various modes of space as he points out) should be – similarly to place – studied through the experience. He develops the idea that various modes of space are differently experienced in everyday life. Relph also importantly mentions the urban neighborhood to be understood, especially unconsciously, as place. At more local level, the corner grocery or soda spa exist as important symbols of neighborhood and community identity (Godkin, 1980, p. 74). Jackson and Smith (1984, p. 20) again highlighted the importance of the research conducted on the streets of neighborhoods in the search of reference points for local people in their everyday lives.

Importantly for that dissertation, the studies of urban neighborhoods were often focused on immigration and ethnic issues. A geographer as Ceri Peach (1975) described the spatial patterns of urban ethnic groupings. Doeppers (1967) analyzed ethnic geographies in one of Denver’s neighborhoods focusing on European immigrants and the next generations of European immigrants. That study importantly suggested that ethnicity in geographical studies should not be attached only to people with other skin colors than white. This kind of studies

placed ethnicity as a valid issue in spatially oriented studies (e.g. Smith, 1989). Also sociologists John Rex and Sally Tomlinson (1979) focused their studies on ethnic patterns of suburban housing but including also a 'class analysis'.

Walter (1984) suggests the link between social interactions of immigrants and formation of the primary groups, concluding that "the extent to which the neighborhood itself fosters close friendships outside the family is a measure of the active contribution of spatial factors to inter-group relationships" (Walter, 1984, p. 259). Accordingly, the neighborhood provides a stable context for an immigrant to establish new ties and further to maintain and stabilize the assimilation process. However, this assumes that neighbors become members of the primary group. For this to occur Walter sees two conditions: the social homogeneity of the neighborhood (he explains it with the human tendency to select friends of similar background) and opportunities for contact. The later is considered by Walter as greatly dependent on the daily commuting patterns and on the time spent in the neighborhood. The first conclusion however fits into the critical voices (e.g. Bisin et al., 2006; Putnam, 2007) that take part in the aforementioned Contact Theory dispute. Still, there are number of factors that according to various studies (e.g. Bott, 1971; Everitt, 1976; Fischer, 1977; Western, 1973; Stutz, 1976; Young & Willmott, 1957) additionally influence on that phenomenon: type of work, age, stage-of-life (especially for children, young parents, housewives and elderly) (Walter, 1984, p. 260).

From the perspective of the Symbolic Interaction Theory, human interactions that appear between groups with individual as a member results with development and maintenance of the "self" (Wilson 1980, pp. 139-140). As the individual lives in a constantly changing environment, the self is constantly reevaluating and changing, and so are the socio-spatial patterns of individual. The example of immigrants that settle in the new environment is a good image of a variety of socio-spatial patterns to be acquired as a potential result of interactions in the new environment. The space of activity may result quite expanded in result of travels related to work, school, religious activity, leisure or daily activities like shopping. On the contrary, it could be more enclosed as in the cases of communities that fulfill the basic needs of individuals. This could be because of the lack of knowledge about the new environment that cause the physical spaces socially obscured for the new immigrant. Wilson (1980) considered that religious gatherings, but also ethnic neighborhoods were in the second half of the XXth century the social-spaces that helped in the development of emotional self by providing patterns of permanent socio-spatially fixed interactions (Wilson, 1980, p. 143).

It should be stressed that those studies during years were mostly related to the problematic that linked neighborhoods with segregation. Nevertheless, as time went by, more often immigration, intergroup relations, integration and participation in neighborhoods characterized by ethnical diversity became the central focus of research. Contemporary studies more frequently analyze the local policymaking process at the smallest administrative level of cities and its impact on the everyday's life of their neighbors. Those are often aimed to prepare background for the introduction of the integration policies that reaches directly into the neighborhoods. The contemporary researches are mostly comparative and developed with interdisciplinary methodologies by various kinds of researchers and in both national and international scopes. This study's diversity can be well described starting with mentioning the American biologist David Sloan Wilson (2011) work: "The neighborhood project". This innovative research implemented evolution theory in the research of social and anti-social behavior and then mapped them on the neighborhoods' map of the United States city of Binghamton (upstate New York). Although not directly linked to integration policies, the outcomes of that project shows the importance of human direct surrounding while creating map of supportive and non-supportive neighborhoods. It already has its outcome by encouraging new policies in order to empower the social cohesion in the unsupportive neighborhoods. On the other hand, it is indispensable to mention the explicitly international research projects that compare neighborhoods of European cities. The recently finished projects titled "GEITONIES. Generating Interethnic Tolerance and Neighborhood Integration in European Urban Spaces" coordinated by geographer Lucinda Fonseca (2012) and "Concordia Discors. Understanding Conflict and Integration Outcomes of Inter-group Relations and Integration Policies in Selected Neighborhoods of Five European Cities" leaded by Ferruccio Pastore (Bergamaschi & Ponzo, 2011) are two examples of applied research that ascertain background and prepare the field for innovative policies directly devoted for the cities' neighborhoods.

The observation of these particular areas of encounter permits a more precise analysis of places where immigrants and natives co-exist on their interactions. The neighborhood as the focal unit of investigation not only gives the possibility of observing the developing relations, but it also bears the possible social significance of space that exceeds the sense of the pure urbanistic delimitation. (see Amin, 2002; Lee, 2002; Jayaweera & Coudhury, 2008; Tyler & Jensen, 2009; Wessendorf, 2010). Although, being far from determinism, this



research assumes that neighborhoods constitute an influencing context where interactions develop.

Although driven by various points of view, methodologies and aims, abovementioned research projects are excellent examples that neighborhood, as the geographical and administrative unit surfaces every time more frequently as a ground for research of ethnic interactions. The important part of the influencing factors seems to be related to the neighborhood's geography. The neighborhood's territorial planning including a kind of streets (e.g. wide or narrow) and the presence of common spaces (e.g. squares, passages, playgrounds, civic and cultural institutions) is one of the factors that influences significantly on the possibilities and characteristics of interactions. The connection with other parts of the city characterized by the location of the neighborhood or the development of its transport infrastructure may convert it to Wallman's (1982; 2005; 2006) more "open" or "closed" system what influence directly the diversity and hospitality of the neighborhood. Last but not least, the presence of buildings or institutions of special interest (e.g. the monuments attracting tourist attention) may influence the perception of the interactions within neighborhood. Blurring the perception of immigrants presence by the inflow of foreign tourists or creating tensions when it comes to use of neighborhood's public space are possible issues.

In fact, there are relevant and current examples in the literature of the influence of place on the interactions that Polish immigrants are engaged in. Gill and Bialski (2011) write even about the "tyranny of micro-geography" referring to the immediate neighborhoods incidence on forming and accessing social networks by low socio-economic status immigrants. Place was also an issue in the Stanek's (2003) research on Polish immigrants in Madrid where he described the limited relations of Polish immigrants with natives. He stated that most of the Polish immigrants maintain scarce contacts with natives and that their contacts with immigrants of other nationalities are limited to Eastern and Central Europeans. According to Stanek, job was a central part of everyday's life of Polish immigrants, mostly employed in the informal domestic and construction sectors. Furthermore, location-particularly neighborhood and school - was also noted as a relevant issue by Ryan (2011).

Especially, mothers with young children are described as those who, through their children, included neighborhood contacts with natives in their social networks. Not only schools, but also related places of encounter like parks or playgrounds have been mentioned by Lopez-Rodriguez (2010). Both Ryan (2011) and

Lopez-Rodriguez (2010) observe that those neighborhood based acquaintances are of various levels of deepness. (Wladyka & Morén-Alegret, 2013, Introduction section, para. 2)

Recent research every time more frequently includes a diverse range of spaces and relationships going beyond the issue of urban ethnic enclavas which were formerly approached by the geography of ethnic relations (Jackson, 2008). Researchers like Wasserman, Womersley and Gottlieb (1998), Morén-Alegret (2005b), Kasimis (2009), Jentsch and Simard (2009), that studied immigration also in rural areas and small towns, put emphasis on relationship between place and experience. Furthermore, the use of the same unit: neighborhood in the research of small towns brings even more insight into the detail and comparison, especially while it comes to the interaction's context. The characteristics of the urban life together with density of population have already been mentioned in the previous paragraphs as affecting inter-ethnic interactions (e.g. McLaren, 2003). The aforementioned Keith's reflections on Simmel's paradox of "distance" and Siebel's considerations based on Simmel's thoughts on urban life as indifferent, aloof and airiness indicate the urban life's inclinations to produce indifference toward foreigners. On the other hand, researchers like Stein et al. (2000) concluded that more positive attitudes toward immigrants are to be found within the low-density areas. This paradox reflects very well that the quality of ethnic interactions need does not have to reflect proportionally the physical distance of living in a densely populated neighborhood of big city and small town. Exactly for this reason it is a challenge of this research to compare the ethnic experiences of Polish immigrants found in both types of urban structures.

## **2.9. Everyday Life as an Arena for Developing Inter-Ethnic Experiences**

Saunders (1985, p.67) stated that "Where and when [human] activity occurs is important in explaining and understanding it". The concept of everyday life have been already marked in the above mentioned studies showing interrelation of space and ethnic interactions. Everyday life is understood in this dissertation as a life rich in interactions that occur on the street, in the subway, on the bus, etc. This life is full of accidental associations, sharing common values and cooperation for the common goal (Lofland, 1998, p.27). Daily life activities include regular and routine practices of people, the cultural tissue and important events in their life, the organization of the family and domestic space, the food, the language,

all significant practices and educational and professional context. Rather than being determined by a cultural tradition, the daily life of many people is "negotiated" at intersections and overlaps of the various cultural differences (Karner, 2007, pp. 5-6, p. 36).

The above understanding of everyday life sets-up the handful setting for the research on the inter-ethnic experiences treated as a continuous construction emerging in the particular environment. This already has been acknowledged in various studies, e.g. broader mentioned in the previous paragraphs Ley studies (1974) focused on the neglected neighborhoods, Relph's idea (1976) that various modes of space are differently experienced in everyday life or Jackson and Smith's (1984) considerations about the of reference points for local people in their everyday lives. In this scope, also ethnicity as an ingredient of inter-ethnic experiences is understood here as a situational product of relations that evolve between groups in a society of change (Lin, 2005, p.103). This understanding of the inter-ethnic experiences is rooted in the work of authors such as Webber who emphasized the importance of understanding the situation from the point of view of participants. "The infrequency of spontaneous contact and a lack of spatial proximity cause the self to develop without direct reference to others and environment. According to Webber (1963) the product is a 'community without propinquity'" (Wilson, 1980, p. 144).

In societies composed of actors from diverse cultures, individuals of various origins experience themselves in a continuous manner. Still, there is a question (already mentioned in the considerations about Contact Theory) of how much everyday life interaction exists in this experience. As Wilson stated already in 1980, the boundaries are no longer set by the territory and developed by the face-to-face interaction, but rather replaced with the limits of electronic communication with no spatial boundaries. As result, even the nearest environment may be (coming back to Simmel's, Keith's and Siebel's considerations) seen as 'distant' by the individual and therefore do not provoke any 'emotional or personal response' (Wilson, 1980, p. 144). However, according to Karner (2007), it must be remembered that ethnicity is a product composed of several factors and interaction is not the only one influencing its shape. Likewise, the historical and cultural context of the individual is not exclusive in forming the ethnicity. Karner based his thought on what Raymond Williams said about culture being composed of two major aspects. Firstly, there are the known meanings and directions, so that members of the culture would be trained. Secondly, there are meanings and new observations, discovered during an individual's life. Similarly, Zygmunt Bauman believes that culture is a continuous process defined by the ambivalences that give meaning to it. The definition of

culture presented by Karner who built it on Williams and Bauman, among others, brings a very important useful contribution in order to build the basis of what is understood as inter-ethnic experience in this research: “Culture becomes a process that includes meanings and patterns rooted in the past, the present contingencies and future-oriented agencies of individuals which negotiate the world as they know it and experience, both routinely and creatively.” (Karner, 2007, p.24)

The somehow similar approach may be found in Walter’s (1984) work. He highlights that relationship between different ethnic groups living side by side reflects attitudes and shared experiences developed over time, as well as immediate circumstances. Both contemporary processes and the contribution of the past must therefore be examined if recent developments are to be understood (Walter, 1984, p.259). On the other hand, according to Wilson (1980, p.139), the even more profound insight into the micro-level of socio-spatial analysis (especially in the relation to social groups) can be achieved following considerations built on the Dewey and Mead based Symbolic interaction theory. Thus, the spatial behaviors of individuals should be influenced by their interactions as specific group’s members. Respectively, Goffman (1967) sees the direct participation in groups as greatly important. Accordingly, some studies (e.g. Burton & Kates, 1964; Buttimer, 1972; Shibutani, 1955) showed that one’s origin in different societies, lifelong experiences or simply belonging to some groups would affect the spatial-oriented behavior. This pattern is also visible in relatively recent research about Polish immigrants in Madrid metropolitan area conducted by Stanek (2003, *El manejo del espacio* section, para. 1) who in one of his observations stated that “Poles do not understand the social function of bar in the Spanish everyday’s life”. In the perspective of above mentioned studies, it is essential to consequently underline the shift of human environment of Polish immigrants who arrive to Catalonia. In previous sections of this dissertation, while contextualizing contemporary Poland regarding ethnic diversity, the limited number of rather small ethnic and national minorities different from “Polish” appeared as present rather in particular locations. Poland is a country of emigration which in recent years has included as destination also Catalonia. Thus, it is not difficult to find a few individuals who, for various reasons, mostly seeking for better economic opportunities, left Poland and settled in Catalonia that nowadays is home for various ethnicities originated mainly with migration movements.

Based on the abovementioned considerations, it is fundamental to consider the importance of both: the experience of the individual and their own cultural background in the

development of inter-ethnic experiences. These factors are also included in the Giddens' structuring theory which involves the duality of structure. Giddens stresses the importance of interaction that is the source of the production and reproduction of modes of changes of the rules and resources that guide the individual (Giddens, 1984, p.25) .

It has been explained how the inter-ethnic experiences are understood in this dissertation. It is also important to make clear what is understood here as the contents of inter-ethnic experiences and why the concepts of nation, 'race' or ethnic minority, which are interchangeable, among others, in many mass media news, are not directly used in this study (Cater & Jones, 1989, p.137). It should also be remembered, as it was already mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, that understanding of these concepts during many years of the social research was characterized with more or less overlapping uses. The 'race' was primarily associated with the physical features, although it is currently clearly recognized that this is a social and not a biological construct (Cater & Jones, 1989; Cavalli-Sforza, 2000; Yinger, 1986). There are several examples showing that physical markers taken as racial characteristics changed with history and culture (Karner, 2007, p.16). One very obvious, and interesting in the perspective of this dissertation, is the story of the Polish military that came as part of Napoleon's army to Haiti to recover the island from rebel hands of African Americans. Polish soldiers joined the forces of Napoleon with the idea of bringing independence. Once realizing that the real goal is to take away the independence from the hands of slaves, they refused to fight against them and joined the opposite forces. After the final defeat of Napoleon's forces, in 1805 the constitution of the island was proclaimed and any activity related to any property on the Island was prohibited to white people. The same constitution granted the Poles equal rights as the African-American people, considering them black (Fischer, 2004; James, 1989).

The nations are usually associated with the territory, state institutions and cultural histories. Minority groups are considered as excluded, discriminated against and / or perceived as "other" by physical or cultural characteristics such as language, religion, customs and traditions of its members who differ from the majority of society (Cater & Jones, 1989, p.138). On the other hand, ethnicity is in its content associated with culture, ancestry, stories and memories, and language group. At the end, both 'race' (and racism) and ethnicity (and ethnic prejudice) exceed the structure and ideology limit and become socially created and reinforced by the practices of everyday life (Essed, 1991, p.2). Similarly national, "racial" and ethnic groups are not entities occurring naturally, but these are concepts based on the social

processes which, in turn, these denomination subsequently reflect, and in the discourses that construct and subsequently materialize differences between groups. Though contemporary research shows its relativity, nation, 'race' and ethnicity are concepts that influence the beliefs and behaviors for so long until people believe in them (Karner, 2007, p.17).

Inter-ethnic experiences, for a variety of factors, are more flexible and operative as working definition than other aforementioned terms. This flexibility is well visible in the role of ethnicity as a mirror of social processes and the director of the differences between groups. It is also present in the usefulness of the construct of the ethnicity for an individual. Following Karner, we can say that ethnicity is a way people see the world and that gives people two important tools: the differentiation between us and others and also a branch of shared meanings which allow to interpret the world and the place of an individual due to pre-existing theories. Ethnic beliefs are parallelly restrictive and permissive, i.e. they make some actions more likely than others (Karner, 2007, pp.29-32).

Getting to this point and taking into account the objectives of this research, which are inter-ethnic experiences of Polish immigrants in Catalonia, it is useful to repeat again that "ethnic" is understood in this study as the way the individual interprets the world based on the categories of "we" and "others" both composed by elements such as culture, ancestry, stories, memories and language of the group. Those elements are developed along everyday experiences and processes that reinforce and / or redefine the cultural background and influence on the likelihood of participation in social interactions.

## CHAPTER III –METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

### 3.1. Introduction

While explaining the methodology of a study, it is useful practice to briefly introduce the researcher's academic and personal background, as it undoubtedly influences on the development of the research. Obviously, basic factors like my Polish nationality, being male of relatively young age, and possessing the cultural background inherited in the Catholic religion should be firstly shared with the reader in order to provide a chance of developing critical approach toward the conducted research. In the general introduction to this dissertation, I have already mentioned both personal, rooted in individual migration process, and academic origins of my interest in the researched phenomenon. Still, it might be useful for the reader to provide some more details in that matter. This way, the reader would be more likely to follow the individual perspective of the researcher.

While, the basic task of every researcher is the pursuance of the objectivity in his research activities, it is impossible to neglect an individual context of experiences brought by the researcher to the study that he carries out. This is especially significant in a study rooted in social sciences that describes interactions and opinions of individuals. On the other hand, personal features of the researcher cannot be omitted by the individuals encountered during the ethnographic fieldwork, and especially contacted during the interviews.

Following these premises, it should be stated here, that the background of this dissertation has been based on my previous sociological academic studies in Poland, but also further interdisciplinary graduate courses in Sociology, Psychology and History studied e.g. in the United States. My admission to the Doctoral Program at the Department of Geography at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, and subsequent participation in the research projects carried out by the Migration Research Group at the Department of Geography allowed me to grasp and appreciate the spatial perspective on the social life underlined by the theorists and researchers related mostly to Human Geography. While my personal academic background certainly influences on the development of the dissertation, my previous professional experience as a press reporter also left the footprint on the fieldwork of the study, like conducting interviews, but also gathering photographic and documental evidence while carrying out fieldwork. Additionally, my personal history should not be omitted as not relevant. I come from a Polish town located at the historical Three Emperors' Corner that

during partition of Poland, between the end of XIX and the beginning of XX centuries, constituted a border between Russian, Austria-Hungary and the German Empires. Also currently, it constitutes a part of the administrative region of Silesia, despite not being territorial part of recently strongly ‘reinvented’ Silesian ‘nationality’. Therefore, my personal history, as for many researchers connects with the researched phenomenon of inter-ethnic experiences. I hope that this glimpse into these personal characteristics provide the reader with additional information to follow the researcher’s perspective on the analyzed phenomena.

### **3.2. The Hypothesis and Research Questions**

The ethnic background of the population of contemporary Poland, the composition of contemporary Catalan society, and the phenomenon of Polish immigration in Catalonia at the beginning of the XXI century combined with theoretical premises explained in the previous paragraphs lead to basic assumptions that guide this research. Based on the cited literature, the principal hypothesis of this dissertation assumes that *the inter-ethnic experiences of Polish immigrants in Catalan neighborhoods lead to the emergence of the opinions about ethnically diverse life environment and about particular groups contacted during everyday’s life, while the socio-economic and spatial factors modulate both, the possibilities of experiences and the consequent opinions*. This assumption is considered in the comparative perspective of a large city, and a small town neighborhoods with significant presence of ethnically diverse actors of everyday’s life. The following paragraphs provide a short recapitulation of appropriate insights from the literature, in each case followed by the particular research questions that support examination of the basic assumptions of this study.

- a) Several of the previously mentioned studies and theories list certain spatial and social features of contact between ethnic groups as influential on inter-ethnic relations. As an example, the study by Gunthrie and Hutchinson (1995) highlighted the significant role that public spaces have within the neighborhoods from the point of view of the Conflict Theory. Similar observations, but on the example of most recent Eastern European immigrants in the UK have been done by Hickman et al. (2008). On the other hand, basic premises of the Contact Theory indicate the certain features of contact between ethnic groups (most importantly the transition from anonymity to acquaintance) are the factors that permits develop positive attitudes (Hallinan & Maureen 1989; McLaren, 2003).



Drawing on the mentioned literature this study will attempt to answer the following research questions:

- What are the social and spatial features of inter-ethnic everyday experiences within and outside of the neighborhood?
  - What opinions about other ethnic groups emerge on the base of the everyday's experience?
- b) The previously presented assumptions of Contact Theory are that, with certain conditions fulfilled, the contact between ethnic groups would lead to positive attitudes and inter-ethnic relations (Alport 1954, Brewer & Miller, 1996). Still, one of the significant debates between the Contact Theorists in interethnic relations is the effect of the neighborhood's ethnic diversity on the development of hostile attitudes and participation in the neighborhood's social life (e.g. Bisin et al., 2006, Pettigrew et al., 2011, Putnam, 2007, Quillian & Campbell, 2003). There is also an important line of research that integrates Contact and Conflict Theories and suggest distinct effects of the perceived and real ethnic groups presence, and highlighting that it is crucial for the ethnically diverse neighborhoods to generate interactions and cooperation since solely anonymous interethnic contact (or solely presence of various ethnic groups) would lead to negative inter-ethnic relations (e.g. Pettigrew et al., 2010). These considerations are especially interesting in a case of these Polish immigrants that arrived directly into the highly diverse neighborhood from the homogeneous communities that do not host ethnic groups other than Polish. The mentioned debates will be embraced in this research project by i.a. implementing following research question:
- What is the perception of ethnic diversity in general?
  - What is the perception of particular ethnic groups' presence in the neighborhood?
  - What is the participation in social life of the neighborhood?
  - What is the perception of 'others'' participation?
  - Did and how the opinions of Polish immigrants about other ethnic groups and about ethnic diversity changed through the everyday inter-ethnic experiences?

c) Previously cited theoretical considerations (e.g. Keith, 2008) about influence of physical “distance” on inter-ethnic contact, studies highlighting the doubtful influence of high density of urban population for inter-ethnic relations (e.g. McLaren, 2003), and every time more frequently emerging studies on immigration in low-density areas (e.g. Morén-Alegret, 2008; Kasimis, 2009) that often show positive inter-ethnic relations (Stein et al., 2000) lead to the following research question:

- What differences in the development of interactions through everyday life between Polish immigrants and other ethnic groups can be seen by comparing the Polish immigrants living in a neighborhood of a large city and small town?

d) The Social Identity Theory is a base for an assumption about favoritism towards own group (and possible discriminatory behaviors and attitudes toward other groups) that helps in improving self-esteem through the sense of belonging (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Tajfel's, 1982). Some developments of this approach could also consider an influence of sense of belonging to the particular neighborhood as beneficial to individual's self-esteem and therefore crosscutting boundaries of ethnical belonging. This considerations drive to the following research questions:

- What are the features of intra-group interactions between Polish immigrants and what perception of their compatriot immigrants, Polish immigrants have?
- What is the evaluation of socio-economic profile of the neighborhood and what is a level of consciousness about neighborhood socio-political life?

e) The personal economic standing and education level appear as important mediators of inter-ethnic relations from the points of view of Conflict and Ethnic Competition Theories (e.g. Blumer, 1958; Pardos-Prado, 2011). That relationship is especially highlighted if the competition over a tangible goods (job, social services, public spaces, etc.) exacerbate because of the scarce resources. Importantly, some of the material conflicts (e.g. public space, public safety) may become twofold if according to Social Identity Theory enter on the symbolic level (Tajfel's, 1982). Additionally, ongoing competition on the resources may have influence on the attitudes of inter-ethnic relations' actors toward integration policies (Callens et al., 2013). These considerations are extremely important for the research presented here especially because the resources disputed by the groups that may become a source of conflict are also considered as useful tools in bringing a diverse

community together in other circumstances (e.g. Godkin, 1980; Ley, 1974; Packard, 1972; Wilson, 1980). Accordingly, the following research questions will be considered in an attempt to deal with the above presented problem:

- Is there a relation between socio-economic characteristics of Polish immigrants and their perception of other ethnic groups?
- What is a perception of presence, quality, accessibility and patterns of use of the neighborhood's public spaces?
- Is there a relation between a perception of neighborhoods' live quality, inhabitants' economic status and inter-ethnic relations?

f) Although ideological and political inclinations of Polish immigrants are not an objective of this dissertation, the recent study by Pardos-Prado (2011) who relate Ethnic Competition Theory and Ideology as joint moderators of conflicting attitudes constitutes a good reason to attempt an exploratory description of political participation. While the mere categorization of political stances at the solely exploratory level of analysis would also be biased, because of the already stated by Pardos-Prado (2011) different cultural, social and economic heritage of post communist countries, the general political participation is still a noteworthy perspective, especially that it can either create synergies or conflicts because of its symbolic weightiness (e.g. Lanceen & Dronkers, 2011). The preceding considerations would be analyzed from the following perspective:

- Does a political participation creates inter-ethnic synergies in the neighborhood or rather constitutes obstacle for inter-ethnic interactions?

g) The human geographers and spatial sociologists have on multiple occasions considered how the relation between spatial characteristics of the neighborhood and life-style and life-stage may influence on the intergroup relations (e.g. Fischer, 1977; Michelson, 1970; Walter, 1984; Young & Willmott, 1957). These interrelations appear to be especially influencing in case of especially for children, young parents, housewives and elderly. Some of these interdependencies have already been reproduced in the recent studies on Polish immigration in the UK (e.g. Lopez-Rodriguez, 2010; Ryan, 2011). Following the mentioned findings, this study will attempt to answer the following question:

- What (and if) is there a relation between life-stage, life-style and spatial features of the neighborhood in developing the inter-ethnic interactions.

### **3.3. The Research Design and Locations**

Following the previously mentioned methodological considerations in inter-ethnic relations studies, an attempt to provide a twofold perspective of macro and micro level will be undertaken. While the ethnographic observation combined with the statistical data collection will constitute significant sources of information about macro-image, the micro level data will be gathered mainly using semi-structured interviews and a qualitative analysis of the obtained data. Using this qualitative technique allows me to research inter-ethnic encounters within the understanding of ethnicity presented in previous paragraphs of this dissertation, i.e. maintaining the importance of the individual's point of view and, above all, the impact of the personal experience. Therefore, the structure of the interview presented below is not exclusive. While the main goal is to answer the research questions, the queries have also a role of stimulus to the interviewee who can develop other research related topics. The basic structure of the interview is presented below and the complete guide is attached as Annex 1:

- a) The interviewee profile.
- b) Spatial features of location's social and economic activity.
- c) The spatial features of interethnic encounters.
- d) The participation in the organizations and social mobilization.
- e) The perception of local politics and political / electoral participation.
- f) The outcomes of interethnic encounters.

A decisive factor in the selection process of the locations for the research project upon which this dissertation is based was related to the previously explained theoretical approaches. Therefore the two selected locations had to be characterized by a relatively large Polish immigrant population (compared to other Catalan locations) and a high ethnic diversity of society. In tune with the research questions posed, one of the chosen neighborhoods is part of a large city and the other is part of a small town. That allows to compare the development of interactions in two places of different urban structures.

As it was mentioned beforehand, the neighborhood as the main unit of investigation not only gives the possibility of observing the developing relations positioned in the public spaces, but it also bears the possible social significance that exceeds the sense of the pure

urbanistic delimitation. Furthermore, it is the smallest administrative unit that allows comparison between the gathered qualitative data and statistical indicators. Still, the neighborhood will be continuously understood in the context of the city and will be treated here as a spatial context of everyday's life experiences. It may be understood as a center of individual's residence, work or leisure.

### **3.3.1. *The Sagrada Familia Neighborhood Located in Barcelona*<sup>15</sup>**

Barcelona, a large city, is the center of Polish immigration to Catalonia and a symbol of cultural heterogeneity of this region and was chosen intentionally as a location for this research. "It is a Mediterranean coastal city located in North-eastern Spain, relatively close to the French border. Barcelona is the capital of Catalonia, a historical nation that today is officially considered an autonomous region within Spain" (Morén-Alegret, Wladyka, & Mas, 2011, p.4). In Catalonia as a whole, both Catalan and Castilian (i.e. Spanish) have been co-official languages since democracy was restored in the late 1970s. Since the 1980s, some public policies have been implemented in order to promote Catalan language with relative success in some areas. Barcelona has a long industrial tradition, but since the 1980s and 1990s, the city has been mainly devoted to services, including retail commerce, tourism and international trade. The twenty first century, brought in turn growing innovative sectors linked to cultural, educational and scientific activities, as well as IT and the so-called knowledge economy" (Morén-Alegret et al., 2011, p.4; Morén-Alegret, et al., 2012, p.7)

The local census (*Padrón Municipal*) shows that 17.5% of Barcelona's residents are foreign nationals (see Table 10). According to IDESCAT database (2012) forty national groups consisted of more than 1,000 residents, i.e. 15 nationalities from Europe (including 22,899 Italians among the EU residents, and 4,314 Russians among the non-EU residents), 15 nationalities from the Americas (including 15,755 Ecuadorians), 7 nationalities from Asia (including 23,254 Pakistanis) and 3 from Africa (including 13,733 Moroccans). The migration flows during the twenty and twenty-first centuries were the main factors that influenced on current ethnic composition of Barcelona. Apart from the internal rural-urban migration

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<sup>15</sup> As it was mentioned in the introduction and in some previous chapters, this thesis has been partially developed within the framework of the *Concordia Discors* research project, thus some fragments devoted to the description of Barcelona city and in particular Sagrada Familia neighborhood are the result of the Barcelona's team collaboration (Ricard Morén-Alegret, Albert Mas & Dawid Wladyka) and have been already disseminated in the publications related to the research project's results, in particular: Morén-Alegret, Mas and Wladyka (2012), and Wladyka and Morén-Alegret (2013). Still, it should be noted that several of those fragments have been updated and modified, so they reflect the development of the doctoral project, its features as a comparative study, and the most recent data available.

movements within Catalonia into the Barcelona metropolitan region, there were two periods of major internal immigration growth: 1916 – 1930 and 1950s - 1970s (see also: Morén-Alegret, 2002; Pascual-de-Sans, Cardelús & Solana, 2000). The immigration of highly skilled workers, employers, and financial investors (and their families) mainly from north-western European countries was already visible during the early days of the industrialisation process. Since the 1960s, transcontinental immigration, mostly from less developed countries, began to make its presence felt. The 1990s and the first decade of the twenty-first century saw the most significant immigration of low-skilled workers (devoted to domestic services, construction, restaurants, etc.) from Morocco, the Philippines, Pakistan, and especially in the 2000s, from Latin-America. They were mainly women who were working in domestic service, restaurants, hotels, and other services. At the same time, many South American men went to work within the then booming construction sector. The rest of continental origins continued to grow, but Latin American immigration became the most numerous (Morén-Alegret et al., 2011; Morén-Alegret et al., 2012; Wladyka & Morén-Alegret, 2013).

During the second half of the 2000s, Asian immigrants, especially Chinese and Pakistanis, have been those showing the most significant growth in Barcelona, simultaneously extending networks involving a variety of businesses. At the same time, due to the economic crisis, over the past few years the African and Latin American immigrant population has become almost stagnant and the numbers of some nationalities have declined. The first decade of the 21st century was also a period of increasing migration from Poland to Barcelona. Between the years 2001 and 2009 Polish immigration in Barcelona multiplied nearly eightfold, and in the period 2009-2010 became apparently stable at a figure of roughly 2,300 people. The most important events driving this migration were the accession of Poland to the European Union (EU) in the year 2004 and the opening up of the Spanish employment market to Polish immigrants in 2006. This trend is also similar to their increase in other parts of Catalonia and Spain. Nonetheless, the limited number of Polish immigrants in Barcelona ten years ago should not be interpreted as meaning that they were not present in Barcelona in the previous decades. Three examples of this presence are especially worth mentioning: 1) the foundation of the Honorary Consulate of the Republic of Poland in Barcelona in 1930; 2) the beginning of activity of the Polish-Spanish Chamber of Commerce in Barcelona in 1931;

and 3) the post-war influx of Polish children stolen by the Nazis during the second world war (Barbería, 2008; Pernal, 2008). Additionally, in the mid1990s, a group of Polish immigrants instigated a social process in order to set up a Polish association in Barcelona. For instance, in 1996 some of these participated in the *Festa de la Diversitat*, where they distributed leaflets (Morén-Alegret, 1999). Their main aims were to organise social and cultural activities, to raise awareness about Poland by distributing information among local Catalan people and to participate in Catalan cultural life on a par with other immigrant communities from abroad or from other parts of Spain (Wladyka & Morén-Alegret, 2013, Polish Immigrants Encountering Diversity in Barcelona section, para. 1).

**Table 10. The population of Barcelona by sex and main nationalities, 1st January 2012**

	<b>Both sexes</b>	<b>% of (1)</b>	<b>Males</b>	<b>% of (1)</b>	<b>Females</b>	<b>% of (1)</b>
<b>Total Population (1)</b>	1620943	100	769819	100	851124	100
Spaniards	1337498	82,5	622597	80,9	714901	84,0
<b>Total Foreigners</b>	283445	17,5	147222	19,1	136223	16,0
<b>Total Europe</b>	87755	5,4	43776	5,7	43979	5,2
<b>Total EU</b>	72678	4,5	37247	4,8	35431	4,2
Germany	6583	0,4	3195	0,4	3388	0,4
Bulgary	1882	0,1	879	0,1	1003	0,1
France	11918	0,7	5959	0,8	5959	0,7
Italy	22899	1,4	12700	1,6	10199	1,2
Poland	2222	0,1	906	0,1	1316	0,2
Portugal	3796	0,2	2022	0,3	1774	0,2
Unite Kingdom	5754	0,4	3233	0,4	2521	0,3
Romania	6911	0,4	3270	0,4	3641	0,4
<b>Total Non-EU Europe</b>	15077	0,9	6529	0,8	8548	1,0
Russia	4314	0,3	1345	0,2	2969	0,3
Ukraine	3021	0,2	1312	0,2	1709	0,2
<b>Total Africa</b>	20734	1,3	13031	1,7	7703	0,9
Argelia	1748	0,1	1241	0,2	507	0,1
Morocco	13732	0,8	8086	1,1	5646	0,7
Nigeria	910	0,1	550	0,1	360	0,0
Senegal	1079	0,1	918	0,1	161	0,0
<b>Total America</b>	112331	6,9	49523	6,4	62808	7,4
Argentina	7625	0,5	3860	0,5	3765	0,4
Bolivia	14201	0,9	5434	0,7	8767	1,0
Brazil	6834	0,4	2977	0,4	3857	0,5
Colombia	12456	0,8	5740	0,7	6716	0,8
Cuba	2279	0,1	1094	0,1	1185	0,1

	<b>Both sexes</b>	<b>% of (1)</b>	<b>Males</b>	<b>% of (1)</b>	<b>Females</b>	<b>% of (1)</b>
Chile	4762	0,3	2379	0,3	2383	0,3
Ecuador	15755	1,0	7534	1,0	8221	1,0
Paraguay	4517	0,3	1303	0,2	3214	0,4
Peru	13610	0,8	6261	0,8	7349	0,9
Dominican Republic	7676	0,5	3400	0,4	4276	0,5
Uruguay	2193	0,1	1156	0,2	1037	0,1
Venezuela	4401	0,3	2026	0,3	2375	0,3
<b>Total Asia</b>	62243	3,8	40684	5,3	21559	2,5
China	15920	1,0	8042	1,0	7878	0,9
Pakistan	23254	1,4	18733	2,4	4521	0,5
<b>Oceania and stateless persons</b>	382	0,0	208	0,0	174	0,0

Source: INE, 2012

Since 2008 the city of Barcelona is officially divided in the following geographical units: 10 Municipal Districts, 73 Neighborhoods, 233 Basic Statistical Areas (*AEB*), 1.061 Census tracks<sup>16</sup>. The Polish residents in Barcelona are distributed relatively evenly among the neighborhoods of the city. There is not a geographical concentration of Polish residents in any of the neighborhoods. Nevertheless, a visible pattern is that the neighborhoods with the highest number of Polish immigrants are mostly centrally located (Wladyka & Morén-Alegret, 2013) (see Map 4 and Table 11). In order to decide where to carry out a fieldwork, the documental and statistical reviews were implemented regarding the neighborhoods with the highest figures of Polish figures. From that documental work, it emerged that Sagrada Familia is an appropriate neighborhood to take into consideration as the research's object.

Today, there are few places marked by the presence of Polish institutions, on the map of Barcelona, but some of them are within or close to the Sagrada Familia neighborhood, particularly, the Polish Information Point and Polish Library run by the Polish-Catalan Association and the Polish shop named "Krakoviak" (see Map 5). Additionally, the Polish School and the Consulate General of Poland are relatively near that area too.<sup>17</sup> Among the aforementioned places, the "Krakoviak" shop could be the most significant "Polish" spot for the Polish immigrants everyday's life for the following reasons: 1) its geographical location just by the famous Gaudi's temple in the center of Barcelona; 2) the permanency of its location during the last years; 3) its accessibility on a daily basis; and 4) its street level access

<sup>16</sup> Barcelona City Council's Statistical Department explains the idea and introduction of the neighborhoods division in Barcelona at the following website: <http://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/angles/terri/index.htm>

<sup>17</sup> The presence of the section of Slavic Studies at University of Barcelona, although not directly linked to the phenomena of Polish immigration should also be noted at this point, since it takes part in dissemination of Polish cultural heritage, with special significance of the Polish language (see: [http://www.ub.edu/dprse/info\\_general.htm](http://www.ub.edu/dprse/info_general.htm)).



and its visibility for passing byers. Apart from being a grocery store with Polish products, it is used as a place for exchanging information and services (Wladyka & Morén-Alegret, 2013, Selecting a Barcelona Neighbourhood Containing and Surrounded by Polish Institutions: Sagrada Familia section, para. 2). According to some interviews carried out in Barcelona, those reasons were also taken into account by the board of the Polish-Catalan Association before moving its offices (including the Polish Information Point and the Polish Library) to the proximity of the Sagrada Familia neighborhood. That event empowers even more the investigation of Sagrada Familia neighborhood as an arena for interaction of Polish immigrants in Barcelona (Wladyka & Morén-Alegret, 2013).<sup>18</sup>

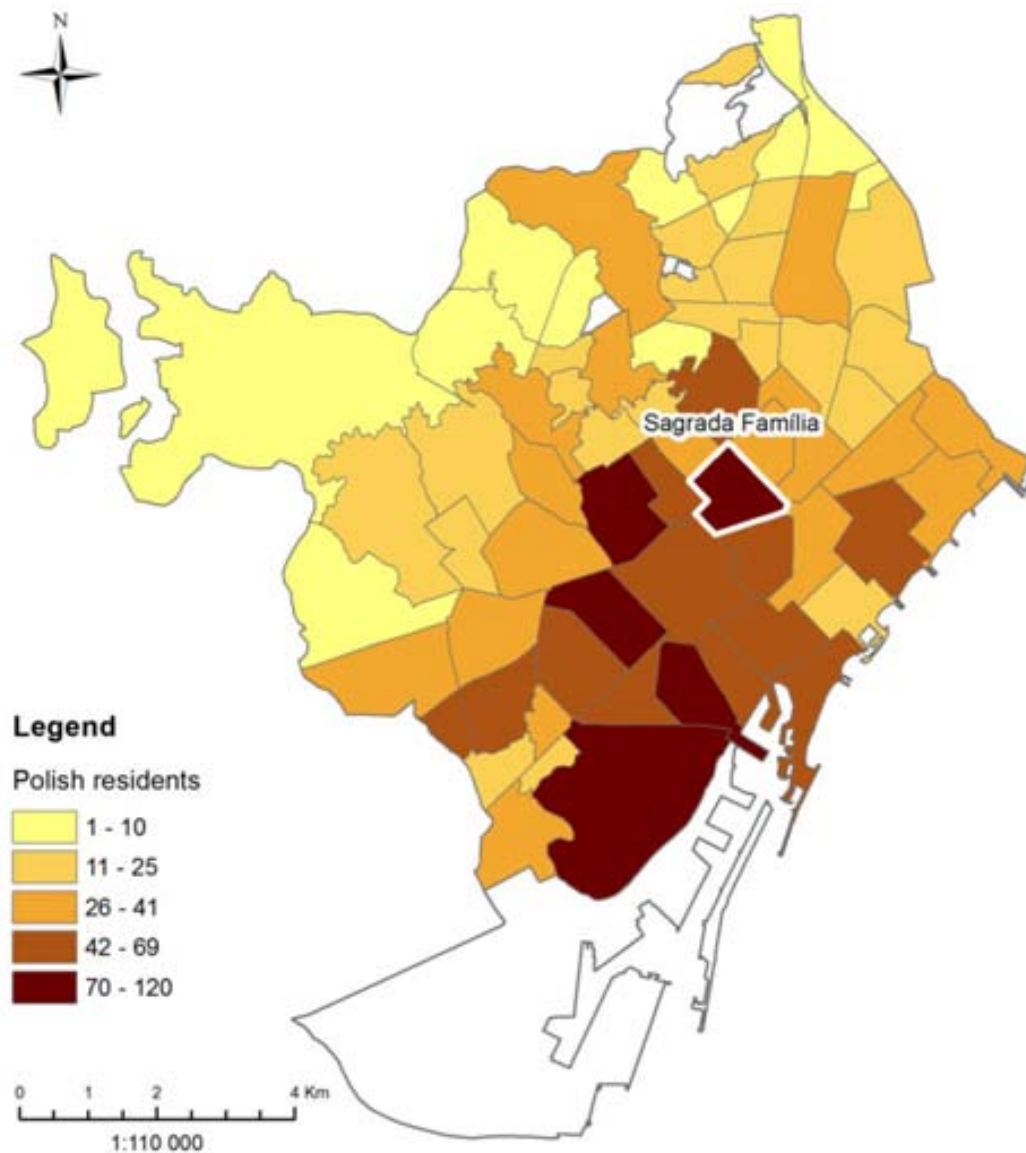
**Table 11. Neighborhoods with the highest number of Polish registered residents, 1st January 2010**

Neighborhood	Number of Polish registered residents
el Raval	103
el Poble Sec - Parc Montjuïc	94
la Nova Esquerra de l'Eixample	87
la Sagrada Família	86
Sants - Badal	84
l'Antiga Esquerra de l'Eixample	64
Sant Antoni	63
La Dreta de l'Eixample	61
El Barri Gòtic	60
La Barceloneta	58
El Camp d'en Grassot i Gràcia Nova	57

*Source: INE, 2010*

<sup>18</sup> It should be noted that, at the moment of closing this research, the activity of the Polish Information Point in Barcelona has been temporarily suspended due to funding limitations (see: [http://barcelona.msz.gov.pl/pl/polonia\\_w\\_katalonii/polski\\_punkt\\_informacyjny\\_2/](http://barcelona.msz.gov.pl/pl/polonia_w_katalonii/polski_punkt_informacyjny_2/)). On the other hand, it should also be mentioned that at the beginning of the second decade of the 21st century an Internet based social-media initiative was launched among Polish immigrants in Barcelona (see: <https://www.facebook.com/PoloniaBarcelona>). Although, it is not directly linked to this research project, following the development of initiatives like that could be interesting for future studies devoted to Polish immigrants in Barcelona.

**Map 4. Polish registered residents in the neighborhoods of Barcelona municipality, 1 January 2012**



Elaborated by Dawid Wladyka. Georeferenced data provided by the ICC and IGN. Population data source: INE, 2012.

**Map 5. The places marked by the presence of Polish immigrants on the map of Barcelona municipality**

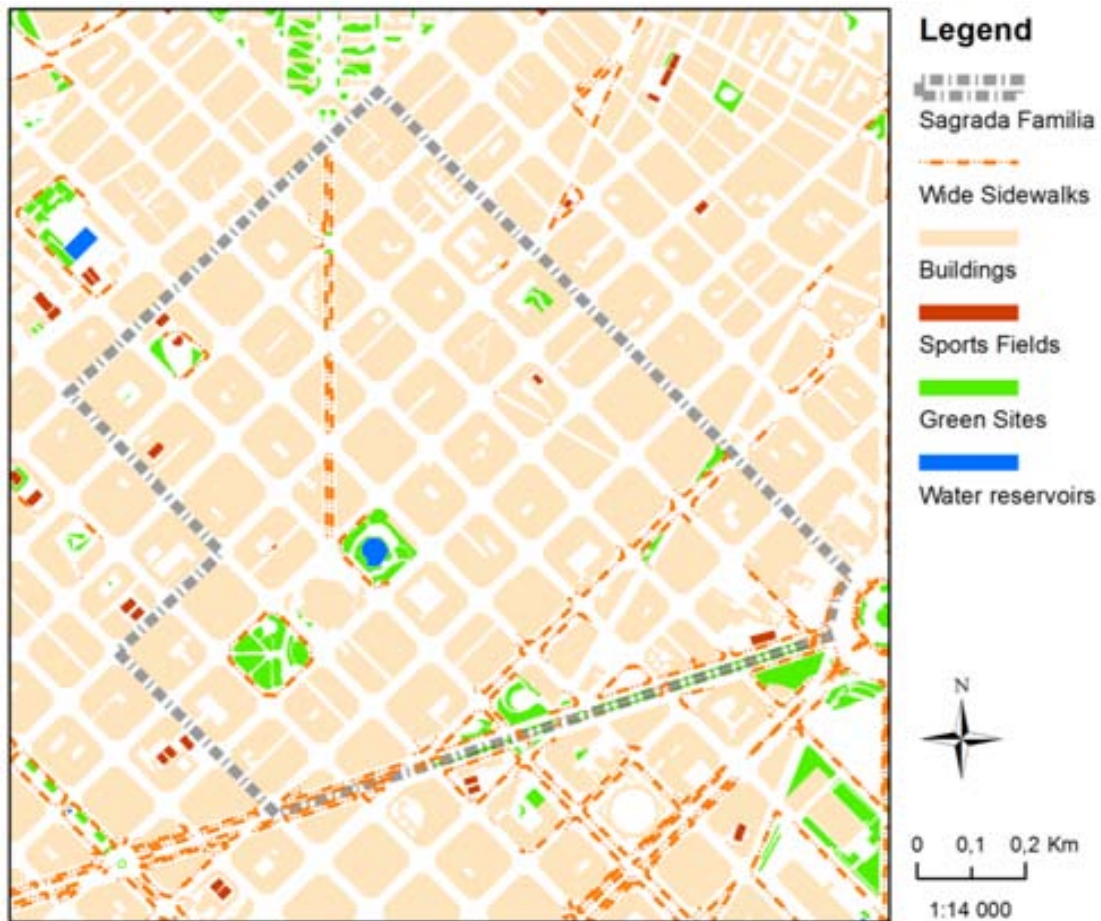


*Elaborated by Dawid Wladyka. Georeferenced data provided by the ICC and IGN.*

Sagrada Família is today mainly considered a semi-central low middle-class neighborhood placed in Eixample district, with a percentage of foreign residents around the Barcelona average. This residential neighborhood in Barcelona is characterized, among other factors, by high population density, wide immigration diversity and visible immigrants' economic activity. Another important feature of the neighborhood is a year-round high influx of foreign and national tourists, especially caused by the location of famous Gaudi's temple. Sagrada Família is a neighborhood hosting immigrants mainly from Latin-American origin. Over 4,000 immigrants from the Americas live in that neighborhood. Most of them are from Peru, Colombia, Ecuador and Bolivia. Other less represented but considerable groups are Argentineans and Brazilians ("Lectura del", 2011). Although Italians seem to be the most

represented national group in the neighborhood, it should be taken into account that many of them are immigrants from Argentina with double nationality (Wladyka & Morén-Alegret, 2013) (see Table 12).

**Map 6. Sagrada Familia neighborhood limits**



*Elaborated by Dawid Wladyka. Georeferenced data provided by the ICC and IGN.*



**Table 12. The population of Sagrada Familia by sex and principal nationalities, 1<sup>st</sup> January 2010**

	<b>Males</b>	<b>Females</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Total Population</b>	23885	28282	52167
Spaniards	19596	23774	43370
<b>Total Foreigners</b>	4289	4508	8797
<b>Total EU Europe</b>	1358	1251	2609
Germany	118	120	238
France	181	177	358
Italy	519	400	919
Poland	38	48	86
Portugal	82	75	157
United Kingdom	118	92	210
Romania	93	112	205
<b>Total Non-EU Europe</b>	199	255	454
Russia	29	82	111
Ukraine	37	44	81
<b>Total Africa</b>	218	123	341
Morocco	152	88	240
<b>Total America</b>	1901	2395	4296
Argentina	156	165	321
Bolivia	175	287	462
Brazil	107	158	265
Colombia	243	308	551
Ecuador	254	341	595
Peru	345	385	730
<b>Total Asia</b>	606	479	1085
China	355	339	694
Pakistan	107	20	127

*Source: INE, 2010*

### ***3.3.2. The Empuriabrava Neighborhood Located in Castelló d'Empúries***

Castelló d'Empúries has been chosen as the small town for the comparative study. It is a town of 11,794 (INE, 2012) inhabitants that does not have currently a function of regional capital and is far from the major metropolitan centers. These features constitute an additional distinction from the urban conditions found in Barcelona. Castelló d'Empúries is also a town where the presence of foreigners exceeds half of the population. Given the objective of this research and the high diversity of foreign population in Castelló d'Empúries this town appears as an adequate location to conduct comparative research. In particular, Empuriabrava neighborhood, that constitutes one of the two urban cores of Castelló, characterized by even higher ethnic diversity and attracting most of the Polish immigrants that live in the town, will be in focus of this study.

The history of Castelló d'Empúries as a village reaches the ninth century. During the Middle Ages it became a county capital of Empúries. Castelló d'Empúries lived the economic

boom and intensive development becoming one of the most important towns of Catalonia. The popular motto of that time: “Castelló, major town, judges and solicitors abound” only confirms this fact. The people of various professions and social statuses could be found among the inhabitants and guests of this town: peasants, artisans, officials from the Counts’ court, clergymen, soldiers and traders. The Jewish neighborhood was home for about 200-300 Jews. The most important buildings and streets inside of the monument district are dated with this period (Poble a Poble. Castelló d’Empúries; Compte Freixanet, 1976). The Castelló’s “golden period” has been interrupted in the sixteen century characterized by a demographic decrease and economic recession. In the seventeen and eighteen centuries the lagoon was dried up and agriculture developing on the newly restored lands became the major source of the incomes. During this period many public buildings were built (Ferrer, 2005). The town for a long time has been considered a strategic, defensive point that allowed the control over the surrounding lands. It was located close to the sea, accessible through the River Muga, but well protected against piracy (Poble a Poble. Castelló d’Empúries , n.d.).

Nowadays, Castelló d’Empúries is still considered to be a strategic location, but from another point of view. It became a center for a range of leisure activities, one of the most important touristic destinations of North Catalonia, the starting point of cultural, historical and environmental visits for the entire region. The town is located centrally and relatively well connected with the surrounding touristic and natural sites like: Roses, Figueres, Perelada, Cadaqués, Natural Park of the Empordà Marshes (PNAE: *el Parc Natural dels Aiguamolls de l’Empordà*), Les Ruines d’Empúries, etc. The most significant environmental site of the region is the PNAE that in its large part is located in the administrative borders of the municipality. Because of its geographic location the marshes has become an important stop and rest point for thousands of birds that make long travels of intercontinental migration between the north of Africa and Europe (Ajuntament de Castelló d’Empúries, 2010a; Ajuntament de Castelló d’Empúries, 2010b; Generalitat de Catalunya. Departament de Medi Ambient i Habitatge, n.d.).

**Map 7. Castelló d'Empúries with its residential marina Empuriabrava**



*Elaborated by Dawid Wladyka. Georeferenced data provided by the ICC and IGN.*

Although the overwhelming majority of town's administrative, cultural and political institutions are located in the medieval center, just a few kilometers away, there is a residential marina that has been developed during the last fifty years (see Map 7). The marina, called Empuriabrava, constitutes a neighborhood of a residential character. Similarly to Sagrada Família, it hosts important amounts of international tourists, but in contrast to that Barcelona's neighborhood, the tourism industry here is mainly seasonally oriented on the summer months. Tourism became the most important economic sector of Castelló d'Empúries, especially because of the coastal urbanization of Empuriabrava constructed in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The construction of the Empuriabrava was an economic and social shift in the life of this small town. From this point, most of the development efforts were put on the restoration of monuments, promotion of local culture and history and protecting the natural spaces (Cuadrado Ciuraneta, Durà Guimerà, & Estalella Boadella, 2006; Ferrer, 2005). There is a wide range of activities in Castelló d'Empúries, however, the most important one is the Troubadours' Festival that recall medieval splendor of the town. Another interesting activity popular in the entire region is small market that take place every Sunday in the morning in the new neighborhood "Castelló Nou". The cultural activities include a number of constantly developing museums. One of them is Flour Mill Ecomuseum dedicated to science and technology. Apart of the historic, cultural and natural features there are many establishments like restaurants, discotheques, tourist residences and points of information. All of this

infrastructure and heritage make Castelló d'Empúries the touristic hearth of the region (Castelló d'Empúries, n.d.).

The construction of Empuriabrava has been related to the new economic and tourism driven orientation of development of the Catalan coast in the second half of the twentieth century. As the result of this new economic approach, the Ampuriabrava society has been founded in 1956 by the investors and owners of the coast adjacent land. From the beginning, the aim of this cooperation was a construction of a big touristic complex in a shape of residential marina intersected by the network of navigable channels (see Satellite Imagery 1) (Ajuntament de Castelló d'Empúries, 2010a). Empuriabrava was primary constructed in the year 1967. While the historic center of Castelló d'Empúries has been steadily growing in the second half of twentieth century, the Empuriabrava neighborhood experienced intensive development especially in the seventies and eighties when the arising urbanization was consider mainly as second – holiday residencies and a neighborhood in general as a leisure retreat that offers Mediterranean climate combined with attractive beaches. This trend slightly changed in the nineties with a conversion of some houses and apartments into the primary residencies of Empuriabrava's permanent residents. Today, with its 30 kilometers of channels connected with the sea, the proper sport airport with prestigious parachuting school, and five thousand moorings, Empuriabrava is considered by the local authorities as one of the Europe's and World's most significant and largest residential marinas (Ajuntament de Castelló d'Empúries, 2007; Ajuntament de Castelló d'Empúries, 2011; Generalitat de Catalunya. Departament de Medi Ambient i Habitatge, n.d.;). The local political party Unity and Defense of the Empuriabrava (*UDEM: Unitat i Defensa d'Empuriabrava*)<sup>19</sup>, some touristic websites<sup>20</sup>, but also some local government reports (Ajuntament de Castelló d'Empúries, 2009) even advertise it as “world's largest marina”. It is known as both, the water-sports center and a destination for foreigners who look for enjoyable place for retirement. Still, the emergence of the larger number of permanent residents in the nineties brought to life an issue of all-year maintenance of public spaces and assurance of facilities that was a novelty for this neighbourhood (Ajuntament de Castelló d'Empúries, 2010a; Ajuntament de Castelló d'Empúries, 2010b). In order to coordinate the business activity, the

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<sup>19</sup> See <http://udem-empuriabrava.blogspot.com/p/english.html>

<sup>20</sup> See <http://espana.pordescubrir.com/la-venecia-espanola-empuriabrava.html>



association of tourism of Castelló d'Empúries and Empuriabrava, "Tot Comerç", was created.<sup>21</sup>

**Satellite Imagery 1. The Empuriabrava neighborhood from south-western perspective of waterfront.**



*Source: Google Earth*

The development of Empuriabrava neighborhood, besides the structural change in town's economics was also one of decisive factors in town's demographical shift. The high percentage of foreign residents, and their diversity in Castelló d'Empúries, and especially in Empuriabrava have already been mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Although the presence of various ethnic groups in Castelló d'Empúries has been noted from the Middle Ages, it was marina's construction that drawn attention of such a diverse population. During the sixteen and seventeen centuries there was an inflow of French laborers and workers to Castelló d'Empúries. Their participation in the town's total population during the second half of the sixteen century could reach even a few percents. In the period between the mid eighteen century and the last third of the nineteen century the population of Castelló d'Empúries remained stable. The first part of the nineteen century was characterized by the immigration from the neighboring villages. From the end of the nineteen century till the end

<sup>21</sup> See <http://www.castelloempuriabrava.com/ca/comerc-i-empresa/comerc/entitats/tot-comerc.html>

of the Spanish civil war in 1939 there was the trend, among the citizens of Castelló d'Empúries, to migrate towards Barcelona, France, Rosselló, Figueres and other territories of the Empordà (Colls i Comas, 2002; Compte Freixanet, 1976).

According to the census of 1950 there was equilibrium between emigration and immigration, both presented a non-significant percentage in the relation to the total population. Ten years later the non-Catalonian immigrants became to constitute a considerable percentage of the Castelló d'Empúries citizens. They represented 11.6% of the total population. Slightly more than half of them originated from Andalusia and Extremadura. The results of the 1970 census show a considerable growth of the immigrants' proportion up to 30% of the total town's population. The 73% of them came from the south and from Extramadura. The most represented places of origin were Badajoz (20%) and Meseta (15%). There also were immigrants from Aragon and Galicia. In contrast to other towns, the newcomers did not group themselves in any particular neighborhood. They were distributed fairly regularly across the entire town with the small exception of the old town where a higher proportion of immigrants was noted (Compte Freixanet, 1976).

In the phase of intensive development of Empuriabrava, between the years 1970 and 1986, the population of entire Castelló d'Empúries grew more than 150%. The foreign immigrants also showed the tendency to settle preferentially in this area of the Costa Brava. The Castelló d'Empúries along with the Vall-llobrega had the highest percentage of foreign population according to the 1986 municipal census. The immigrants constituted the 18% of the Castelló d'Empúries citizens. The most of them (528 immigrants) originated from the countries recognized as the developed ones and only 62 of the immigrants came from the underdeveloped countries. The 69% of the foreign residents in the Costa Brava region came from the European Economic Community countries (mainly from the Federal Republic of Germany, UK and France) and 6% from other developed countries (mainly European ones) and the 25% mainly from Morocco, Gambia and South America. The western immigrants had mainly medium or superior grade studies and the large part of those from the underdeveloped countries declared themselves as analphabets. The Castelló d'Empúries was mainly a destination for the western immigrants. The most represented nationality among the developed countries were West Germans (249 residents) and French (117 residents). The underdeveloped countries residents in the town were represented primarily by Uruguayans (19 residents) and Moroccans (12 residents) (Paunero i Amigo, 1988).

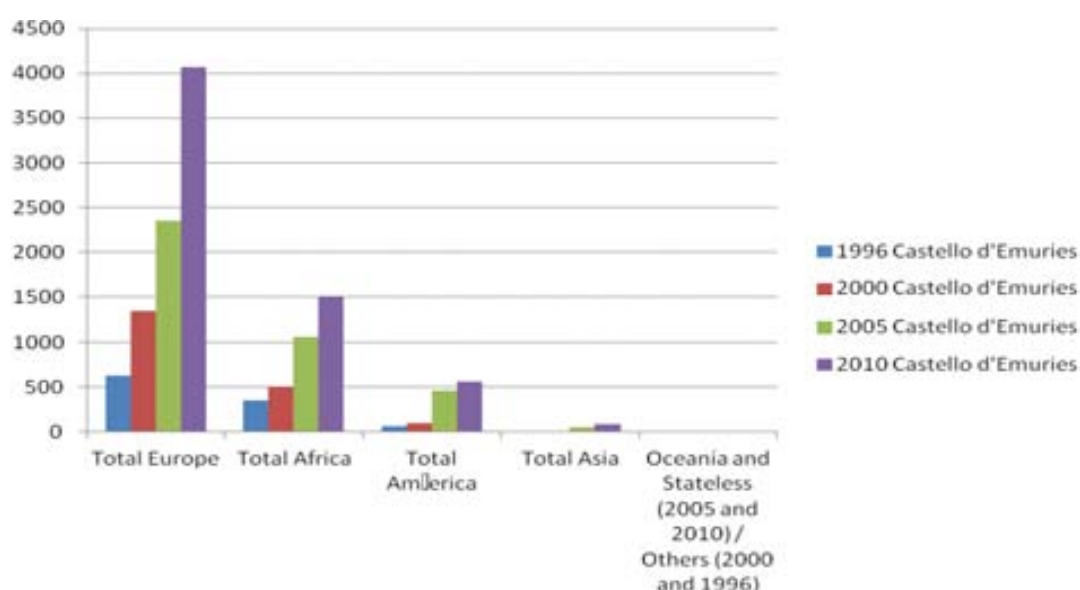
**Table 13. The population of Castelló d'Empúries by sex and main nationalities, 1st January 2012**

	<b>Both sexes</b>	<b>% of (1)</b>	<b>Males</b>	<b>% of (1)</b>	<b>Females</b>	<b>% of (1)</b>
<b>Total Population (1)</b>	11794	100,0	6037	100,0	5757	100,0
Spaniards	5884	49,9	2985	49,4	2899	50,4
<b>Total Foreigners</b>	5910	50,1	3052	50,6	2858	49,6
<b>Total Europe</b>	3864	32,8	1968	32,6	1896	32,9
<b>Total EU</b>	3360	28,5	1742	28,9	1618	28,1
Germany	911	7,7	450	7,5	461	8,0
Bulgary	75	0,6	36	0,6	39	0,7
France	1193	10,1	656	10,9	537	9,3
Italy	159	1,3	98	1,6	61	1,1
Poland	79	0,7	41	0,7	38	0,7
Portugal	31	0,3	19	0,3	12	0,2
Unite Kingdom	178	1,5	90	1,5	88	1,5
Romania	428	3,6	190	3,1	238	4,1
<b>Total Non-EU Europe</b>	504	4,3	226	3,7	278	4,8
Russia	310	2,6	131	2,2	179	3,1
Ukraine	99	0,8	45	0,7	54	0,9
<b>Total Africa</b>	1481	12,6	812	13,5	669	11,6
Argelia	38	0,3	23	0,4	15	0,3
Morocco	1323	11,2	702	11,6	621	10,8
Nigeria	1	0,0	0	0,0	1	0,0
Senegal	65	0,6	46	0,8	19	0,3
<b>Total America</b>	465	3,9	199	3,3	266	4,6
Argentina	81	0,7	43	0,7	38	0,7
Bolivia	19	0,2	8	0,1	11	0,2
Brazil	62	0,5	20	0,3	42	0,7
Colombia	33	0,3	16	0,3	17	0,3
Cuba	52	0,4	23	0,4	29	0,5
Chile	19	0,2	10	0,2	9	0,2
Ecuador	54	0,5	21	0,3	33	0,6
Paraguay	2	0,0	1	0,0	1	0,0
Peru	13	0,1	6	0,1	7	0,1
Dominican Republic	14	0,1	3	0,0	11	0,2
Uruguay	70	0,6	36	0,6	34	0,6
Venezuela	21	0,2	7	0,1	14	0,2
<b>Total Asia</b>	97	0,8	71	1,2	26	0,5
China	56	0,5	36	0,6	20	0,3
Pakistan	31	0,3	31	0,5	0	0,0
<b>Oceania and stateless persons</b>	3	0,0	2	0,0	1	0,0

*Source: INE, 2012*

From that time on the migration from the African continent and from the America increased. The Population and Housing Census from the year 2001 noted over 500 immigrants with the African precedence. Over 20% of them arrived to Castelló d'Empúries between 1991 and 1995, another 40% arrived between the years 1998 and 2001 (INE, 2001). The period between 1991 and 2001 is also a timeframe when the town experienced an intensive growth of the population. One of the main reasons why that occurred is that foreigners established their residences in Empuriabrava. Immigration tripled its population between the years 1991 and 2001. Another reason was internal Spanish immigration from the same or neighboring *Comarcas* (local government areas). Those immigrants settle down in the new low-density residential areas located outside of the old, traditional town's core (Cuadrado Ciuraneta, 2006; Cuadrado Ciuraneta et al., 2006). Between the years 2000 and 2007 the number of town's residents born outside of Catalonia grew again. The mentioned number changed from 48.17% in the year 2000 to 58.39% in the year 2007. There is a significant impact of the foreign immigration on those numbers. There were 2.479 foreign inhabitants in the years 2001, only about 400 foreign citizens more in the year 2004 and the number increased visibly in the year 2007 when there were 4.980 foreign citizens in the Castelló d'Empúries. Basically, most of them are from the EU. Then there are immigrants from Africa, South America, non-EU European countries, Asia, Oceania, North and Central Americas (Ajuntament de Castelló d'Empúries, 2010a).

**Figure 1. The evolution of foreign residents in Castelló d'Empúries by geographic origin, 1996, 2000, 2005, 2010**



*Source: INE database, based on ongoing local census*

The marina residential Empuriabrava, since its creation was a (second) residential site for hundreds of European citizens who sought in those premises a quiet retirement and Mediterranean coastal leisure. The Population and Housing Census from the year 2001 confirmed that significant number of the immigrants from Germany, France or UK lived there from more than 10 years (INE, 2001). According to the municipal census data from 1<sup>st</sup> of January 2010 the Empuriabrava neighborhood remains the residential destination for the EU immigrants (90% of registered in Castelló d'Empúries resides in Empuriabrava), this trend is followed by the newcomers from Asia (100% of registered in Castelló d'Empúries resides in Empuriabrava). Different trend is shown by the statistics describing the immigration from Africa and America. Although the majority of those immigrants reside in Empuriabrava, relatively high percentage of them (23% of Africans and 28% of Americans) resides in the core of the Castelló d'Empúries. The residential trends of Spaniards are more equilibrated: 47% of them reside in the Empuriabrava and 53% of them reside in the core of the town (INE, 2010) (see Map 8).

**Table 14. The population of Empuriabrava by sex and principal nationalities, 1st January 2011**

	<b>Males</b>	<b>Females</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Total Population</b>	<b>4075</b>	<b>3798</b>	<b>7873</b>
Spaniards	1435	1336	2771
<b>Total Foreigners</b>	<b>2640</b>	<b>2462</b>	<b>5102</b>
<b>Total EU</b>	<b>1613</b>	<b>1459</b>	<b>3072</b>
Germany	431	423	854
France	611	481	1092
Italy	85	50	135
Poland	37	36	73
United Kingdom	78	79	157
Romania	174	211	385
<b>Total Non-EU Europe</b>	<b>215</b>	<b>264</b>	<b>479</b>
Russia	127	179	306
Ukraine	35	39	74
<b>Total Africa</b>	<b>586</b>	<b>508</b>	<b>1094</b>
Morocco	519	465	984
<b>Total America</b>	<b>163</b>	<b>212</b>	<b>375</b>
Argentina	43	32	75
<b>Total Asia</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>80</b>
China	30	15	45

*Source: INE, 2011*

According to official information, the municipality of Castelló d'Empúries recognizes its “unusual” demography and the demands it creates, although the social services are the field where the citizens’ expectations and needs are most difficult to fulfill. As one of the key characteristics of town’s demography is high percentage of immigrants in total population some services that target this population were created. Those services help the newcomers and create the possibilities of participation in the life of the municipality. They are included in the following frameworks: Territorial plan for citizenship and immigration (I. Itinerant office for advising foreigners; II. Intercultural mediation service; III. Welcome guide for the recently arrived to the Comarca of Alt Empordà) and Local plan for immigration and new citizens. On the other hand, according to the town council’s propaganda, the social services of Castelló d'Empúries empower the immigrants to take part in the following programs created in order to promote integration: Adult education classroom (Catalan language), Round table for the integration of non-community immigrants, “A meeting space, a learning space” Program (Ajuntament de Castelló d'Empúries, n.d.).

**Table 15. Polish registered residents in Castelló d'Empúries, 2000 - 2012**

	<b>Total popul. (1)</b>	<b>Foreign popul. (2)</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>% of (1)</b>	<b>% of (2)</b>	<b>abs. var.</b>	<b>% var.</b>
<b>2012</b>	11.794	5.910	<b>79</b>	0,67	1,34	-1	-1,25
<b>2011</b>	11.885	5.941	<b>80</b>	0,67	1,35	-6	-6,98
<b>2010</b>	12.220	6.222	<b>86</b>	0,7	1,38	9	11,69
<b>2009</b>	12.111	6.164	<b>77</b>	0,64	1,25	15	24,19
<b>2008</b>	11.653	5.818	<b>62</b>	0,53	1,07	14	29,17
<b>2007</b>	10.629	4.980	<b>48</b>	0,45	0,96	19	65,52
<b>2006</b>	10.021	4.569	<b>29</b>	0,29	0,63	4	16
<b>2005</b>	9.167	3.932	<b>25</b>	0,27	0,64	10	66,67
<b>2004</b>	7.777	2.829	<b>15</b>	0,19	0,53	-5	-25
<b>2003</b>	8.165	3.385	<b>20</b>	0,24	0,59	5	33,33
<b>2002</b>	7.530	3.013	<b>15</b>	0,2	0,5	4	36,36
<b>2001</b>	6.883	2.479	<b>11</b>	0,16	0,44	-2	-15,38
<b>2000</b>	6.266	1.967	<b>13</b>	0,21	0,66	:	:

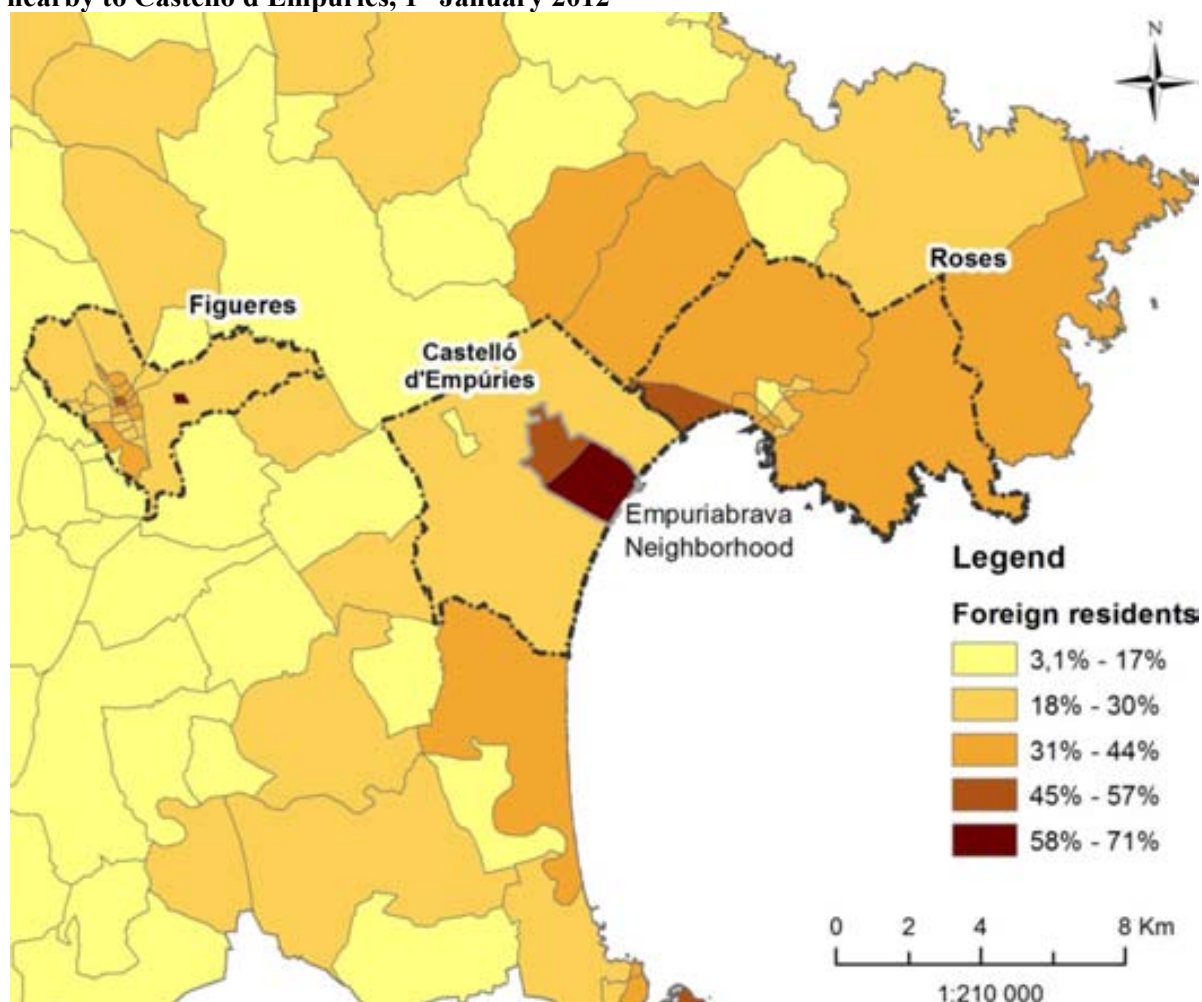
*Source: IDESCAT, based on ongoing census data.*

Importantly, the political will of the major town’s figures seems to support these efforts. At the beginning of the year 2010, mayor of the Castelló d'Empúries, Salvi Güell (Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya) confirmed in a press interview that in the recent budgets the resources dedicated to integration have increased. He said: “successful integration is better than exclusion. At the end, the excluded people may report you more problems than if you try to integrate them”. Güell explained that the municipality dealt with immigration from a very long time, but nowadays the situation changed as the immigrant’s profile changes. There are



no longer only EU citizens, but also immigrants from North Africa, Eastern European countries or South America. The new immigrants are “treated in the same way as the other ones”. There is a special policy for all immigrants, above all in the education sector. The goal is to integrate the newcomers, “as soon as possible”. When it comes to the public services, there are officials who speak corresponding languages. There is also special agent for integration for immigrants from Maghreb. “We have been adapting to the new circumstances” – concluded Güell. In the following words he also defended the possibility of register in the municipal census (*padrón*) for the immigrants without papers. “Padrón must reflect the reality of municipality. It does not bring anything if there are a people living without registering themselves because it falsifies the reality”.<sup>22</sup>

**Map 8. Foreign registered residents at census section level in the Alt Empordà's municipalities nearby to Castelló d'Empúries, 1<sup>st</sup> January 2012**

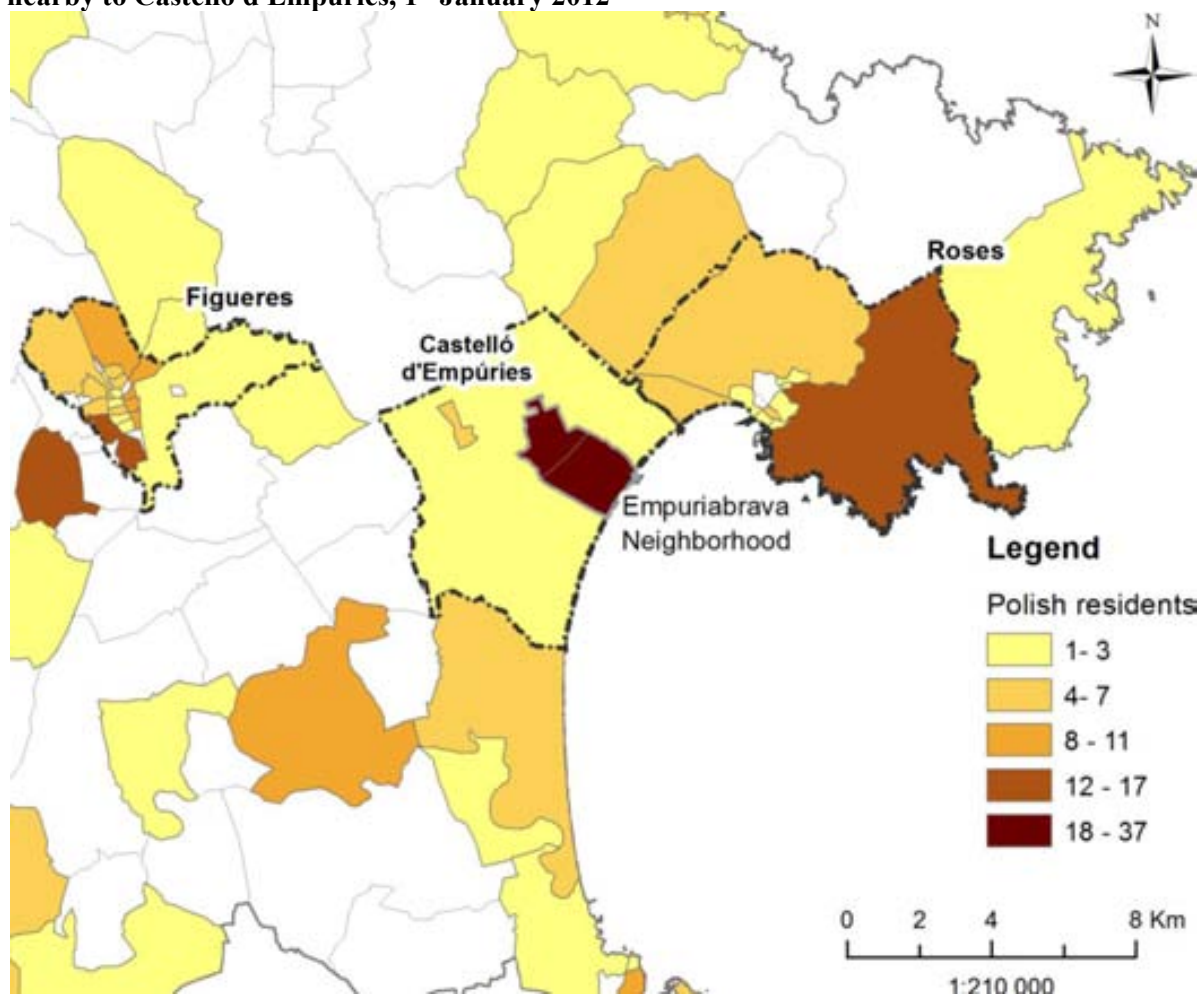


*Elaborated by Dawid Wladyka. Georeferenced data provided by the ICC and IGN. Population data source: INE, 2012.*

<sup>22</sup> Europa Press (2010, January 23). Los municipios españoles con mayor porcentaje de población inmigrante empadronada apuestan por la integración "de todos". Retrieved from: <http://www.europapress.es>

It should be stressed here, that in contrast to Sagrada Familia neighborhood, there are no explicitly Polish institutions on the map of Empuriabrava or Castelló d'Empúries. Still, there are some appearances of Polish immigrants' presence in town and neighborhood (see Map 9). While there is no Polish shop, some national products can be regularly found in a Russian establishment (a hybrid of grocery, bar and a kiosk) located by one of the principal Empuriabrava's communication arteries. On the other hand, very few of the abundant in Empuriabrava, usually multilingual real estate agencies offer signboards in Polish language. Additionally, the church located in the historical center of Castelló d'Empúries offered by a limited period of time Sunday masses celebrated by a Polish priest in Polish language. The lack of larger number of Polish institutions is not surprising if the development and size of Polish community in Castelló d'Empúries is taken into account. Also, in contrast to Barcelona there is no history of Polish presence that could reach toward half of the twentieth century.

**Map 9. Polish registered residents at census section level in the Alt Empordà's municipalities nearby to Castelló d'Empúries, 1<sup>st</sup> January 2012**



*Elaborated by Dawid Wladyka. Georeferenced data provided by the ICC and IGN. Population data source: INE, 2012.*



### **3.4. The Research Participants**

This study analyzes the contemporary interactions between Polish immigrants and other groups present in the researched neighborhoods. Subsequently, it focuses on the outcomes of those interactions: the opinions that Polish immigrants develop about other immigrants and natives, but also on how Polish immigrants are perceived by the locals. In order to understand the encounters in those particular places of interaction, the perception of various users and of various actors should be known. That is why this research emphasizes on the importance of ethnographic interviews with the neighborhood's key informants of various origins. Still, the previous contextualization in the scope of the city or town as whole territorial units is also a useful and necessary task. Thus this research does not focus exclusively on the particular neighborhood, but it also takes into account elsewhere located relevant phenomena noted by Polish immigrants.

The ethnographic fieldwork included two main groups of interviewees. Their general descriptions are presented below, and the complete lists of the interviewees together with more detailed characteristics are attached as Annexes 2 – 5. Although the following paragraphs set-up a preliminarily established number of interviewees, the objective was to provide a number of interviews that permits to reach the data saturation point regarding the main aims of the research.

- 1) The first group is composed of key informants of various origins directly linked to the researched neighborhood. The objective of these interviews is the meticulous understanding of the demographical, social, economical and urban context in which the researched inter-ethnic relations occur. The point of view of key informants on immigrants' incidence on the life of the neighborhood and inter-ethnic relations is especially desirable. The approximate target number of interviewed key informants were 40 (20 in each location).
- 2) The second group is composed of the Polish immigrants that live their everyday's life in the researched neighborhood. Those interviews are focused on the inter-ethnic relations and experiences of daily life, and consequently on the opinions of the Polish immigrants about the other groups but, also their compatriots. The approximate desired number of interviewed Polish immigrants were 20 (10 in each location)

One of the biggest challenges associated with migration research is the accessibility of the list of potential participants of the study. The dynamics of migration processes often result with a lack of immigrants' presence in the documents and official statistics in destination states, so it is more challenging to contact them in traditional ways. If the migration process is linked to the irregular employment or has characteristics of irregular migration, immigrants prefer to keep hidden. As result, researchers have no reliable data on a group of immigrants, or the ability to approach the subject of desired characteristics easily (Babbie, 2006).

Some issues with the presence of reliable and complete data on Polish immigrants in Catalonia have mainly the same origin, but also have their own characteristics. The crucial factors in improving the quality of the sources were the legalization of residence and employment after Poland joined the EU in 2004, and the opening of Spanish labor market for Poles in 2006. As the result of these events, by looking at the statistics today one can see the image much more similar to the reality and say much more about the Polish group than a few years ago. However, it must be taken into account that these are not complete data and the picture they show is only general. Also, the previously described phenomenon of incomplete migration influence on this issue, since it still belongs to the characteristics of Polish migration in Europe (Okólski, 2001; Okólski, 2009).

The research and its subject are exploratory in the sense that it investigates the under-researched phenomenon in the particular environment of Polish immigrants in Catalonia, which is also unknown from the point of view of geographical or sociological research. However, the available regional and municipal statistics permit me to draw conclusions about the basic characteristics of this environment and concomitantly to build a list of characteristics of potential interviewees. Therefore some criteria were applied when making the decision about who would be the most relevant persons to be interviewed, including their relative importance to the researched area, variety, recreating the structure of neighborhood's social tissue, gender and age. In case of Polish immigrants the aim of gathering various opinions was negotiated with the objective of recreating the proportion (relatively reliable) of the municipal census data on sex, age and education.

The final number of the interviewees was the following: a) in Sagrada Familia, 12 interviewees in the category Polish immigrants and 24 interviewees in the category key informants; b) in Empuriabrava, 10 interviewees in the category Polish immigrants and 26 interviewees in the category key informants. More detailed information on the interviewees

can be found in Annexes 2 – 5 (also see tables 16, 17, 18 19), however the names of the interviewees were anonymized in order to ensure their privacy. This is motivated by the fact that some of the issues included in the interviews are private opinions on sensitive matters that might impair the reputation of the interviewees within the researched locations. The exception here is made to the interviewed public officers that exercised an official political function at the time of the interview and the interview was encompassed within the frame of the interviewee's public responsibilities and held within the public location where the duties are performed.

**Table 16. Age and gender of Polish interviewees.**

	Total	21-30	31-40	41-50	51- 60	61 and more
<b>SF</b>	12	4	6	2	0	0
<b>Males</b>	4	0	3	1	0	0
<b>Females</b>	8	4	3	1	0	0
<b>CdE</b>	10	3	2	1	3	1
<b>Males</b>	6	0	2	0	3	1
<b>Females</b>	4	3	0	1	0	0

*Source: Fieldwork*

**Table 17. Age and gender of the key informants.**

	Total	21-30	31-40	41-50	51- 60	61 and more
<b>SF</b>	24	5	6	4	6	3
<b>Males</b>	13	4	3	1	3	2
<b>Females</b>	11	1	3	3	3	1
<b>CdE</b>	26	4	6	7	5	4
<b>Males</b>	16	2	2	5	4	3
<b>Females</b>	10	2	4	2	1	1

*Source: Fieldwork*

**Table 18. Origin of key informants (by gender).**

	Total	Spanish	Foreign
<b>SF</b>	24	20	4
<b>Males</b>	13	4	2
<b>Females</b>	11	1	2
<b>CdE</b>	26	18	8
<b>Males</b>	16	2	4
<b>Females</b>	10	2	4

*Source: Fieldwork*

**Table 19. Primary observed relation(s) to the neighborhood among Polish interviewees (by gender).**

	Residence	Work	leisure	participation
<b>SF</b>	5	9	7	4
<b>Males</b>	1	3	2	1
<b>Females</b>	4	6	5	3
<b>CdE</b>	7	6	10	3
<b>Males</b>	4	4	6	2
<b>Females</b>	3	2	4	1

*Source: Fieldwork*

The interviews were audio recorded and conducted in Spanish, Catalan, Polish and English languages. The quotations displayed in the following text are translations into English. The interviewees and quotations of their statements are marked within the text with the following codes that can be traced for details in Annexes 2-5: a) Polish immigrants in Barcelona: BCN-id-origin-gender-age; b) Key informants in Barcelona: BCN-KI-id-origin-gender-age; c) Polish immigrants in Castelló d'Empuries: CdE-id-origin-gender-age; d) Key informants in Castelló d'Empuries: CdE-KI-id-origin-gender-age. Where: 'id' is an unique sequence number for a particular group, 'origin' is represented by two letter country(ies) abbreviation(s), 'gender' is marked with 'F' for female or 'M' for male, and 'age' shows how many years old is an interviewee.

In order to provide the reader with more profound insight into the particular cases of the interviewees, the summaries of exemplary interviews have been provided in the Annexes 6 – 9 of this dissertation. The summaries are edited according to the most significant issues addressed by the particular interviewees. The exemplary summaries of the interviews have been chosen in order to provide a comparative context between both research neighborhoods and feature both similarities and differences that appear in the neighborhoods. Therefore, the Annexes 6 – 9 include the summaries of two interviews from each neighborhood. In each case, one of the interviewees is characterized with long seniority of the relation with neighborhood (approx. 10 years), and other with much shorter period of approx. 1 year link to the location. Also, in each of the neighborhoods, one of the interviewees is a parent with a young child that spends the majority of his everyday activities in the location, and another is a person at a distinct life-stage (i.e. living with partner or friend, no children). Three of the four presented summaries feature interviewees that had some previous migratory experience, and make some direct comparisons with other locations. Although that was not a majoritary

feature of the interviewees, the introduction of these summaries is assumed to serve as a possible tool for other researchers of Polish migration elsewhere.

The average duration of the interviews was approximately between one hour and two hours. The interviewees were either cold contacted or accessed with snowballing technique. Since, there is no accessible inhabitants' list that would provide origins' distinction and that would provide any measure of direct contact with immigrants, the key informants (e.g. social organization's participants, social workers, shopkeepers, etc.) allowed further access to the participants. In order to analyze the collected data, the cross-case, case-oriented analysis of the transcriptions of the interviews with Polish immigrants had been triangulated with the analysis of the interviewees of other origins and documental/statistical data on macro level (Babbie, 2006; Mason, 1996; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Silverman, 2005).

## **CHAPTER IV – DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF EMPURIABRAVA AND SAGRADA FAMILIA NEIGHBORHOODS' PERCEPTION**

### **4.1. Some Additional Methodological Remarks on Analysis**

The following chapters IV and V present a qualitative analysis of the interviews with Polish immigrants in Empuriabrava and Sagrada Familia neighborhoods. The Polish transcriptions of the analyzed and cited interviews have been first preliminarily reviewed in order to observe any distinctive patterns that could be already added to the preliminary scheme of analysis based on the main goals of the research (e.g. spatial characteristics of the neighborhood, socio-economic situation of the neighborhood, socio-spatial features of inter-ethnic experiences, opinions based on experiences, participative features of the neighborhood, socio-economic, demographical, and migratory background). An important addition of the preliminary review was listing of frequently repeated groups considered as sources of inter-ethnic experience.

Building on the basis of the introductory objectives and preliminary analysis, the scheme of the analytical sheet was constructed. Furthermore, the original text of the interviews was arranged accordingly to the scheme and inputted into the sheet so that direct comparison, case contrasting and detecting of patterns have been made feasible. Although, the primary goal of this dissertation is to explore inter-ethnic interactions of Polish immigrants, it was recommendable to do so while considering the point of view of other inhabitants of researched neighborhoods too. Therefore, a more genuine image of social reality can be obtained. In order to do so, the analysis of interviews with Polish immigrants has been additionally contrasted with transcripts of the interviewees of other origins and documental/statistical data on macro level (Babbie, 2006; Huberman y Miles, 1994; Mason, 1996; Silverman, 2005).

It is crucial to underline that the following paragraphs of Chapter IV constitute a picture of a perception of the researched neighborhoods taken from the standpoint of interviewees. The Polish immigrants' point of view has been compared here with perceptions of native and immigrant key informants. Gathered information has been subsequently contrasted with the data (statistical, documental, etc.) that has been accessed during ethnographic fieldwork. The role of this chapter is to introduce a contemporary reality of the researched neighborhoods as a context to following analysis of the inter-ethnic experiences.

The latter, drawn from the perspective of previously introduced theoretical approaches, will be however introduced in the subsequent chapter of this dissertation. Mostly therein, also an attempt to explain the theoretical implications of some of the below presented viewpoints will be undertaken.

#### **4.2. Perception of Empuriabrava Socio-Economic Profile and Infrastructure**

The location of the neighborhood at the coastline of the Costa Brava in the midst of the appealing and natural environment is often considered as an advantage of Empuriabrava by interviewees of various nationalities (see Map 10). Additionally, an unpolluted air and the presence of PNAE are directly mentioned by some Polish immigrants as the actual or potential pull factors. However, if one would try to synthesize the opinions of Polish immigrants about Empuriabrava neighborhood in one sentence it could sound like “diversely populated and attractively located touristic spot in decay”. Still, as it will become clear in the following paragraphs, this is not exclusively a Polish point of view. A vast majority of the interviewed key informants (either natives or foreigners) expresses some very similar opinions about neglected infrastructure and absent services. The milder tone (or treatment as the secondary importance issue in relation to crisis) could be only noticed from the statements of the key informants not personally related (neither by residence, job nor leisure) with this residential marina (especially these with professional dependence from the Town Hall). However, also many interviewed politicians or political party followers express negative opinions on the current state and development of Empuriabrava. This problem materialized during the municipal elections (conducted while the research was carried out) and resulted with foundation of the Unity and Defense of Empuriabrava (*Unitat i Defensa d'Empuriabrava*), a neighborhood-based political party. While, some insights on electoral mobilization in Empuriabrava will be developed in further analytical parts, it is important to underline here that the surge of discontent resulted in political changes in Town Hall after the elections. In particular, in the new coalition in power an important role is played by the new neighborhood-rooted political party that was recently set up:

*“There are conflicts related to fear of separation [...] Empuriabrava wants to separate from Castelló d'Empúries and to have its own municipality. At present, things have changed but before the crisis occurred, an important part of these people, influential people, wished to separate from Castelló d'Empúries, to have its own municipality. On the other hand, the Town Hall was doing everything in*

*their power to avoid the separation. Included, that the Town Hall was playing with words, they were not using 'Empuriabrava'. They tried to erase this name, using instead a denomination "marina of Castelló". It has been constantly published like this in some influential magazines. This is the problem there was at first. But with the crisis, we need municipalities and services [...] Still, at the moment, while denominating this highschool as "Institut de Empuriabrava"<sup>23</sup>, we had to face the opposition."* (CdE-KI-18-SP-M-54)

Still, besides the local political conflicts, the diversity of the immigrants' nationalities (described below in this section of the dissertation) is one of the most important features of the Empuriabrava mentioned by Polish immigrants and local key informants. The population of the neighborhood is also described by some interviewees as rather younger than the population of the historic center of the Castelló d'Empúries. These statements however, are difficult to sustain when looking at official figures (see Table 20). Although the population's seniors (80 and older) seems to be proportionally more significant in historical center than in the marina, the persons in the ages between 60 and 79 already proportionally prevail in Empuriabrava with other ages approximately balanced and with the youngest ratio prevailing in the Castelló d'Empúries historic center. The sources of this erroneous picture of reality could be simply inherited in the character of Empuriabrava as partly a second residence location. Since (mainly) foreign, retired sun-seekers are part-time residents, their three months stays might be less noticeable than continuous presence of younger economic immigrants, entrepreneurs and natives.

**Table 20. The Empuriabrava and historic center population by sex and age, 1st January 2012**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>0-19</b>	<b>20-39</b>	<b>40-59</b>	<b>60-79</b>	<b>80 and more</b>
<b>Both sexes</b>						
Castelló d'Empúries	3989	893	1087	1155	585	269
Empuriabrava	7805	1464	2258	2223	1624	236
<b>Males</b>						
Castelló d'Empúries	1983	448	552	610	264	109
Empuriabrava	4054	729	1128	1228	856	113
<b>Females</b>						
Castelló d'Empúries	2006	445	535	545	321	160
Empuriabrava	2446	735	1130	995	768	123

*Source: INE, 2012*

<sup>23</sup> In fact, the full official name of the school is 'Secció d'Institut Castelló d'Empúries a Empuriabrava'.



The previously mentioned claims of the Polish interviewees about propitious natural surrounding can be quite easily confirmed with numbers and maps. According to the Special Plan for the Protection of the Environment and Landscape of the Empordà Marshes (PEPMNP AE: *Pla especial de protecció del medi natural i del paisatge dels Aiguamolls de l'Alt Empordà*), the 64,4% of the area of the municipality is included in the territorial area of the PNAE and 73% of the area of the municipality is included in the territorial area (land) of the PEPMNP AE (Generalitat de Catalunya. Departament de Medi Ambient i Habitatge. Direcció General de Medi Natural, 2010). The subsequently cited words of one of the interviewed Polish immigrants describe an interesting case of personal benefits of Empuriabrava's location:

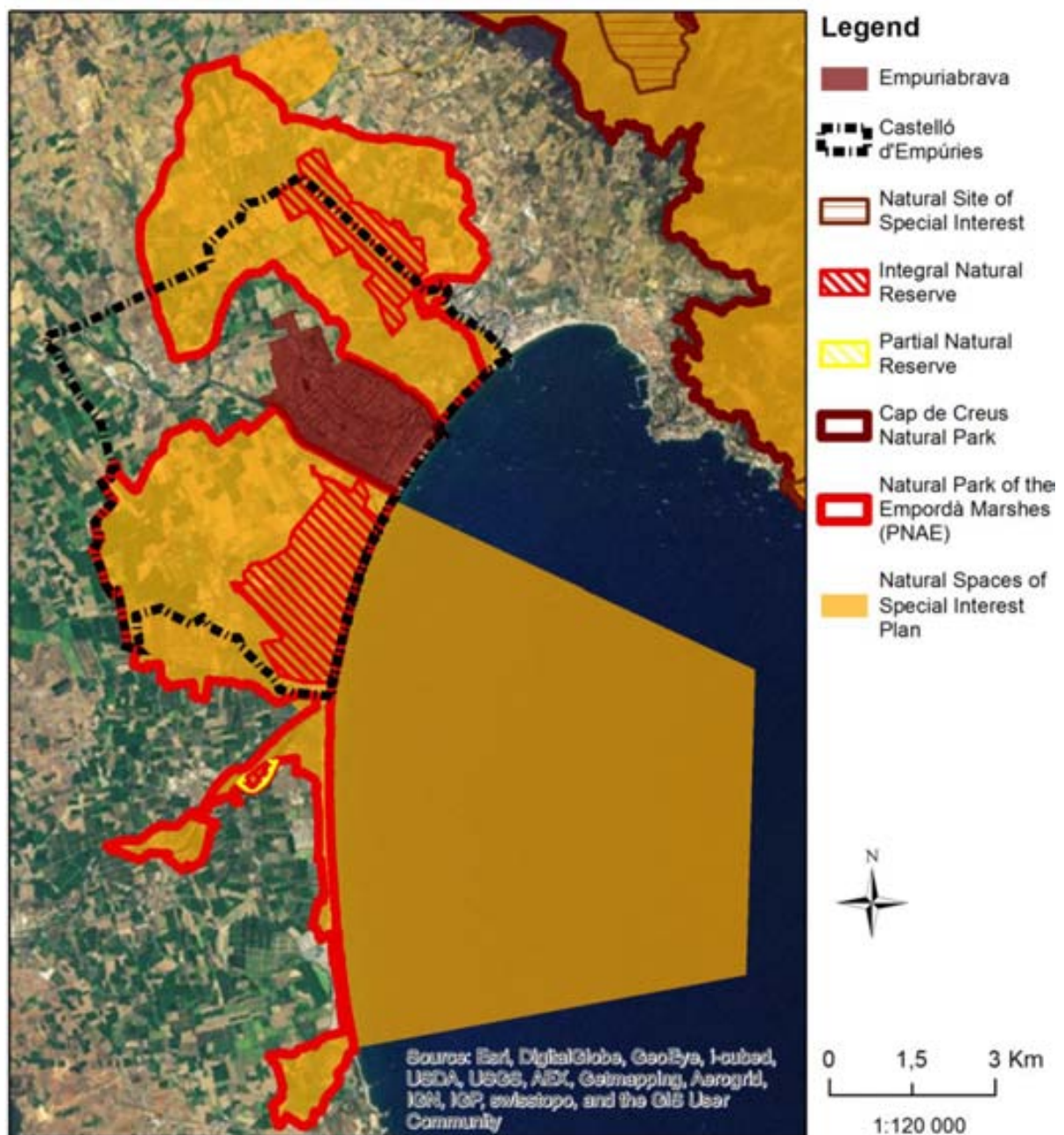
*"I don't think about returning at all. It is because I had asthma in Poland. 4-5 times a year in hospital. I had a pension. And here, when I came from Germany, I had 3 inhalators. I threw all of them out. I have been here for 9 years and I haven't been to the doctor even once. It was the climate. I don't go to the Natural Park. I usually go to the coast and I fish. There is a spot there to see, those are French who play with the balls. Then if you go to Catselló as well. You can sit on a bench, watch how they play."* (CdE-7-PL-M-53)

**Photography 1. This establishment offers the "eco-boats" for rent by one of the channels.**



*Author: Dawid Wladyka*

**Map 10. The Natural Spaces of Special Interest in the Empuriabrava neighborhood of Castelló d'Empúries surroundings**



*Elaborated by Dawid Wladyka. Georeferenced data provided by the Direcció General de Medio Natural [DMAH] Generalitat de Catalunya, ICC, IGN, and ESRI.*

#### **4.2.1. Empuriabrava: Underappreciated Gold Mine**

The interviewed Polish immigrants and key informants positively see the idea of the construction of the neighborhood crossed by channels in this location. Still, some of the interviewees, e.g. a former school teacher with longer seniority in the town (*CdE-KI-3-SP-F-64*), and also some politicians, mention previous historical discords on the marina construction, especially regarding the engagement of the local farmers. One of the interviewees, Neighbors Organization secretary (*CdE-KI-15-SP-F-57*) remembers that when she first arrived to Castelló in 1959, it was a little farmers' town with barely present sewage system, and those who had money were the land owners. Also, Neighbors Organization president (*CdE-KI-14-SP-M-54*) thinks that the construction of the marina was a turning point in the contemporary Castelló development, in his own words: *"Castelló was a cow's town. They have paved all the streets, and these houses currently cost a lot of money."*

Nowadays, as much as the interviewees appreciate the idea of the neighborhood's construction, they are not appealed at all by its current development policies provided by the local authorities. The Polish immigrants are conscious (as well as local key informants) that Empuriabrava is a part of the municipality of the Castelló d'Empuries. While, all the interviewees see tourism as the most important income source for the entire municipality, the key informants related to the local authorities attempt to underline some economic diversity. Nevertheless, sectors like nautical or agriculture are commonly believed to provide only a small part of the town's incomes. Some developments in that area seem to be hampered by the economic crisis. According to Town Hall's coordinator of economic promotion, tourism and trade (*CdE-KI-11-SP-M-45*) promotion of organic agriculture and small organic market-places is impeded because of the price-oriented (and not quality-oriented) shopping behaviors related to the current economic recession.

Empuriabrava neighborhood with its coastline and water channels is considered by the interviewees to be the pull factor for thousands of tourists every year, but also for upper and upper-middle class immigrants that search for second-homes, places for retirement or for investment. Despite this, the Polish immigrants and Empuriabrava-related key informants noticed that instead of investments into the development of the marina (considered by them as municipality's source of income), the local authorities overlook the neighborhood and allocate all the resources in the Castelló d'Empuries historic center. Some of the Polish immigrants interviewed explain budget's planning anomalies as caused by the ethnic patterns of

residency. Supposedly, since the historic neighborhood is inhabited mostly by native Catalans (who also usually are part of local authorities) the municipality's income has been designed to develop more the old town than Empuriabrava neighborhood. The latter is believed to be treated by local authorities as nothing more than a lure for tourists, where the majority of inhabitants are immigrants that do not have or do not exercise they political control during the elections. The native key informants related to Empuriabrava do not talk about ethnically driven political discrimination of the neighborhood in such a straightforward way. Still, several of them claim that some parts of Empuriabrava have been converted into ghetto-like spaces. This occurs because local politicians (related to the historic center) have led to the vicious circle of increasing housing prices by constantly improving the historic center's infrastructure and converting apartments into one family residences. This, in effect, has led to the settling of less wealthy inhabitants (mainly economic immigrants) in the poorer quality apartments in Empuriabrava. Some foreign key informants (e.g. CdE-KI-1-DE-F-47 and CdE-KI-12-MA-M-35) claim that this situation is provoked by political disempowerment of the Empuriabrava inhabitants (e.g. because of the lack of language skills, knowledge about administrative procedures or right to vote). Interestingly, residential patterns of the natives and foreign immigrants confirm the vast disproportion between natives and immigrants ratio in Empuriabrava and historic center (see Table 21).

*"In Castelló there are in majority Catalans and some foreigners: 'negroes', Ukrainian, Polish. But in Empuriabrava you have everybody: German, French, English. Poles also have flats and houses."* (CdE-8-PL-M-58)

**Table 21. Residential patterns of native and immigrant inhabitants in Castelló d'Empuries, 1st January 2012**

	Total	Spain	Total Foreign	EU	Other Europe	Africa	America	Asia	Oceania and Stateless
<b>Historic Center</b>	3989	3170	819	311	33	363	108	3	1
<b>Empuriabrava</b>	7805	2714	5091	3049	471	1118	357	94	2

Source: INE, 2012

*"Castelló is a historic town, very ancient and damaged. Even Bill Gates could waste half of his fortune to restore the historical sites. The problem is that we also have needs, we do not have minimal urban infrastructure and we are paying luxury taxes. The minimum for an urban center would be water and light. We have tap water, but this is only one of the two needed parts. Because if water enters, it has to go out [...]. Our waste waters are going to the beach."* (CdE-KI-14-SP-M-54)



**Photography 2. The members of the local political party UDEM at multilingual poster.**



Source: <http://udem-empuriabrava.blogspot.com/>

These authorities' actions are commented as erroneous. According to Polish immigrants and local key informants, if the Empuriabrava's infrastructure does not improve, the tourists would stop visiting and spending money. This way, the only income source of entire Castelló d'Empuries would not be able to sustain the municipality. Some of the Polish immigrants expressed also a support for the separation of the Empuriabrava and Castelló d'Empuries historic center so Empuriabrava could have its own local authorities. Although these bold political demands have also been mentioned by certain key informants of other ethnic origins (including natives), the interviewees' majority comment is that the separation is not a real option, and that Empuriabrava simply should be better represented in the local authorities.

#### **4.2.2. Underdevelopment of Empuriabrava's Infrastructure**


Following this discourse, the Polish immigrants repeat that the Empuriabrava neighborhood has a very scarce and degraded infrastructure. The library or comprehensively equipped primary attention point (CAP) located in historic center are difficult to use on a daily basis without a car. Still, some complaints of Polish immigrants are rather addressed to the lack of efficient public transport. According to those immigrants it is a lack of efficient and well planed bus service between Empuriabrava coastline and historic center that, for example, make use of the library difficult, especially for children. The interviewed Polish immigrants believe that car is a must if one lives in Empuriabrava and has an intention of living a normal life. While the comments about a quality of public transport vary among the interviewed key informants, it should be underlined that the positive opinions are usually dependent on socio-economic status and social interactions of an individual. Therefore, the strongly positive comments here are heard only from those interviewees that use a car on a daily basis, have stable employment and they have no (or barely) interactions with people of lower economic status. On the other hand, some of the interviewed politicians also put less critique on the public transport system than other interviewees. In the light of the variety of opinions, the slightly ironic comment of the Neighbors' Organization president (*CdE-KI-14-SP-M-54*) is worth to be highlighted: *"Empuriabrava is a very large site, and it is created as an American city, and then here, car is necessary"*. This, and some previously mentioned comments seem to correspond to reality, especially if one consider presented below bus schedules (see Photographies 3 and 4), but also bus-stops network (see Map 11). Accordingly, there are only two regular bus services (one in the morning and another in the evening) between historic center and marina's coastline during the school-year (plus the school bus services, also displayed on the schedule) and eleven services during the summer months. Interestingly, this data is somehow concordant with recently mentioned comments about the Empuriabrava being nothing more than a touristic spot in the eyes of local authorities:

*"There is nothing in Empuriabrava. There is no place to go. If there is good weather, you can go to the beach. But if it is cold and windy, there is nowhere to go. Especially for a mom with children. For an adult, there is a Nautic Club, but I heard that it is partially closed. Only the gym is open because swimming pool was too expensive. There is a bowling ally, but it is too expensive. There is no leisure activities here. There is no cinema, no theatre. You can go to Figueres, a cinema, if you want."* (*CdE-4-PL-F-30*)

“The public transport is well. There are buses to Figueras o Girona. There are no issues. I use a car, I do not use public transport. It is very important to use a car here. I do not know a person that uses public transport on a daily basis. Some use it to get to schools, the children have a schoolbus.” (CdE-KI-1-DE-F-47)

“The public transport is poor. There is one bus. I use a car. It is difficult to move with a bus because its frequency is too low. The transport between Castelló historic center and Empuriabrava is poor and the communication between Castelló and Figueres is not frequent enough. Immigrants use the bus more, some of them use a bicycle, and some make the trip on foot.” (CdE-KI-6-SP-F-31)

**Photography 3. The Castelló d’Empúries – Empuriabrava municipal bus schedule during summer.**



## Bus Local - Viñolas

**AUTOCARS VIÑOLAS**      Tel. 972 25 66 17

	8:12	9:12	10:12	11:12	12:12	13:12	15:12	16:12	17:12	18:12	19:12
Castelló d'Empúries	SOTX										
	HOTEL EMPORIUM	8:15	9:15	10:15	11:15	12:15	13:15	15:15	16:15	17:15	18:15
	CAP Castelló - c/Rentador	8:18	9:18	10:18	11:18	12:18	13:18	15:18	16:18	17:18	18:18
Empuriabrava	TRABUC	8:25	9:25	10:25	11:25	12:25	13:25	15:25	16:25	17:25	18:25
	CRULLA - C260	8:29	9:29	10:29	11:29	12:29	13:29	15:29	16:29	17:29	18:29
	HOTEL AMPURIA INN - DISCO WAIKIKI	8:30	9:30	10:30	11:30	12:30	13:30	15:30	16:30	17:30	18:30
	SECTOR ALBERES	8:32	9:32	10:32	11:32	12:32	13:32	15:32	16:32	17:32	18:32
	SECTOR MONTORI	8:33	9:33	10:33	11:33	12:33	13:33	15:33	16:33	17:33	18:33
	CRISTALL MAR / Av. Pompeu Fabra	8:35	9:35	10:35	11:35	12:35	13:35	15:35	16:35	17:35	18:35
	DISCO PASSARELLA	8:38	9:38	10:38	11:38	12:38	13:38	15:38	16:38	17:38	18:38
	RESTAURANT CAPTAN	8:40	9:40	10:40	11:40	12:40	13:40	15:40	16:40	17:40	18:40
	EMPÚRIES A - Av. Joan Carles I	8:42	9:42	10:42	11:42	12:42	13:42	15:42	16:42	17:42	18:42
	PORT PRIMER - Platja Petita	8:45	9:45	10:45	11:45	12:45	13:45	15:45	16:45	17:45	18:45
	CAMPING RUBINA RESORT	8:47	9:47	10:47	11:47	12:47	13:47	15:47	16:47	17:47	18:47
	INTERBOAT - Aeroclub 42	8:50	9:50	10:50	11:50	12:50	13:50	15:50	16:50	17:50	18:50
	CRULLA - C260	8:51	9:51	10:51	11:51	12:51	13:51	15:51	16:51	17:51	18:51
	HOTEL AMPURIA INN - DISCO WAIKIKI	8:52	9:52	10:52	11:52	12:52	13:52	15:52	16:52	17:52	18:52
	TRABUC	8:55	9:55	10:55	11:55	12:55	13:55	15:55	16:55	17:55	18:55
Castelló d'Empúries	CAP Castelló - c/Rentador	9:00	10:00	11:00	12:00	13:00	14:00	16:00	17:00	18:00	19:00
	HOTEL EMPORIUM	9:02	10:02	11:02	12:02	13:02	14:02	16:02	17:02	18:02	19:02

Diumenges no hi ha servei.  
 Domingos no hay servicio.  
 Dimanche il n'y a pas de service.  
 Sunday there is no service.  
 Von Montag bis Samstag

Preu. Precio. Prix  
 Price. Preis. Prijs.      1 €

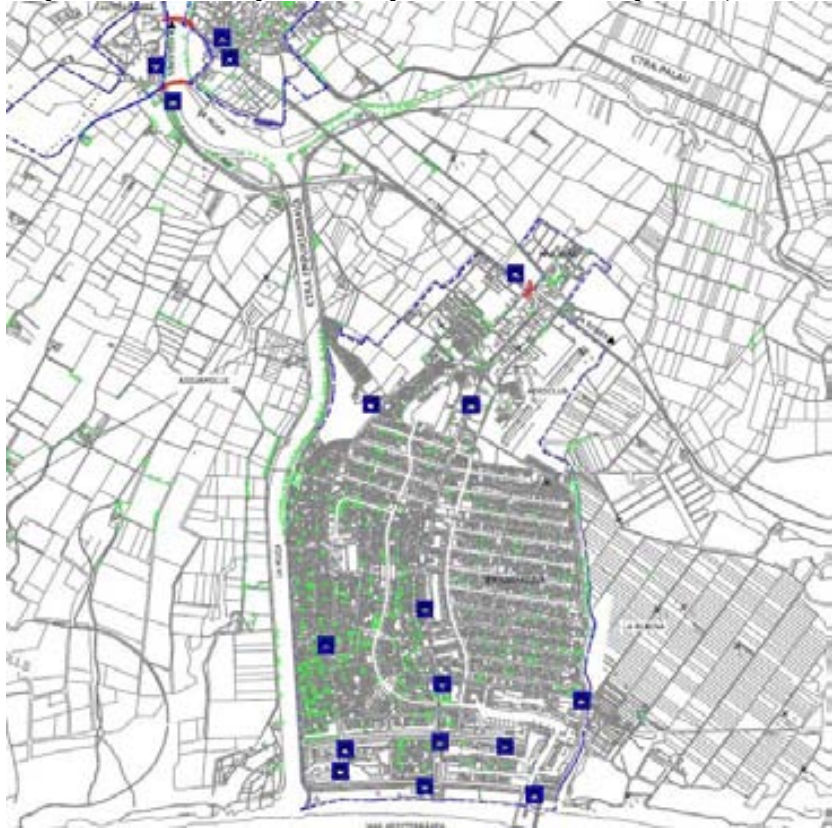
Source: Ajuntament de Castelló d’Empúries

Photography 4. The Castelló d’Empuries – Empuriabrava municipal and school bus schedules during rest of the year.



Source: Ajuntament de Castelló d’Empuries

Map 11. The municipal bus stops in Castelló d’Empuries (marked as the blue rectangles).



Source: Ajuntament de Castelló d’Empuries



#### 4.2.3. *Who is Hiring in Empuriabrava Now?*

The lack of improvements of the Empuriabrava's infrastructure along with economic recession is believed to be the reasons of downfall of the job market. Interviewed Polish immigrants (this trend is confirmed by other key informants) believe that during the last years there is every time less tourists in Empuriabrava. According to them, that leads to closures of establishments and consequently to more unemployment. Also, in some cases return migrations are visible (see Tables 22 and 23). The native employers are believed to be in decay and the only, still active investors and employers, according to Polish immigrants, are the ones from the countries that did not suffer the recession so importantly, mainly from France and Germany. However, other interviewed key informants underline that economic recession influenced negatively on both businesses run by natives and immigrants. The emphasizing of German purchasing-power importance by the interviewed Polish immigrants could be related here to their expressed satisfaction from previous collaboration with – especially – German employers. The Polish immigrants believe that previous long-term collaboration (often made possible by language knowledge) allows that they still are able to receive new orders of houses and boats repairs and improvements (although, often within the hidden economy). However, at the same time they believe that there is no possibility that newcomers could nowadays find a job in Empuriabrava. Thus, they would not recommend to their friends or family to come to Empuriabrava, even if they did it many times in the past.

*“Here the job profile is very seasonal, the statistic data of the past year showed that the 80% of contracted people for the whole year were seasonal workers in Empuriabrava. [...] Five, six years ago, the season was beginning in May/April to about the end of October, nowadays it is reduced to July, August, September... I suppose that it is because of less tourism, and crisis. There is people working the whole season, but the seasonal-contract employment period perhaps is shorter. It reveals an important part of the underground economy [...] There was a lot of construction too. Tourism and construction were mainly driving the local economy.”(CdE-KI-16-SP-M-30)*

*“Those are two worlds. A lot of people in the touristic sector, with private stores, they evidently noticed the crisis, but their economic situation is quite good as it was good during many years. [...] Still, with the crisis, some of them abandoned their shops and returned to their countries. [...] And then there is a part that is suffering with the crisis, there are numerous families with tremendous problems. There were a lot of people who were living thanks to unemployment benefit. [...] That has come to an end. Several of them have been working in the construction sector [...] Well, this is a time of tremendous economic difficulties.” (CdE-KI-18-SP-M-54)*

**Photography 5.** Several offices of the real-estate agencies have been recently... Listed for rent, after the agencies had left the business.



*Author: Dawid Wladyka*

#### ***4.2.4. Linguistic Diversity in Public Administration and Private Business***

Other issue mentioned by some interviewed Polish immigrants and related to both: job market and lack of infrastructural improvements of Empuriabrava is the language (or rather languages). The majority of interviewed Polish (and other interviewed immigrants) consider that knowledge (although not necessary proficient) of languages like German, French, English, Russian or even Flemish are required in order to find employment in Empuriabrava. They believe that Spanish is necessary in some jobs, but they would rather disagree with local employment office (and some interviewed native key informants) that it is essential. The interviewed Polish immigrants mention that in the past, in Empuriabrava it was completely possible to lead a normal life speaking only German. This feature, according to them, changed since the increase in number of French and other immigrants. Interestingly, although the Spanish language is perceived as growing in importance in everyday's life it still does not

seem to be believed as prevailing. Quite the contrary, it is English that is often regarded as a language of communication between groups that speak different languages (e.g. CdE-KI-24-MA/SP-F-35). The Catalan language is considered by majority of the interviewed immigrants to be useful only in order to understand the correspondence with the Town Hall. Still, some variety of opinions can be found. While one of them (e.g. CdE-4-PL-F-30) underlines her participation in Catalan language lessons, another (CdE-3-PL-M-31) mention his experiences with incidental better treatment by native Catalan shop owner (i.e. faster solution of the problem) if one speaks Catalan with them. On one hand, Polish immigrants seem to appreciate that one can communicate in Town Hall (with more or less success) in languages like French, German or English, and that there are some multi-lingual posters and leaflets that announce various events. On the other hand, they rather believe that those posters are addressed to tourists and not to inhabitants of immigrant origin. This opinion is concordant to what other interviewed immigrants say on the issue. They consider that local authorities could appreciate more the number and economic importance of immigrants that live in Empuriabrava and develop more day-to-day communication with the inhabitants in other languages than Catalan. In turn, the opinions of native key informants, especially related to the Town Hall vary between more cautious till more radical. On one side, in relation to the municipal elections, a tendency to acknowledge Empuriabrava's specific identity and concomitantly ethnic diversity seems to break through the politicians' discourse. On the other, the interviewed Town Hall's immigration technician (CdE-KI-4-SP-F-30) while underlining the possibility of taking Catalan language lessons, additionally suggest that Town Hall should communicate with inhabitants only in Catalan regardless the number and diversity of immigrants that live in Empuriabrava. In fact, this Integration Technician points out the growing diversity of immigrants as the practical reason of why there would be no point of publishing the posters and advertising materials in other languages: *"According to the last statistics [...] there are seventy various nationalities [in Castello], so if we would like to cover all the seventy nationalities, how many leaflets should we prepare? So no..., it is Catalan and Castilian, and lately I would say that it is only Catalan."* (CdE-KI-4-SP-F-30). The perceptions gathered in the above mentioned paragraphs might be treated as one of the starting points to the discussion about Empuriabrava as heading toward being a *superdiverse* neighborhood of a small town. Here, not only from a purely statistical point of view, but also from a standpoint of inhabitants' consciousness and political debates (compare Vertovec, 2007).

*“There are two magazines: Amigos and Arena. They publish in all the main languages. In Town Hall they can’t help you in another language. The communication between the organization and people that live here or come to spend holidays here is not right. The posters are only in Catalan. There are people saying: we make an effort to speak Spanish and they answer in Catalan. And I think it is a problem. The more languages the better. If they speak to me in Spanish, I respond in Spanish. If they speak English, I reply in English. Catalan is more unknown than Spanish.” (CdE-KI-2-DE-F-45)*

*“The information here is often only in Catalan. It is not good, but... Those who came here and do not know language. I did not know any Spanish. I learned in one year, but then they spoke to me in Catalan and I did not understand. At the end I learned. This is difficult for foreigners. They learn some Spanish, then they got a document in Catalan and they do not understand.” (CdE-2-PL/BE-F-45)*

#### **4.3. Perceptions of Spatial and Social Possibilities of Interactions and Participation in Empuriabrava**

The interviewed Polish immigrants and key informants related to Empuriabrava (all of them, but putting various emphasis on the issue) underline that the possibilities of entertainment, leisure and participation are scarce in Empuriabrava. According to them there are virtually no human-build public spaces thought as meeting places or simply as strolling areas where one could meet other neighbors. Still, there are some exceptions to this pattern like the football fields near to the aerodrome, the Nautic Club (a private gym facility), a bowling club, Petanca fields, and also the Catalan lessons classrooms. The mostly mentioned football field is seen as simple, but popular meeting place among the amateur football players. The Nautic Club is seen as rather outdated facility, with every time less services. It is seen as too expensive for the financial possibilities of most of the Polish immigrants, similarly to bowling club. The Petanca is rather seen as a playground for natives or French, mainly older people.

*“I took part in sailing boats races a lot. I usually won the first place. Every Saturday there are regattas. For pleasure, for fun. About 20-25 yachts. Then we all meet in a restaurant. We eat, discuss, the committee says who has won, who was the second, the third. We take a beer, maybe cognac. That’s fun.” (CdE-1-PL-M-5)*

**Photography 6. Football fields in Empuriabrava.**



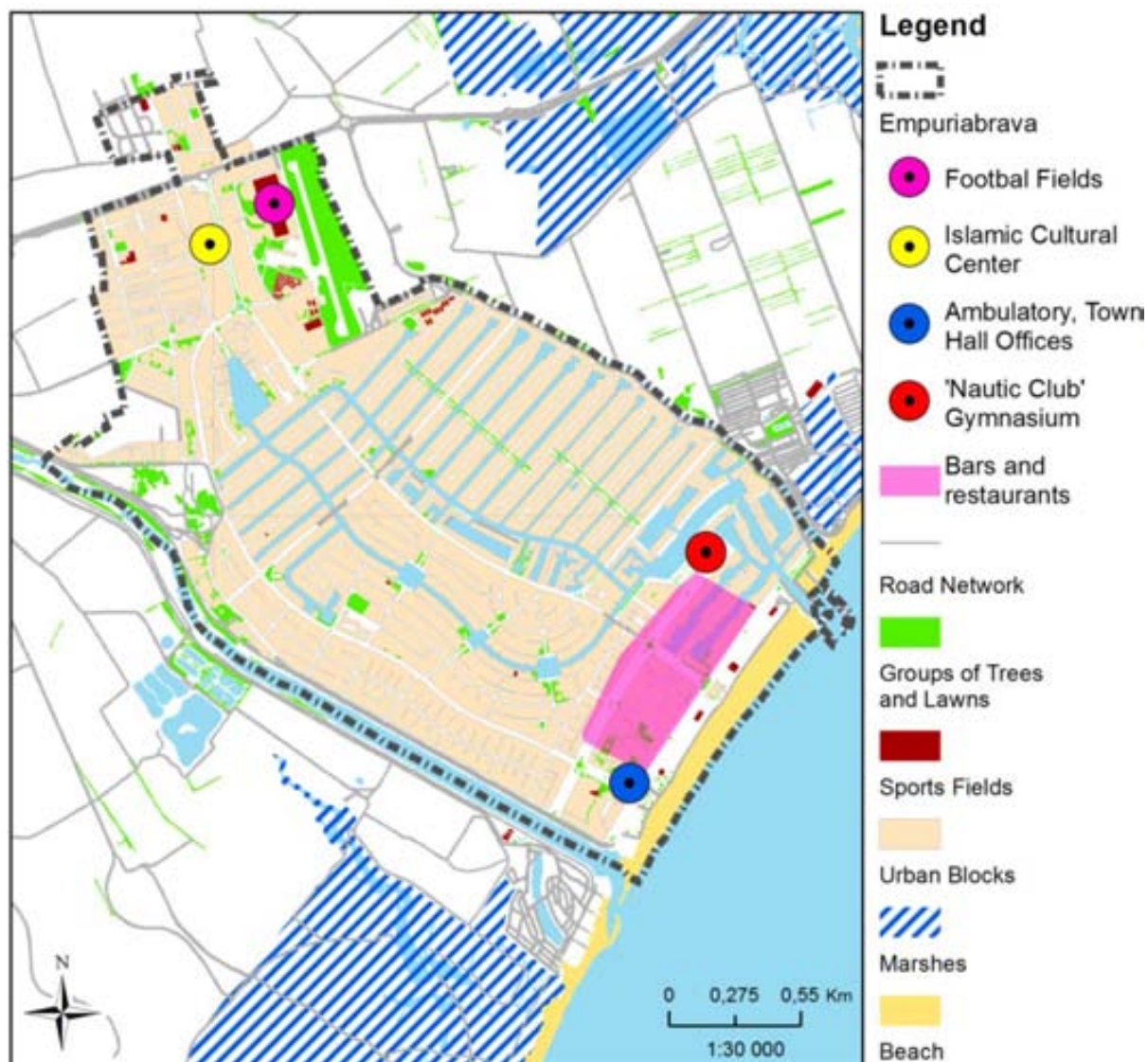
*Author: Dawid Wladyka*

*“It is a town only for holidays. You can see it. There is nothing more than sea and a beach. There are only bars and restaurants. A lot of them bankrupted until now. There is only stealing and the use of drugs. There is nothing more. We are strolling with my daughter by the beach and in the Natural Park – in the summer. I do not know if it is a good place for my daughter when she is older.” (CdE-4-PL-F-30)*

As result, bars are the micro-public sites widely mentioned as the unique places where social interaction and gatherings take place on a daily basis. Whether it is a coffee with girlfriends, an evening beer with colleagues, the football display on a giant screen or a dancing night out, bars are often mentioned as the only possible place where one can spend it's free time. The private home gardens are also mentioned as places where neighbors meet for a barbecue and beer (see Map 12).



**Map 12. Sites frequently regarded as significant by interviewees in the Empuriabrava neighborhood of Castelló d'Empúries**



*Elaborated by Dawid Wladyka. Georeferenced data provided by the ICC and IGN.*

#### **4.3.1. The Natural Spaces in Empuriabrava**

There are some natural spaces that are seen as meeting points or simply leisure providers. The wide, long and sandy beach is the mostly mentioned one. Still, it is mentioned along with disadvantages like strong winds during some months that make strolling very unpleasant experience. The sea and a river itself have also been mentioned by some interviewed Polish immigrants and key informants as a space of gatherings and activity. In particular, the sailing boats races or common fishing are mentioned experiences. The PNAE (located partially within the municipality borders) is strikingly seldom mentioned by the

Polish immigrants asked about possible places of common activities or leisure. When asked in particular, they acclaim knowledge of the existence of the Natural Reserve, but they have no profound information or experiences related to the Park. Some of them admit that they strolled or passed by on a bike in a park, but most of them do not make a lot of use of Park's premises. Still, there are also some contradictory voices about Park's usefulness for the neighbors. For one of the interviewed Polish immigrants, the Park could be a place of everyday's strolls, and is a source of the interests' in birds. For another, it is nothing special since birds could be seen, anywhere around, so the park is really not necessary. Interestingly, also among the native inhabitants and other key informants the constitution of the PNAE provoked some tensions. The scarce interests of the interviewees in the use of Park as recreational area has been confirmed by Town Hall's coordinator of economic promotion, tourism and trade (*CdE-KI-11-SP-M-45*). He claims that the majority of visitors to the Park are tourists that have own/rented cars. Thus, supposedly, even if the public transportation within the park would be improved (currently virtually not existent), the local people would not increase their interest in visiting the PNAE. That is another example of tourism-oriented thinking of the local authorities. In fact, according to the above mentioned key informant, the relations between PNAE and town's authorities was not harmonious from the very beginning. Nowadays, there is an increasing collaboration (e.g. schools' visits), but "before, it was a farmer's town, Agriculture was a powerful sector, so the Park's foundation's put some trauma on certain inhabitants. It implied a change of thinking".

*"There is a group of Poles who go fishing in Empuriabrava [...]Go to National Park? What for? I can see birds up in the sky..." (CdE-8-PL-M-58)*

*"We have one school trip to PNAE every year. Every age group does something different, they have specific programs. Also, some workers from the Park give explanations. We have in mind that the zone is protected." (CdE-KI-3-SP-F-64)*

#### **4.3.2. Culture and Popular Activities in Empuriabrava**

Overall, there is a prevailing opinion among interviewed Polish immigrants and foreign key informants that there is not a lot to do in Empuriabrava neighborhood. The lack of popular culture and leisure accessible to everyone has been underlined by several Polish interviewees. At the same time, natives consider that popular activities (e.g. Medieval Fest, *Castellers*) although present are seldom, underdeveloped, hardly accessible (public transport

issues) and too often directed to tourists. Also, a few Polish interviewees mentioned some concerts and traditional festivities that take place in Castelló d'Empuries. Still, the opinion is that during last years the performances during the festivities are not as stunning as they were before. This is a factor directly related by the immigrants themselves to the economic recession. The number of popular festivities, especially those celebrated in Empuriabrava neighborhood, are also considered lower due to the economic situation:

*"There are some festivities, for example on the beach [...] There was an intention - idea, about 4-5 years ago (they put it away for the moment) that all the foreigners gather every month. I do not know why it is not continued. I think, that there was a problem with the organization. [...] There is a medieval festivity on September. It is very nice festivity. There are tourists coming from abroad. There is a lot of people in Castelló during the three days of festivity." (CdE-2-PL/BE-F-45)*

While there are some traces and opinions about immigrants' participation in singular events like Germans exhibiting at the popular festivity (CdE-KI-4-SP-F-30) or Moroccans participation in a local museum organized activity<sup>24</sup> the everyday patterns of use of cultural (and other) infrastructure are distinct. The majority of the interviewed Polish immigrants are aware that there is a library and some other basic cultural facilities accessible in Castelló d'Empuries historic centre. Still, they consider that the significant distance between Empuriabrava neighborhood and Castelló Empuries makes them inconvenient to use. These opinions are comprehensible if one considers the distance of approx. 2,5 km in the best case scenario, till over 5 km if a neighbor lives near to a Empuriabrava's coastline. With inefficient, nearly not-existing public transport the only option is to take a walk of about 45 minutes (depending on a physical performance and exact place of residence), car or a bike. The last one seems to be (according to some interviews, but also to the observation) not a very popular option among the neighbors, although especially immigrants of lower economic standing attempt to use this mean of transportation. Still, it should be mentioned, that although interviewed key informants related to the Town Hall underline the presence of the bike patch, some neighbors complain that a part of this patch cross and follows a busy road.

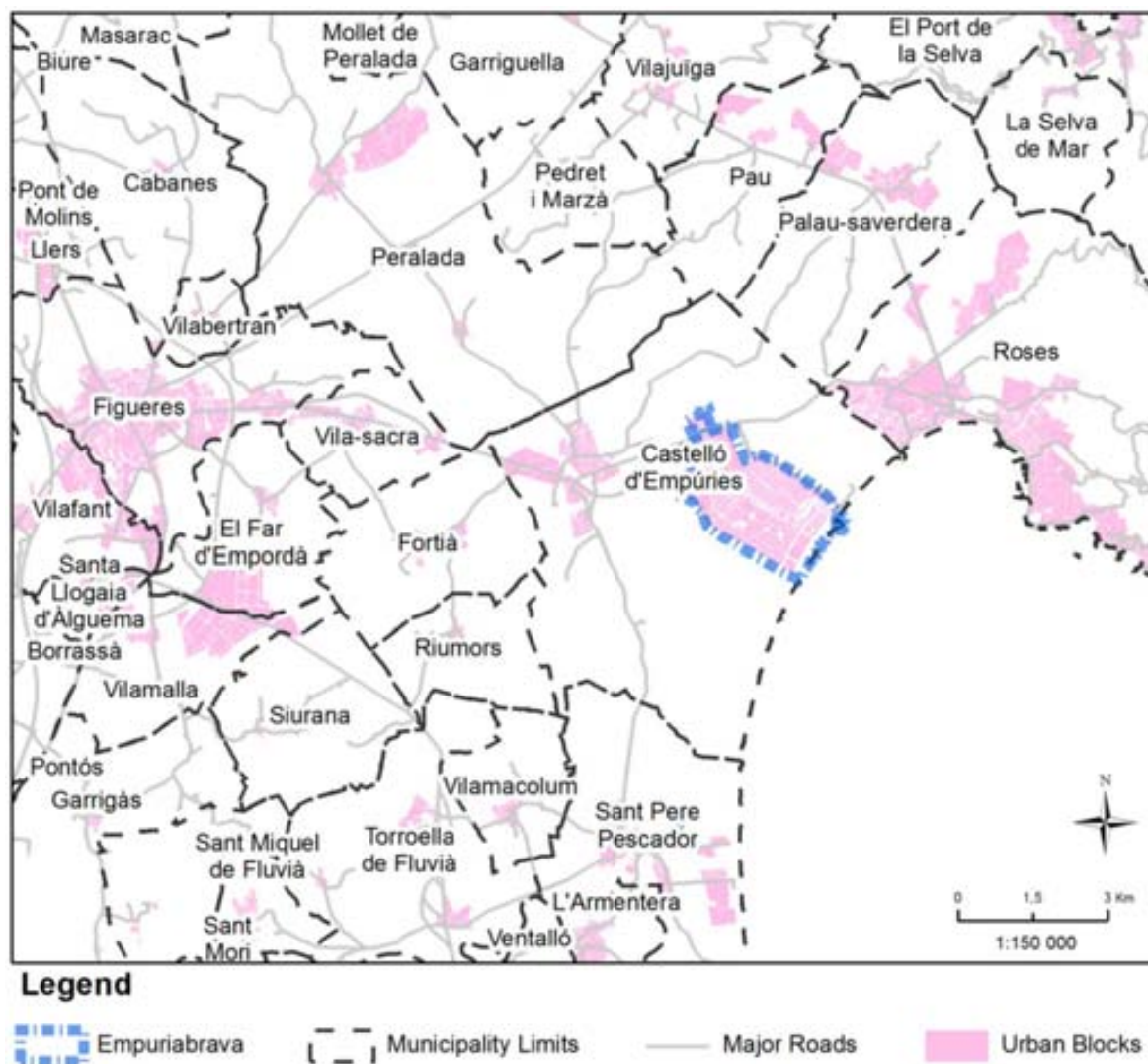
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<sup>24</sup> See: La Comunidad Islámica de Empuriabrava participa en la "Feria del pan, la harina y el trigo. (2011, June 11). *Islam España*. Retrieved from: <http://islamhispania.blogspot.com/2010/06/la-comunidad-islamica-de-empuriabrava.html>



Accordingly, the car is considered by all of the interviewees to be the most popular and efficient choice in order to get to Castelló d'Empuries historic center. If car is a choice (all the interviewees said that it is virtually impossible to live in the Empuriabrava without it), regardless own or borrowed from a friend, more possibilities appear. The ride to Castelló d'Empuries historic center seems to be unattractive option comparing to larger Roses located just few kilometers away that offers much more in sense of leisure and culture. If there is time, one can also drive fifteen minutes more and find himself in Figueres, city of about 45.262 inhabitants, that offers more variety in terms of entertainment (see Map 13). Since most of that options seem time-consuming for the interviewees those are rather occasional trips, and most of the free-time is consumed in bars of Empuriabrava. Furthermore, the latter are also believed to be disappearing one by one due to a reduction of tourists inflows.

**Map 13. Empuriabrava neighborhood in the perspective of surrounding urbanizations**



*Elaborated by Dawid Wladyka. Georeferenced data provided by the ICC and IGN.*

### 4.3.3. *Political and Religious Participation in Empuriabrava*

The possibilities of political activity in the neighborhood-based party UDEM or other political parties which are present in Castelló d'Empúries have been only mentioned by one Polish interviewee (*CdE-2-PL/BE-F-45*). She is also the Polish interviewee who most widely talked about other ways of participation. On the other hand, some interviewed immigrant key informants mention more frequently possibilities of political participation in particular group's areas of interest. German immigrants underline grass-roots movements<sup>25</sup> related to the attempts to stop the Spanish Coastal Law (that would expropriate the land adjacent to water channels)<sup>26</sup>. Also the recent dynamization of neighborhood's political life related to the new party UDEM have been noted by German interviewees and natives. Furthermore, a Moroccan interviewee (*CdE-KI-12-MA-M-35*) highlighted some demonstrations carried out by an ad-hoc social movement that made demands related to the school bus funding.

The same person (but also several other interviewees of various origins) highlighted Moroccans' mainly religion oriented participation in the Islamic Cultural Center, and German's participation in especially dedicated masses in Castelló d'Empúries' main historical church. Additionally, the Polish masses in Castelló d'Empúries church are commonly mentioned (by Polish and some German immigrants and some individual native interviewees) as the unique former place of gathering of Polish immigrants. The masses were celebrated by the priest of Polish origin. The mentioned priest, commonly recognized by interviewed Polish immigrants as "Polish priest" also celebrated masses for German immigrants.

*"People come to the Islamic Center to pray. Children study Arabic language. We also have teachers who teach the Catalan language. There are also some lessons about integration. The local people help a little. The Town Hall gives us lessons sometimes in order to organize meetings (...) about integration. The private companies do not help."* (*CdE-KI-12-MA-M-35*)

*"There are associations, like the Islamic center, that already from several years [...] invited us to some activities and they want people from outside to visit them, but they have their own dynamic, and*

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<sup>25</sup> See <http://www.aproem.com>

<sup>26</sup> To follow the debate, see e.g. Castedo, A. (2011, August 21). Canales públicos, acceso privado. El País. Retrieved from <http://elpais.com>. ; Cerrillo A. (2011, January 14) Los propietarios de Empuriabrava pierden sus amarres y embarcaderos. La Vanguardia. Retrieved from <http://www.lavanguardia.com> ; Méndez, R. (2012, July 13). La Ley de Costas no se aplicará en 11 núcleos conflictivos. El País. Retrieved from [www.elpais.com](http://www.elpais.com) The text of the new law has been published in the Official State Gazette (BOE) no. 129, from 30<sup>th</sup> of May 2013, pages 40691 to 40736 (46 pages) with reference BOE-A-2013-567, as the 'Ley 2/2013, de 29 de mayo, de protección y uso sostenible del litoral y de modificación de la Ley 22/1988, de 28 de julio, de Costas'. The document is accessible here: [http://www.boe.es/diario\\_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-2013-5670](http://www.boe.es/diario_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-2013-5670). Previous legal documents in the matter are accessible here: [http://www.aproem.com/?page\\_id=417&lang=en/](http://www.aproem.com/?page_id=417&lang=en/)

*the majority [of immigrants] do not participate in other associations, like theater or to Catalan traditional dancing, these are two worlds a little apart. And European people neither.” (CdE-KI-17-SP-F-40)*

*“Last year, from January to April, there was a mass in Polish language in Castelló. In Castelló there is a Polish priest. I come from an atheistic family, but I used to go to those masses if they were. [...] At 12 o'clock on Sundays. Relaxed. Currently, I don't know whether I'm a Catholic or not, but I liked going and listening, to relax. Beautiful thing. Whether I'm a Catholic or not.” (CdE-I-PL-M-53)*

The socio-spatial religious patterns are worth of underline in a perspective of Wilson's (1980) work. He considered that religious gatherings are one of the social-spaces that help new immigrants in the development of emotional self by providing patterns of permanent socio-spatially fixed interactions. These particular features are visible in various interviewees' comments about either German or Polish Sunday masses in Castelló d'Empúries church or Moroccans participations in Islamic Cultural Center based orations and activities. It appears however that, following the Wilsons' (1980) thoughts, there might be a crucial spatially oriented difference between these two examples of participation. According to that author, the space of individual's activity may be expanded in result of commuting to work, school, religious activity, leisure, etc. While the case of Polish and German immigrants' participation in masses located in Castelló d'Empúries historical centre fits into that scheme and therefore appear to extend their socio-spatial patterns of interactions, the Moroccan immigrants' participation in religious services and activities in the Islamic Cultural Center might have less important role in that sense since its location in the same Empuriabrava's Puigmal sector that is highly inhabited by Moroccan immigrants do not expand their space of activity. Thus, in this spatial sense, for a number of Moroccan residents, the Islamic Cultural Centre fulfill the basic needs of individuals and does not provide knowledge about new environments.

However, on the other hand, a variety of activities provided by the Islamic Cultural Center and its everyday's activity is mostly possible exactly because of its location, since, in a perspective of deficient public transport, participants and activists gain an easy access to activities. That feature is crucial, especially taking into account other studies (e.g. Butler Flora & Flora, 2013) that highlight the invaluable input that some dynamic immigrants' organizations in low-density ethnically diverse areas can have. The assumption here is that the presence of this kind of organizations may lead to further individual participation in previously established local organizations and development of community with regard to opinion of various ethnic groups. The presence of the Islamic Center already brought some

synergies to the town, since according to the Islamic Cultural Center representative (*CdE-KI-12-MA-M-35*), besides the majority of Moroccan immigrants, there are also some Senegalese and Gambians regularly visiting the facility. Also, the ethnographic fieldwork showed the participation of the Muslims that live in other parts of comarca of Alt Empordà<sup>27</sup>. Still, while the opinion of the various groups should be consciously supported by the local authorities, that - according to the multiple interviews - was not the case of Castelló d'Empúries during past years. Looking at the issue from more holistic perspective the development of synergic collaboration between Town Hall, and immigrants' organization as well as supporting of the latter might produce a tangible economic gain to the town (compare Lanceen & Dronkers, 2011). In fact, this was the case of the significant touristic visits of skydivers from Qatar that took advantage of the local airfield. One of the reasons why those tourists choose the Empuriabrava was because of a presence of the Islamic Center that could provide an easily accessible oratory (see Domènech & Escobar, 2010, August 10).

In general, the Polish interviewees state that the lack of participation is caused by the lack of spaces, transport issues, lack of organizations, and the price of some activities. While the lack of human-built spaces to participate or the distance and transport difficulties may reflect the reality of Empuriabrava, the argument of lack of organizations that allow engagement somehow miss the mark. In fact, there are dozens of various organizations registered and active in Castelló d'Empúries. This number is also a source of pride for local government and it has been confirmed in the interview with the Castelló d'Empúries' Mayor Xavier M. Sanllehi i Brunet (*CdE-KI-23-SP-M-49*). Still, an important part of those organizations are located in Castelló d'Empúries historic center, together with their activities:

*"My wife does not go to the gym. There is a swimming pool, you can go with children. But you also have to pay."* (*CdE-9-PL-M-37*)

*"There are guitar classes, riding horse classes. Extra scholar activities. You have to pay but how can you get the money? My granddaughter doesn't go. There is no help."* (*CdE-7-PL-M-5*)

*"They have regular customers in Nautic Club. It costs some money to get a card. My sons, when they want to swim in the winter, used to go."* (*CdE-8-PL-M-58*)

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<sup>27</sup> This fieldwork visit was carried out with Danièle Joly, Ricard Morén-Alegret, Albert Mas and Sandra Fatoric.

#### **4.4. Perception of Ethnic Diversity's Influence on the Development of Empuriabrava**

As it was mentioned above, the interviewed Polish immigrants are conscious that the variety and the number of immigrants are characteristic features of this neighborhood. One of the Polish interviewees, while talking about the incidence of immigration on the Empuriabrava neighborhood, even cited a “mythical” story he had heard about its beginnings. He evoked the Germans and Dutch as the ones who invested in the neighborhood development already in the 1960s and 1970s:

*“Empuriabrava was built by two German brothers. The one who has Nautical Club was the boss and he made a deal with those Germans and he reached a conclusion that they would built it here, because there were only fields. Two Germans decided to build Empuriabrava.” (CdE-8-PL-M-58)*

*“There are two different types of immigration. The Europeans are people with purchasing power. They come here to retire, they spend money here. Immigration from Africa is a labor force. They come to work. Mainly in construction or in agriculture, in the fruit sector. They do jobs that would not be done by the local population.” (CdE-KI-23-SP-M-49)*

The interviewees agree that socio-cultural diversity in Empuriabrava shapes its social life. Only one of the interviewed Polish immigrants (CdE-3-PL-M-31) highlighted that according to him the number of immigrants in some other Catalan municipalities is even higher. Because of the specific variety among the types of residents (permanent residents, temporary: 3-6 months residents, and tourists), it is sometimes difficult for the interviewees to focus on describing only the permanent residents' influence on the Empuriabrava social and economic life. Asked about the matter, some of them express the opinion that the interaction among those various types of inhabitants continuously interrelates, and that winter is the only time of the year when only the permanent residents stay in the neighborhood.

##### **4.4.1. German and French Influence**

Beginning with the previously mentioned story about the construction of the neighborhood, the Germans are the ones seen by Polish immigrants as the most important group in Empuriabrava. They are seen as the providers of capital for the neighborhood in general, employers for immigrants and natives, and small-businesses owners.

*“They [other Polish] were lucky because in Empuriabrava there are only Germans, touristic place. And when it comes to Spaniards they don't want to do improvements, because they don't have funds,*

*because of the crisis. Germans have not been affected so much by the crisis. They [Polish] also work for French. Usually for foreigners. For Spaniard seldom.” (CdE-5-PL-F-30)*

*“I think that there are entrepreneurs who lived here, a lot of German people... Before there was also a lot of people... German, French [...] But I do not think that these are big German or French enterprises that have invested here. I think that these are real-estate and construction companies already funded here.” (CdE-KI-16-SP-M-30)*

It should be underlined that nowadays, the importance of German immigrants is seen as descending. The French, although acknowledged as present in Empuribrava from many years, are seen as the ones who currently take over the real-estate investments and the touristic inflow. The immigrants of two abovementioned nationalities are seen as the most numerous and important for the social and economical life of the neighborhood during years. These perceived trends can be tracked while looking at registered resident population series (see Table 22). In this perspective, the year 2007 is the time when French permanently outnumbered Germans in Castelló d'Empúries. Both French and German immigrants are seen as the investors, small-business owners, retired sun-seekers, three to six months every year visitors that own an apartment, employee, tourists, and lastly, those who are most visible in the bars and restaurants. Talking about the European immigrants, other often mentioned immigrants' nationalities are: English, Dutch, Swiss, Austrians, Russians, Ukrainians and those described as having recently most incidence on the neighborhood life: Romanians.

**Table 22. German and French registered resident population in Castelló d'Empúries, 2000-2012 series**

	Total <sup>(1)</sup>	Foreign pop.	Germany	% of (1)	France	% of (1)
<b>2012</b>	11.794	5.910	<b>911</b>	7,72	<b>1.193</b>	10,12
<b>2011</b>	11.885	5.941	<b>907</b>	7,63	<b>1.198</b>	10,08
<b>2010</b>	12.220	6.222	<b>1.020</b>	8,35	<b>1.250</b>	10,23
<b>2009</b>	12.111	6.164	<b>1.026</b>	8,47	<b>1.213</b>	10,02
<b>2008</b>	11.653	5.818	<b>984</b>	8,44	<b>1.129</b>	9,69
<b>2007</b>	10.629	4.980	<b>897</b>	8,44	<b>962</b>	9,05
<b>2006</b>	10.021	4.569	<b>828</b>	8,26	<b>719</b>	7,17
<b>2005</b>	9.167	3.932	<b>750</b>	8,18	<b>529</b>	5,77
<b>2004</b>	7.777	2.829	<b>535</b>	6,88	<b>323</b>	4,15
<b>2003</b>	8.165	3.385	<b>956</b>	11,71	<b>498</b>	6,1
<b>2002</b>	7.530	3.013	<b>920</b>	12,22	<b>458</b>	6,08
<b>2001</b>	6.883	2.479	<b>809</b>	11,75	<b>381</b>	5,54
<b>2000</b>	6.266	1.967	<b>658</b>	10,5	<b>285</b>	4,55

*Source: IDESCAT, based on ongoing census data.*

While mentioning and describing those groups, interviewed Polish immigrants distinguish their influence on the Empuriabrava's social and economic development. The English, Dutch, Swiss, Austrian, and mostly Russians and Ukrainians are described along with Germans and French. Still, there are some interesting differences in the description of their incidence on the neighbor life. The English are described rather as permanent residents and retired sun-seekers (although there are other cases known to interviewed Polish immigrant), and Dutch are rather described as tourists. The Russians are mostly seen as rich tourists or temporary residents. Nevertheless, there is a small Russian community established in the neighborhood that is known by Polish immigrants, as people who earn a living in similar ways than Polish immigrants do. Ukrainian immigrants are mentioned altogether with the aforementioned group of Russian immigrants. Similar observations have been made by several key informants of various origins as, for instance, the following ones:

*"All the people who live here are foreigners. Ten years ago, there were more Germans and French. Now there are more Moroccans and Romanians. That consequently decreases the market level. They only send money to their countries. Germans and French brought money here."* (CdE-4-PL-F-30)

*"There are more immigrants then Spaniards. Mostly Europeans from the EU but also Russians and other Europeans.[...]Our neighbour is from Argentina, those are Catalans, further there are the French. Everywhere. In the restaurant, ones are French, other Germans. Everywhere."* (CdE-2-PL/BE-F-45)

*„[My granddaughter] went to school in Poland until she was nine years old. Now, it is her sixth year here. She likes it better here. The entourage and languages are different here. She is a child, she absorbs it quickly, and I am not doing so well. She has friends from Russia and Spain. There is an international companionship."* (CdE-7-PL-M-53)

*„Those who work with us are of various nationalities. There are Ukrainians, Bolivians, Polish, Spain, and Russian. I worked with a Bulgarian friend. [...] You can meet there [in the Russian shop] people that are closer to our [culture] Latvia, Lithuania, Russia, Ukraine, and Slovakia sometimes... One can go to this shop for a beer or something else, meet Polish and 'be closer' to Polish border."* (CdE-6-PL-F-30)

#### 4.4.2. Stigmatized Romanians and Moroccans

On the other hand, immigrants from Romania are described as one of the recent newcomers. Their arrival is explained by the interviewees (mainly Polish interviewees and some immigrant key informants) as related to the EU-enlargement and visa rules simplification. Still, according to some interviewees, the economic recession provoked that after a dynamic growth of the Romanians' influx, currently their tendency is rather to leave Empuriabrava. These observations could only partially be confirmed analysing statistical data (see Table 23). The largest increase of the Romanian residents' number took place between the years 2003 and 2008 (therefore started still before the Romanian access to the EU in 2007) and remained rather steady between 2008 and 2012. According to several Polish immigrants (but also some other immigrants key informants and natives), the Romanians newcomers in Empuriabrava, are supposedly known for their illegal employment, but also involvement in mendicancy, robberies, procurement and prostitution. The influence of the Romanian immigrants on the underground economy has also been confirmed by the Castelló d'Empúries Mayor Xavier M. Sanllehí i Brunet (*CdE-KI-23-SP-M-49*) in the following words: *"There are illegal groups of immigrants working in construction. They work with no permissions and propose dumping prices. They are mainly Romanians. We want to create official workplaces."*

**Table 23. Moroccan, Polish, Romanian, and Russian registered resident population in Castelló d'Empúries, 2000-2012 series**

	Total <sup>(1)</sup>	Morocco	% of (1)	Poland	% of (1)	Romania	% of (1)	Russia	% of (1)
<b>2012</b>	11.794	<b>1.323</b>	11,22	<b>79</b>	0,67	<b>428</b>	3,63	<b>310</b>	2,63
<b>2011</b>	11.885	<b>1.292</b>	10,87	<b>80</b>	0,67	<b>428</b>	3,6	<b>314</b>	2,64
<b>2010</b>	12.220	<b>1.353</b>	11,07	<b>86</b>	0,7	<b>413</b>	3,38	<b>298</b>	2,44
<b>2009</b>	12.111	<b>1.370</b>	11,31	<b>77</b>	0,64	<b>417</b>	3,44	<b>238</b>	1,97
<b>2008</b>	11.653	<b>1.240</b>	10,64	<b>62</b>	0,53	<b>374</b>	3,21	<b>249</b>	2,14
<b>2007</b>	10.629	<b>1.055</b>	9,93	<b>48</b>	0,45	<b>248</b>	2,33	<b>222</b>	2,09
<b>2006</b>	10.021	<b>1.079</b>	10,77	<b>29</b>	0,29	<b>218</b>	2,18	<b>218</b>	2,18
<b>2005</b>	9.167	<b>981</b>	10,7	<b>25</b>	0,27	<b>152</b>	1,66	<b>198</b>	2,16
<b>2004</b>	7.777	<b>771</b>	9,91	<b>15</b>	0,19	<b>60</b>	0,77	<b>154</b>	1,98
<b>2003</b>	8.165	<b>775</b>	9,49	<b>20</b>	0,24	<b>27</b>	0,33	<b>121</b>	1,48
<b>2002</b>	7.530	<b>697</b>	9,26	<b>15</b>	0,2	<b>15</b>	0,2	<b>100</b>	1,33
<b>2001</b>	6.883	<b>566</b>	8,22	<b>11</b>	0,16	<b>9</b>	0,13	<b>77</b>	1,12
<b>2000</b>	6.266	<b>442</b>	7,05	<b>13</b>	0,21	<b>&lt;</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>44</b>	0,7

Source: IDESCAT, based on ongoing census data.



*“I used to know people. I knew who to talk to. I speak German and it was my asset. In those times there were only Germans here. Now everything has changed, totally different world. It is not easy to survive. It is because, among others, when Romania joined the EU a lot of Romanians came. They don't work, but take girls on crossroads. On every roundabout there are 2 or 3 girls standing. They are only interested in stealing something. The same with Moroccans. The job I offer for 20 Euro an hour, they offer for 6 Euro an hour. But there is a difference if you have an expert, who finished school, has a training and knows his job, and it's different if the job is done by someone who doesn't have any basic knowledge.” (CdE-I-PL-M-53)*

Moroccans are, along with Germans, the most frequently mentioned immigrants. Some of the interviewed Polish immigrants and key informants noticed (quite correctly according to the data: Tables 22 and 23) that they outnumbered previously most numerous German immigrants. In opposite to Germans, their incidence on the life of the neighborhood is seen as negative by Polish immigrants or at best neutral (or historically positive as previously needed workforce) by native key informants. In the descriptions made by Polish immigrants they share many characteristics and are described often together with Romanian immigrants. They are seen as the supposed authors of burglaries and thefts in the neighborhood. The younger ones are portrayed often as drug dealers. What is mostly repeated by the interviewees is that Moroccans create large families, whether it is by having numerous offspring or family regrouping with relatives from their country of origin. The latter has also been indicated by the former Town Hall's Housing Technician (CdE-KI-4-SP-F-30) responsible for the living conditions in case of family regrouping. Another widely repeated supposed characteristic of Moroccan immigrants is that they (especially female) avoid undertaking jobs and prefer to stay at home while taking advantage of the welfare funds. The overload of the local welfare system on the cost of other groups seems as the most often perceived feature related to the Moroccan immigrants' incidence on Empuriabrava neighborhood. The unemployment statistics (see Table 24) seems to confirm the high number of the Maghreb immigrants' claims in comparison to groups from other origins. Paradoxically, at the same time, Moroccan men are sometimes described as those who spoil the labour market by working for dumping wages. They also are portrayed as those who are employed in most public works funded by local government. Polish immigrants frequently mention that these observations are not exclusively of their own, but it is also an opinion that emerges in discussions with natives and other immigrants. In fact, the previously quoted observations by several native key informants (e.g. CdE-KI-16-SP-M-30 and CdE-KI-23-SP-

M-49) appear to explain this phenomena with the development of underground economy. Additionally, Islamic Cultural Center representative (CdE-KI-12-MA-M-35) claims that Moroccan immigrants (altogether with Rumanians) accept every possible job. Furthermore, he is rather skeptical regarding financial help for the unemployed. He considers that nowadays it is harder to obtain some assistance, and that the job market during the crisis prefers natives, and therefore it is more difficult for immigrants to earn a living during the recession. In his eyes, the financial difficulties caused by the crisis are the source of the decrease of public safety, especially increase in robberies. Still, he indirectly shares the perceptions of Romanians and Moroccans as the responsible ones: *“If one does not work and does not have anything to eat, the first thing he does is to steal. They rob a house, take a TV, computer. Recently, there are lots of complaints. Most of the perpetrators are the people who do not work, Romanians and Moroccans, they say. Those that complain are in turn the wealthy people.”*

**Table 24. Unemployment in Castelló d'Empúries among the aliens according to their sex and region of origin, December 2010**

	Europe	Maghreb	Northern Africa (excluding Maghreb)	Western Africa	Central and South America	Other countries (including Asia)	Australia, Oceania	<b>Total</b>
<b>Male</b>	133	257	1	17	42	8	1	459
<b>Female</b>	138	116	0	9	63	1	2	329
<b>Total</b>	271	373	1	26	105	9	3	788

Source: Source: <http://www20.gencat.cat/portal/site/observatoritrebll/>

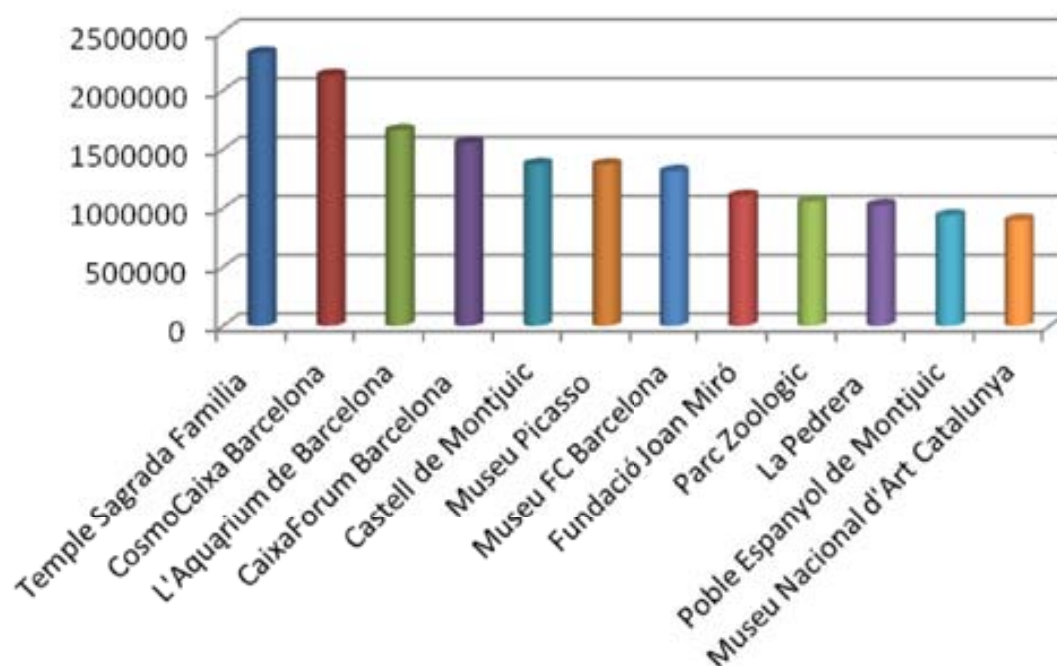
*“There are people with needs who have come from North Africa and who squat mostly empty houses... One tells to another, it is sad, those are such a poor people. But as sad as it may be, we have to be somehow realistic. [...] The prostitutes [and] those that sell drugs lump together here and stay, so it is like a ghetto. And people who had bought apartments here, since there are a lot of owners who rent on the black market, they are leaving because they seem to be uncomfortable.”* (CdE-KI-15-SP-F-57)

Other, rarely mentioned groups, are Asian immigrants (mainly Chinese) and Latin-American immigrants. Their incidence on the neighborhood's daily life is considered by the interviewees as scarce. The first ones are portrayed as harmless owners of few restaurants and bars that offer rather poor quality food to tourists. The second ones are rather invisible and they only outstand as wives of rich German immigrants.

#### 4.5. Perception of the Sagrada Familia Socio-Economic Profile and Infrastructure

The Sagrada Familia is portrayed by the interviewed Polish immigrants as middle-class neighborhood inhabited mainly by the natives. Interestingly, the comments about the neighborhood are often restricted to the particular site of interviewee's activity (whether it is a flat, job or other place) and additionally (however separately) to the area surrounding the Sagrada Familia temple, denominated as "touristic". While the various sites of activity are often described as "calm, quiet and safe", the neighborhood's center is perceived as "crowded and unsafe because of the presence of mass tourism" (see Figure 2). The interviewed Polish claim that Sagrada Familia is equipped with all the necessary public and private services. This evaluation is not so clear or frequent among the key informants interviewed, especially those with vast knowledge of the neighborhood. On the other hand, the central location along with a range of public transportation possibilities are mentioned as positive features of the area by the most of the interviewees regardless their situation and origin (compare Figure 3).

**Figure 2. The most important touristic spots in Barcelona by number of visitors in 2010.**



*Source: Departament d'Estadística. Ajuntament de Barcelona. Institut Cultura Barcelona. Turisme de Barcelona*

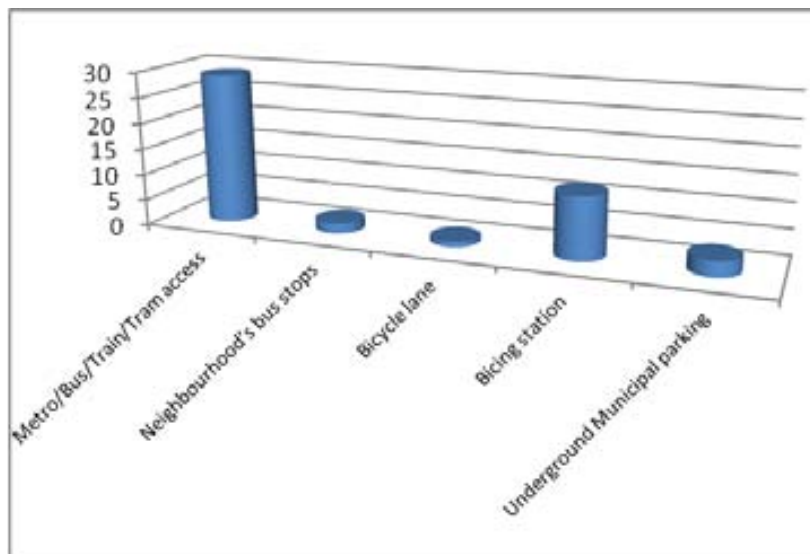
#### **4.5.1. The Infrastructure and Services**

In fact, there are more discrepancies between interviewed Polish immigrants and interviewed (especially native) key informants. While the negative perception of the central area often overshadows other comments of the native key informants about the neighborhood, the Polish interviewees seem to treat it as a place-related issue that is disturbing, but do not have important incidence on life in the other areas of the neighborhood. In fact, the comments of various key informants on issues related to lack of public services, public spaces, cultural activities are much more negative than comments of Polish immigrants, and according to natives most of the problems are related to the local authorities (mainly the Town Hall) that inefficiently look-after the neighborhood.

*“The press doesn’t say really bad things; the press says that this is a neighborhood (...) because of the tourism. Those who see it a little bit worse are (...) the people who live here, in the neighborhood, that we see that the neighborhood is seen by City Hall ... or the administration only think of tourism, not of the people who live here. It is foremost thought for the tourists, instead, for people who live in the neighborhood when it comes to (...) municipal spaces, politics of the neighborhood, administration (...) They don’t care in the whole of Barcelona, but here as they say that a lot of neighbors complain about the tourism and that this is major concern... they say those are interviews that can be easily manipulated”. (BCN-KI-3-SP-M-28)*

According to several native key informants interviewed, there are some particular issues that need to be resolved since many years ago and it is extremely hard to get the local government to implement solutions. Those are: a) lack of the sufficient number of public residences for elder people; b) lack of sufficient spaces for young people (nurseries, socio-cultural establishments); c) there is no bus that would communicate the downward part of the neighborhood with the upward part, where Sant Pau hospital is located. At the opposite, there are also some indications about a very satisfying number of sport facilities and some contradictory comments on the number of schools (see Figure 4) (Morén-Alegret et al., 2011, p.15). The several native key informants interviewed believe that the neighborhood is treated by the authorities mostly as a touristic destination. Although, according to some of them, this situation has also positive points, the problem is that the neighbors’ opinions are rarely taken into account. In contrast, Polish interviewees portray the Sagrada Familia in more positive words. The public services, infrastructure and cultural offer are believed to be very good.

**Figure 3. The transport infrastructure in the Sagrada Familia neighborhood, 2009**

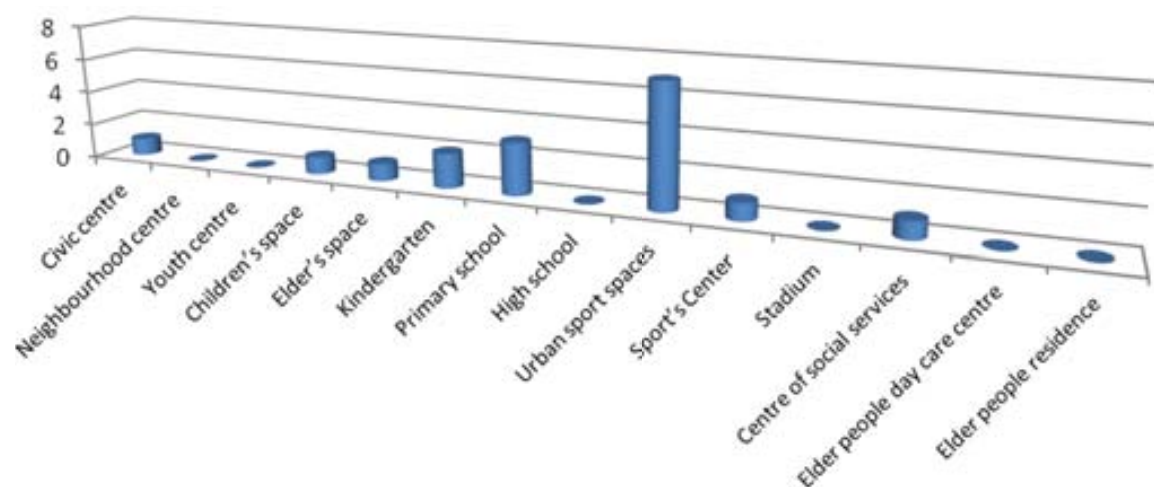


*Source: Neighborhood Briefs 2009. Ajuntament de Barcelona.*

#### **4.5.2. Diverse Points of View about the Neighborhood's Needs**

There may be numerous reasons to these discrepancies. First of all, the interviewed Polish immigrants are not as conscious of the neighborhood limits or historical development like interviewed natives. They seem much less related to the neighborhood itself or with the neighborhood's identity. They virtually, except of single case, treat it as a dormitory or workplace (this is also a case of numerous natives according to the native key informants interviewed). Thus, their comments about the neighborhood's social, economical or political issues are far less detailed from the comment provided by native key informants. An additional cause may be rooted in the perspective of a Sagrada Familia neighborhood as a part of large city that is observed in the comments of Polish immigrants. As the result, only the most related to the neighborhood by owning a business establishment recognizes its problems in more details. Still, even those interviewed Polish immigrants when asked about public spaces or services in their neighborhood include the areas belonging to the neighborhood's located close-by and easily accessible by few minutes' walk.

**Figure 4. The number of the selected cultural, educational, social and sport infrastructure in the Sagrada Familia neighborhood, 2009**



Source: *Neighborhood Briefs 2009. Ajuntament de Barcelona.*

A brief exploration of the statistical data “helps to understand key informants’ opinions about public equipments in the neighborhood. A lack of youth centre and high school are visible disadvantages of the neighborhood when it comes to the needs of the young people (see Figure 4). The cadastral numbers show also the relatively small number of the education and cultural premises (see Table 25). The most repeated complaints about the insufficient infrastructure dedicated to the eldercare are also perfectly mirrored by the statistics that show a lack of the elder people day care centre, elder people residence and other similar facilities” (Morén-Alegret et al., 2011, p.15).

**Table 25. Typology of premises by neighborhoods, desagregated uses, January 2010**

	Total Cadastral premises	Accommodation	Parking	Commerce	Industry	Offices	Education
<b>SF</b>	44.083	27.293	11.689	2.756	1.322	743	41
<b>BCN</b>	1.362.492	812.044	339.607	84.036	69.935	31.082	7.778
	Health	Hotels	Sports	Religious	Spectacles	Other uses	
<b>SF</b>	78	103	19	9	8	22	
<b>BCN</b>	3.931	7.096	2.627	2.023	797	1.536	

Source: <http://www.bcn.es>

Interestingly, most of the native key informants (and some Polish immigrants interviewed) do not have objectives towards a number of the sport facilities. It has to be acknowledged that existing Claror Foundation sport centre is a large compound that gathers positive reviews what appears to compensate the lack of other sport facilities in the area.

Additionally, at the neighborhood's border, there is another large sport centre administrated by the Claror Foundation. This facility serves to another part of the neighborhood and helps to spread the users (Morén-Alegret, et. al, 2011, p. 15).

*“It is a neighborhood that has been made better. It is a neighborhood that grew in 1940/50 (...) My mother tells me that this street used to be of dirt and there used to be chickens running. A lot of youth came, all of them had children. It was a young neighborhood. (...) This neighborhood used to be a little bit peripheral (...) and all the people that came en 1940/50 turned old. It is a big quantity of people of this age who still live in the neighborhood. Right now there is a substitution of young people entering, but still the proportion is very low. There is someone old dying who was living in a flat, the flat is then empty, the flat is put up for sale, it is rented and a young couple enters.” (BCN-KI-5-DE/IT-F-50)*

#### **4.5.3. Elevated Apartments Prices Hamper Rejuvenation?**

One of the key informants (BCN-KI-5-DE/IT-F-50) mentions that in the 1940s/50s, Sagrada Família was a semi-peripheral area with lots of young families with children. Those people now grew old and constitute the oldest part of the neighborhood demographic structure. The replacement of the old population with young families is seen as a slow process. The high prices of flats are perceived as the main obstacle to this. The native key informants (e.g. BCN-KI-1-SP-F-51) also mention that from the point of view of a shopkeeper, those young adults only can be seen during the late evenings (after young parents finish their jobs) or on the Saturdays mornings. This is also a factor explaining that the street life of the neighborhood is less visible than it was before and that local shops and bars have been losing clients. The economic troubles of the establishments are another often mentioned issue related not only to ageing population, but also to the economic crisis (Morén-Alegret et al., 2011, p.18).

*“The renovation of the park, for sure. Now I see that a lot of people come to Sagrada. I do not know if this is due to the visit of the pope and the king, but I think that more people come. A lot of shopping centers have changed too. There was a shop, they closed it later. Someone else took it and opened another. There is a very high rotation, here in the radius of 500 meters. For example, a gym was opened on the corner so this street became a straight-through, a trade street. When a bus stop was done then there were more movements. The same with a hotel on Rosello street. You can see this.” (BCN-2-PL-F-30)*

**Table 26. Value of cadastral premises and average of the unitary values, January 2010**

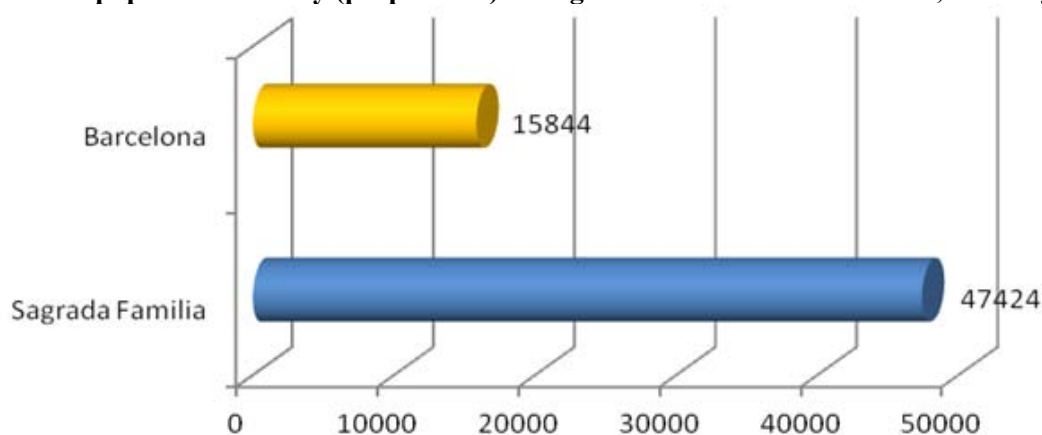
	Total Cadastral values (millions of €)				Unitary values (€/m2)		
	Total surface of premises (miles m2)	Cadastral value	Value of land	Value of construction plus services	Cadastral value	Value of land	Value of construction plus services
<b>SF</b>	3.267,9	2.231,3	1.488,8	742,5	682,8	455,6	227,2
<b>BCN</b>	123.094,8	80.819,1	48.473,9	32.311,9	656,6	393,8	262,5

Source: <http://www.bcn.cat>

The statistical data again goes along with the observations of the native key informants. The data shows that the average household age for Sagrada Família neighborhood is higher than this number for the entire Barcelona (see Table 28). Also the rate of the single elderly is higher for the Sagrada Família neighborhood than for the entire city (see Table 27). The indicators also show that population density in the Sagrada Família neighborhood is three times higher than the medium density for Barcelona (see Figure 5). Some of the interviewees indicated the high prices of the flats as one of the factors explaining the neighborhood's depopulation. A quick look at the cadastral figures seems to confirm also that thesis. The unitary cadastral value and the value of land are visibly higher in Sagrada Família neighborhood than in Barcelona as a whole (see Table 26).

*"We have lost a little bit of the identity of the neighborhood... as it is such a huge neighborhood with so many people (...) this life of the neighborhood... because the shops are being closed. The custom of the neighbor has been lost. They come, you don't even know who they are (...) We have lost this connection (...) One of the assignment they told me to do was to work to create this sense of belonging to the neighborhood. (...)" (BCN-KI-6-SP-F-34)*

**Figure 5. The population density (people/km2) in Sagrada Família and Barcelona, January 2010**



Source: Continuous Census. Departament d'Estadística. Ajuntament de Barcelona.



**Table 27. Households age structure, June 2010**

	1 person		2 persons		3 persons		4 persons	
	SF	BCN	SF	BCN	SF	BCN	SF	BCN
< 16	2.387	78.984	1.333	47.069	202	8.781	35	2.271
16-64	6.601	188.433	6.149	186.657	2.599	79.728	1.819	58.321
65 and more	5.496	154.307	2.714	82.263	79	2.423	22	698

Source: <http://www.bcn.cat>

**Table 28. Household average age according to nationality, June 2010**

	TOTAL	Total Spaniards	Total Foreigners	Mixed Households
SF	44,8	48,3	31,3	35,9
BCN	43,2	46,7	31,1	34,2

Source: <http://www.bcn.cat>

#### 4.6. Perceptions of Spatial and Social Possibilities of Interactions and Participation in Sagrada Familia

The Sagrada Familia neighborhood's urban fabric consists of wide, one way streets that host most of the Barcelona's internal traffic and separate, mostly, up to six floors tenements. The streets itself are the channels for a city-thru heavy traffic of cars and buses. The lack of open, public and green spaces is one of the neighborhood's characteristics (see Satellite Imagery 2) (Wladyka & Morén-Alegret, 2013). According to several interviewed native key informants, it influences greatly on life in the neighborhood. Interestingly, this factor is not frequently mentioned by Polish interviewees, and if mentioned it is not as importantly present as in the native key informants accounts. In several cases, Polish interviewees give even opposite comments: the "wide pavements" and "friendly squares" are mentioned as neighborhood's characteristics. Again, it has to be underscored, that some of those comments refer to the places located - in fact - beyond either administrative and/or historical limits of the neighborhood. The current limits of the Sagrada Familia neighborhood are an artificial creation that is only partially based on its historical boundaries. Regardless the origin, the interviewees' perception of what is 'Sagrada Familia neighborhood' varies slightly from the official limits. In a few cases the neighborhood is reduced to few blocks around the Gaudí's temple, but the vast majority of interviewees amplifies the neighborhood's limits to what they believe is more convergent with its historical delimitations or (especially in case of Polish interviewees with less seniority) to what is conveniently accessible on foot (see Morén-Alegret et al., 2012).

**Satellite Imagery 2. The Sagrada Familia neighborhood from the south-western perspective of the Diagonal Avenue.**



*Source: Google Earth*

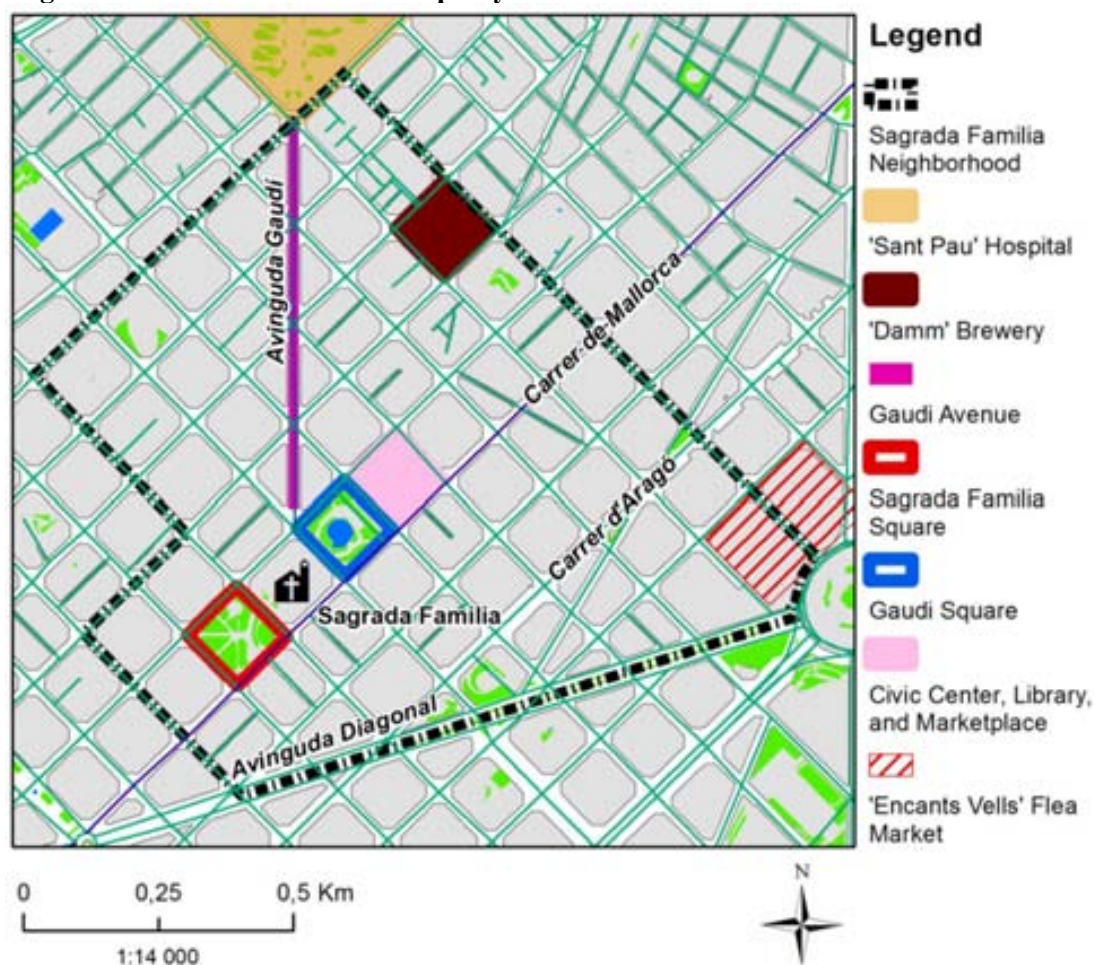
**4.6.1. Gaudi's Temple: Central and Congested Touristic Spot**

The location in the Eixample district that is architectonically maintained in the similar style does not help in puzzling out the neighborhood's limits, especially for the new inhabitants. One of the examples is the semi-pedestrian San Joan Passage that is sometimes mentioned (especially, but not exclusively, by Polish interviewees) as a neighborhood's place of leisure despite the fact that it is located outside the current Sagrada Familia limits. The unique, frequently repeated, by Polish interviewees, problematic issue is the influx of tourists in the central area of the neighborhood. Two central squares - Sagrada Familia square and Gaudí square - are constantly saturated by continuous inflows of foreign and Spanish tourists. The vast majority of the interviewed Polish immigrants express the dislike of the area. Some of them also attempt to avoid spending time there, but it results difficult since it is major public and green open space in the neighborhood. The abovementioned characteristic impacts also on the interviewed native key informants' perception of the neighborhood as a ground for

social life in general and on the perception of the immigrants' presence in the neighborhood in particular (see Morén-Alegret et al., 2012) (see Map 14).

*“The Sagrada Familia Temple and the squares around it are very important. There are conflicts because it is a very touristic area. The neighbors demand a less touristic neighborhood (...) This area is as an area of influence of the neighborhood where everything meets. If there are celebrations (...) or any polemics, they also take place here. The neighborhood doesn't have a lot of green spaces. The few existing green spaces are occupied by tourism (...) it provokes big conflicts; it is a sensation of discomfort (...) If you walk through the neighborhood (...) you notice that there are a lot of bars and restaurants (...) of Chinese people (...) Peruvian bars, Colombian bars (...) Neither it has a presence on the street (...) since this is a neighborhood for residing not for living in (...) This a very touristic neighborhood (...) The presence is not very obvious (...) In other sites you see it like: wow! Here, no.”*  
(BCN-KI-6-SP-F-34)

**Map 14. Sites frequently regarded as significant by interviewees in the Sagrada Familia neighborhood of Barcelona municipality**



*Elaborated by Dawid Wladyka. Georeferenced data provided by the ICC and IGN.*



The territorial perception of the public space in the neighborhood by the native key informants is often fixed on the central touristic area of the Sagrada Familia temple (the two squares, and the low part of Gaudí Avenue and its surroundings). They perceive it as the only wide open public space of social activity and the unique relatively large green zone in the neighborhood. They describe it as, at the same time, emblematic and problematic. Both squares have become a passing-by area for thousands of tourists, and are seen as nearly unusable for neighbors. Also, the facilities, like metro station or bicycle lanes, located nearby are perceived as totally collapsed by tourists. The noise and massive flux of people and touristic buses are presented as making neighbors' life unbearable (see Map 15). This of course depends on the hour of the day and the touristic season. The official demands to cut-off the bus traffic have been recently took into consideration by the Town Hall, and the private tourists bus traffic were cut-off from the area in the summer 2012 (Morén-Alegret et al., 2012).

**Map 15. Noise distribution in the Sagrada Família neighborhood, 07.00 – 21.00 hours**



Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona. Retrieved from <http://www.bcn.cat>

Additionally, the construction of the squares: the lake in the middle of Gaudí Square and the maze-like construction in Sagrada Familia Square impede them to be used as gathering places for the larger public (see Photography 7). One of the repeated interviewees' complains (mainly natives key informants, but also some Polish immigrants mentioned that issue) is that most shops, bars and restaurants placed near Plaça Gaudí and Plaça Sagrada Família are designed just for tourists and they do not reflect neither the local culture nor the

needs of local people. Still, it has to be acknowledged that there are also neighborhood residents that make use of places devoted to tourists. For instance, the ethnographic observation proved that there are some elder neighborhood residents who play cards in the McDonalds restaurant in front of the Sagrada Familia Temple. It appears that for the native neighbors the overcrowding of the Gaudi's temple area took over the perception of the entire neighborhood's public space (Morén-Alegret, et al., 2012). While Polish interviewees (regardless the seniority of relation with the neighborhood) also complain about the above mentioned issues, they have a parallel tendency to treat this area as distinct from the rest of the neighborhood. Whether they attempt to avoid it on a daily basis or still take advantage of the green squares while strolling with children, they acknowledge that tourism-related problems do not affect those who are conscious of threats or simply avoid passing by a temple.

**Photography 7. The Sagrada Familia square maze-like design**



*Author: Dawid Wladyka*

Nevertheless, there are also some places in the proximities of the Gaudi's temple that have not been flooded by tourism and still empower the interaction among neighbors. While those places have been mentioned by the interviewed native key informants, they have been completely omitted by the Polish interviewees. Those sites are mainly: two separated fields to play "Petanca", a traditional game among elder neighbors; the green-point that serves as recycling centre; and the Environmental Classroom (Aula Ambiental). Also, during the local

festivities a fragment of Marina Street is being closed to traffic in order to gain place for neighborhood's traditional events like Castellers performances. This habit will probably be ended by the new CiU (central-right wing party) government that attempts to move the neighborhood public events to less visible/touristic place – e.g. Jardins de la Industria (Morén-Alegret et al., 2012). Interestingly, the later mentioned square, distant from the touristic crowd, is relatively frequently mentioned by Polish interviewees as a place of leisure.

#### **4.6.2. *Accessibility, Convenience and Proximity***

As mentioned, majority of the Polish interviewees do not perceive the neighborhood as importantly lacking the open and green spaces like it is in case of native key informants. The same pattern can be observed in relation to spaces and resources for young people and children, night life establishments, activities for the youth, and places for elder people. The interviews with Polish immigrants reveal a number of factors that can possibly produce the above mentioned difference in perception.

- 1) The majority of the Polish interviewees describe the neighborhood's situation within the Barcelona, as a cross-roads area that gives a good access to entire city's offer. In this sense, the age and related lifestyle have probably an impact, since it is quite similar to the young native key informants interviewed.
- 2) The interviewed Polish immigrants mostly spend their time in the neighborhood inside or close by their place of central activity in the neighborhood, whether it is an apartment or workplace (office, shop, etc.). Regardless the kind of job, education level or age they seem not to be interested to reach outside of the routine activities or destinations within the neighborhood. The interaction places they mention are mostly: shops, bars, gyms, marketplace, public library, and additionally children playgrounds and schools in case of young parents. According to the interviews, it seems that presence of those places completely fulfill their needs.
- 3) Still another reason is that for Polish immigrants' limits of the neighborhood seems to be smoother and more flexible than for the natives. The location of an important promenade or cultural institution in the neighborhood next by is usually not a problem for Polish interviewees since it is just few blocks away. In fact, since these persons are not conscious of the real neighborhood's limits and do not pay attention to its historical development,

they simply describe as parts of the Sagrada Familia neighborhood, all the close-by places situated within their daily routine.

#### **4.6.3. *Traditional Spaces and New Developments***

Native interviewees often mention spaces like Neighbors' Association (Associació de Veïns i Veïnes de la Sagrada Família<sup>28</sup>), Human Towers exercise hall (Castellers de la Sagrada Família<sup>29</sup>), Environmental Classroom (Aula Ambiental de la Sagrada Família<sup>30</sup>) or Espai 210 (socio-cultural institution) as gathering spaces. In the same time, Polish immigrant focus on rather function-oriented spaces like public library, gyms, cinemas, schools, children playgrounds, telecommunication points, shops and marketplaces. The bars, promenades and squares could be seen as the exceptions, but only in singular cases they are portrayed not as leisure spaces, but as spaces of interaction with neighbors. If the Polish interviewees visit venues of neighborhood festivities or Christmas markets, they do it always as passive observers. This kind of use of space in the neighborhood is according to the native interviewees quite characteristic also to other immigrant groups. In this perspective the quite recent construction (finished in 2007) of the new multi-functional public building named Centre Cultural Sagrada Família seems to be significant development of the neighborhood. It is worth to highlight the importance of one unique building where library, civic centre, local marketplace, social services, excursionists club and others are located. In that building one can gain access to cultural and educational services, free internet, a variety of organized activities and everyday's basics as shopping. As a result, spaces that allow everyday interactions (although often superficial) between neighbors are produced (Morén-Alegret et al., 2012).

#### **4.6.4. *Multiple Associations, Scarce Engagement***

The Sagrada Família is portrayed by several interviewed native key informants, as a neighborhood with a high number of associations of various types (e.g. cultural, economic), but just a few participants. While some deeper insight into the participation patterns will be provided in the following chapter, it is important here to sketch the general portrait of the participative scene.

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<sup>28</sup> See <http://www.avvsagradafamilia.net/>

<sup>29</sup> See <http://www.castellerssagradafamilia.com>

<sup>30</sup> See <http://aulambientalsf.blogspot.com.es/>

The ethnographical fieldwork showed that although traditional organizations can be easily found in the Sagrada Familia neighborhood, there is a lack of well developed immigrants' organizations. There is a Chinese Evangelic church, but it seems to be quite closed institution that does not have a lot of relations with neighborhood's social tissue. There were some attempts to set up a Peruvian immigrants association, but at the end of day it was transferred to another neighborhood. While there is a lack of immigrants' organizations, there are some organizations that have become meeting places for immigrants and natives alike. This is the case of the Multicultural Interaction Group (*GIM: Grup d'Interacció Multicultural*)<sup>31</sup>, an organization located in a socio-cultural space called *Espai 210*. Organizing cultural activities and fighting stereotypes are its core activities. Immigrants of Latin-American origin (Peru, Cuba, and Argentina) are especially involved there. Another example is a space for "newcomers" integration in the neighborhood's Public Library.<sup>32</sup> Notwithstanding, it seems that it is not this "newcomers space", but some activities organized by the library (for example, Chinese new year activities in early 2012) and courses localized in the Civic Centre (at the same building) that empowers immigrants participation and interaction with natives. Also, some immigrants and natives alike, register in new technologies and digital photography courses. There is also visible participation in Catalan courses among immigrants. According to interviewed native librarian (*BCN-KI-15-SP-F-40*), for many immigrants the leisure side of the library is not as important as this integration side. On the other hand, there are also some paid-classes that get more participation from natives than immigrants. According to the interviewees linked to the library and the Catalan Excursionist Association, the need to pay for the activity automatically reduces immigrants' participation, except the EU immigrants and those well-off. The Civic Centre also provides activities related to neighborhoods' ethnic diversity. It hosted some debates included in the Barcelona Interculturality Plan. There are also activities focused on some particular countries, like Brazil or China, as well as workshops and courses. Nevertheless, it seems to be difficult to gather a diverse audience during the activities (Morén-Alegret et al., 2012).

*"I do not know how well it works at the coordination levels between official institution and voluntaries. It is sometimes difficult to coordinate and therefore to achieve the diversity."*  
(*BCN-KI-14-SP-F-37*)

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<sup>31</sup> See <http://gimsagradafamilia.blogspot.com.es>

<sup>32</sup> See Piñol, R. M. (2009, April 16). Bibliotecas hasta los topos. La Vanguardia. Retrieved from: <http://www.lavanguardia.com>



**Photography 8 and Photography 9. GIM's stall during a local street festival (2011).**



*Author: Dawid Wladyka*

Smoke and rumours. A poster imitating non-smoking signs announces a 'Space without rumours'. An Asian immigrant attracted by the stand.



A debate on multicultural interaction with the participation of a young Muslim woman attracted the attention of another Muslim woman who was passing by.

Some additional possibilities of participation (however loosely related to the neighborhood) could be found when analyzing some Polish interviewees interactions. Traditional Polish dance club, attempts to organize football team, and Polish Christmas meetings have been noted, but only in single cases. Although all of the before mentioned activities were organized, at least partially, by based on the Sagrada Familia limits Polish-Catalan Cultural Association, they did not necessarily take place in the neighborhood, nor the interviewees' relation with the neighborhood had impact on the participation itself.

*"When there were any events in the Association of Polish-Catalan, I used to go. Then I guess the association was closed they are not organizing such actions. It exists as an information centre. They teach Polish to Spaniards or Catalan, but any such action for the Poles do not exist. Now they integrate more through the facebook. A new wave. There is a Polish school, but it's for the children. I don't belong to any Spanish or Catalan Associations. The store doesn't belong to the association of merchants. And is there such a thing here? Because, for example, the store in Valencia does belong, it organizes fairs, they always invite us. But here I do not know. They have never invited us. This shop has been here for five years. We have this shop in Valencia. This is where we have a sign that we belong to this neighborhood. When there are markets, we expose, we pay contribution. But here nothing was told. There, in Valencia they came to us. Here we do not have contact with any institution in the neighborhood."* (BCN-2-PL-F-30)

#### **4.6.5. High-Speed Grass Root Movement**

In contrast to presented above inefficient formal associations, there are also some positive examples of spontaneous participation, that although did not included Polish immigrants are worth to be mentioned in order to provide better image of the neighborhood dynamics.

This is the case of the residents' mobilisation around the construction of the High Speed Train (AVE) infrastructure. This construction has greatly influenced business and the pedestrian/car transit in the affected zone: Mallorca Street, from Padilla Street to Lepanto Street. The existing organisations at that time were unable to achieve positive solutions to this conflict with the local government. At the end of day, an informal association of residents affected by the High Speed Train infrastructure construction was set up. The idea was suggested by one of the local retailers, and the participants were mainly local business owners. Their businesses were suffering from significant decreases in the number of clients because of the prolonged street and pavement construction related to the High Speed Train tunnel. Apart from native members, one of the key activists was a local Peruvian merchant (*BCN-KI-11-PE-F-41*). It was an informal, grassroots group and it did not require a member fee, in contrast to the traditional and formal retailers' associations. Nevertheless, its actions were more dynamic than those of the traditional organisations, and in a short time it yielded outcomes: the local government allocated resources to re-activate the retail in the area affected by the construction (Morén-Alegret et al., 2012, p.36).<sup>33</sup>

#### **4.7. Perception of Ethnic Diversity's Influence on the Development of Sagrada Familia**

According to official figures, Italians seems to be the most numerous collective of foreign residents in the neighborhood (see Table 29). Nonetheless, they are not the most visible one according to the interviewed key informants and Polish immigrants. Statistics show the Peruvians and Chinese as the next most numerous nationalities. Both of those nationalities are mentioned by interviewees of various origins as importantly present in the

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<sup>33</sup> Buesa, C. (2010, July 5). Afectados del AVE critican el abandono de los trabajos. El Periódico de Catalunya. Retrieved from <http://www.elperiodico.com>

neighborhood. The Peruvians are often included as part of the ‘*Latin Americans*’ or ‘*South Americans*’. Additionally, some interviewees also include Colombians, Mexicans, Ecuadorians and Argentineans as part of this group. Mexicans, although frequently mentioned as present in the neighborhood, are not visible as the collective in the list of the principal foreign nationalities. That fact could go along with some interviewed native key informants’ comments that a majority of Latin-American immigrants do not live, but only work in the Sagrada Familia neighborhood. Other group ‘labels’ mentioned by interviewees are ‘Muslims’ (detailed as Pakistanis and Moroccans), ‘Senegalese’, ‘East Europeans’ (detailed as Romanians, Ukrainians and Russians), and ‘European migrants’ (mainly Italians) (Wladyka & Morén-Alegret, 2013, Invisible Immigrants: Polish Immigrants In the Eyes of some Local Stakeholders section, para.3).

**Table 29. Principal foreign nationalities. Sagrada Familia, 1st January 2010**

	Males	Percentage of total male population	Females	Percentage of total female population	Total	Percentage of total population
POPULATION TOTAL	23885	100,00	28282	100,00	52167	100,00
Spaniards	19596	82,04	23774	84,06	43370	83,14
Total Foreigners	4289	17,96	4508	15,94	8797	16,86
<b>Eu Community citizens</b>	<b>1358</b>	<b>5,69</b>	<b>1251</b>	<b>4,42</b>	<b>2609</b>	<b>5,00</b>
Germany	118	0,49	120	0,42	238	0,46
France	181	0,76	177	0,63	358	0,69
Italy	519	2,17	400	1,41	919	1,76
Poland	38	0,16	48	0,17	86	0,16
Portugal	82	0,34	75	0,27	157	0,30
United Kingdom	118	0,49	92	0,33	210	0,40
Romania	93	0,39	112	0,40	205	0,39
<b>European Non-Eu citizens</b>	<b>199</b>	<b>0,83</b>	<b>255</b>	<b>0,90</b>	<b>454</b>	<b>0,87</b>
Russia	29	0,12	82	0,29	111	0,21
Ukraine	37	0,15	44	0,16	81	0,16
<b>Total AFRICA</b>	<b>218</b>	<b>0,91</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>0,43</b>	<b>341</b>	<b>0,65</b>
Morocco	152	0,64	88	0,31	240	0,46
<b>Total AMERICA</b>	<b>1901</b>	<b>7,96</b>	<b>2395</b>	<b>8,47</b>	<b>4296</b>	<b>8,24</b>
Argentina	156	0,65	165	0,58	321	0,62
Bolivia	175	0,73	287	1,01	462	0,89
Brazil	107	0,45	158	0,56	265	0,51
Colombia	243	1,02	308	1,09	551	1,06
Ecuador	254	1,06	341	1,21	595	1,14
Peru	345	1,44	385	1,36	730	1,40
<b>Total ASIA</b>	<b>606</b>	<b>2,54</b>	<b>479</b>	<b>1,69</b>	<b>1085</b>	<b>2,08</b>
China	355	1,49	339	1,20	694	1,33
Pakistan	107	0,45	20	0,07	127	0,24

Source: INE, 2010

#### **4.7.1. Tourists and Chinese Shops as Pillars of Diversity?**

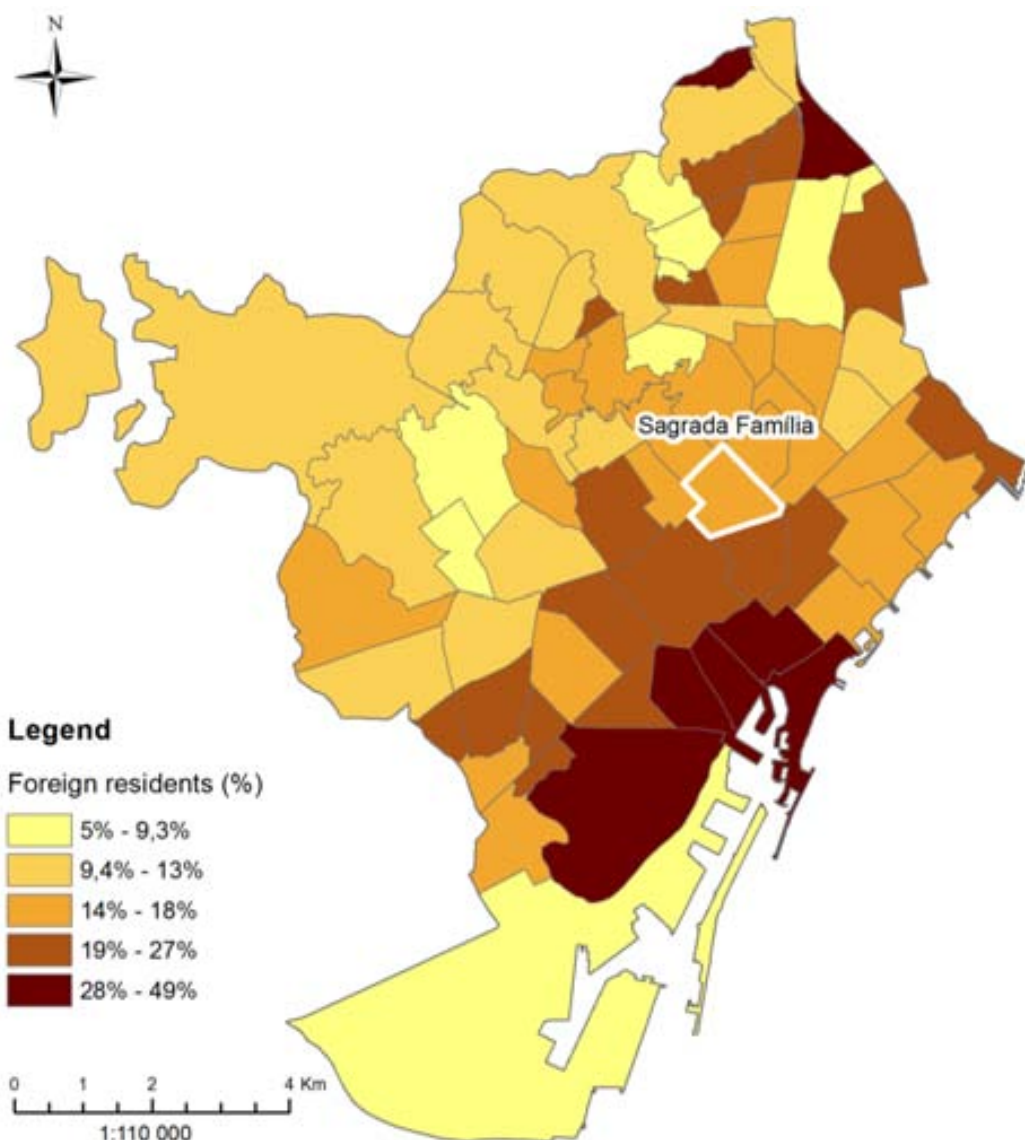
In general terms Polish interviewees describe the Sagrada Familia as a neighborhood with low or medium presence of immigrants, especially in comparison to “the central part of a city” or in particular to neighborhoods like “El Raval” or “El Born” as the examples of the high presence of immigrants (see Map 16). Interestingly, during the comparisons, those neighborhoods are usually portrayed in a negative light because of the high presence of the Pakistani and African immigrants. Some cities that set-up the metropolitan area of Barcelona are also spontaneously compared in terms of immigrants presence to the Sagrada Familia neighborhood. L’Hospitalet de Llobregat and Cornellà de Llobregat are most frequently mentioned in this context as the locations with high presence of immigrants. Mostly Latin-American immigrants, but also Polish immigrants are mentioned in the context of these locations. Importantly, the latter goes along with the location of Polish Catholic parish in the L’Hospitalet de Llobregat. This is currently the nearest Catholic parish that hosts Polish priest (or priests depend on a particular time) to Barcelona. Still, some additional Polish masses are celebrated in the Barcelona old city’s Spanish Catholic parish in the Ferran street in the Barcelona’s historic centre.

*“This is not a neighborhood denominated as 100% autochthons’. Neither is a neighborhood with a high immigration. Maybe there are 60 autochthons versus 40 immigrants.” (BCN-KI-5-DE/IT-F-50)*

*“The business is with immigrants (...) in the entire neighborhood it is with foreigners, but also with Spaniards (...) all of them are Latinos and Europe (...) there is a lot of tourists.” (BCN-KI-8-PK-M-35)*

The description varies while Polish interviewees focus on the central part of the Sagrada Familia. This touristic part of the neighborhood is portrayed as filled with diverse foreigners. While, in many cases, the presence of tourists influences on this perception, the interviewees themselves are rather conscious of this influence. Similarly to interviewed native key informants, Polish immigrants comment that high inflow of foreign tourists make it difficult to describe real diversity of those who live, work and spend their time frequently in the neighborhood.

**Map 16. Foreign registered residents in the neighborhoods of Barcelona municipality, 1 January 2012**



*Elaborated by Dawid Wladyka. Georeferenced data provided by the ICC and IGN. Population data source: INE, 2012.*

Nevertheless, there are some clear distinctions made between the tourists and immigrants that are present in the area. The immigrant owned business establishments, according to the interviewees of various origins, constitute a significant footprint of immigrants' incidence on the neighborhood in the past few years. The comments of the Polish interviewees are focused mainly on the businesses that Chinese people run in the neighborhood. Several of the interviewees believe that their shops are one of the landmarks of the area surrounding Sagrada Familia temple. Those of the interviewees related to the

neighborhood for a longer time mention that intensive growth of the Chinese shops has become visible in the last few years. This note goes along with the statistics on the growth of the Chinese community in the neighborhood during the last years (compare Figure 6) (see Wladyka & Morén-Alegret, 2013).

**Photographies 10, 11, 12, and 13. The streets in the nearest proximity of the Sagrada Familia church host a number of immigrants' establishments.**

Photography 10. Gift shop.



*Author: Dawid Wladyka*

Photography 11. Chinese hairdresser.



*Author: Dawid Wladyka*

Photography 12. Argentinean butcher shop.



*Author: Dawid Wladyka*

Photography 13. Polish grocery store



*Author: Dawid Wladyka*

*“I associate Sagrada Familia with a high number of Asian persons. These various Chinese shops around the temple make me think about Asians while I think about immigrants.” (BCN-1-PL-M-37)*

*“As I see it, all the bars and shops around Sagrada Familia are taken over by the Chinese, and the groceries by the Pakistanis. That is the rule. Before, I believe, those were Spanish shops. (...) Chinese are a terrible plague (...) they Take over all the businesses. In theory I do not mind, but in the long run they are a threat to us, it is known that they take over the workplaces and flats (...) Those are organized groups, I believe. They engage those families in order to run the shops. Those Chinese families do not open the shops on their own. I attempt to avoid their shops. I buy in the greengrocer here, but it is run by the Latin-Americans, and if I buy clothes I go to the center.” (BCN-2-PL-F-30)*

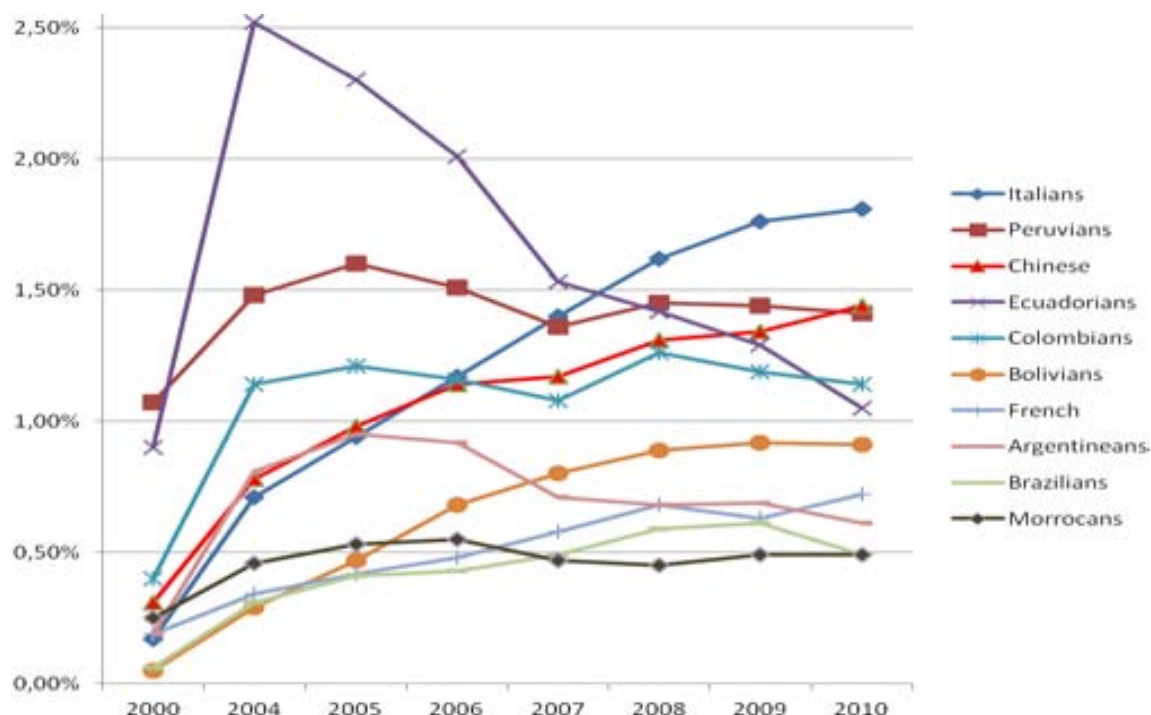
The comments are very similar to the comments of some native key informants: supposedly quality of shops and products are poor, as well as there is suspicion about the source of the economic resources that allow Chinese people to open a large number of new establishments. Nevertheless, besides their commercial establishments, the comments about the Chinese community are neutral and limited to the statement about closed community with no further incidence in the neighborhood. Still, the rhetoric of “flooding” the neighborhood by Chinese immigrants exists, however it is more frequent among the interviewed native key informants than Polish interviewees (Wladyka & Morén-Alegret, 2013).

*“There is a progressive inflow, maybe, of the immigration: Latin-American, Chinese. That is because it is a neighborhood with a lot of restaurants and businesses. There are Eastern-Countries, but a little. Yes, I think that during last eight years, the evolution was that one can see more every time.” (BCN-KI-4-SP-M-52)*

*“In the beginning it was very well, when I took this property I was checking entire Barcelona, and here it is a nice street. Before there was a job, now there is a crisis. There is a crisis, all the bars, there are all Chinese, the 60% of bars are taken over by Chinese (...) I do not know (...) They do not fight (...) All the bars are Chinese (...) They also talk (...) This is competition but it does no matter (...) They can set up a business in the same way (...) There were not so many Chinese when I arrived to Spain...” (BCN-KI-12-CN-M-50)*



**Figure 6. Timeline of changes in the ten most populous foreign nationalities (2010) in percentage of total population in the Sagrada Família, 2000, 2004-2010**

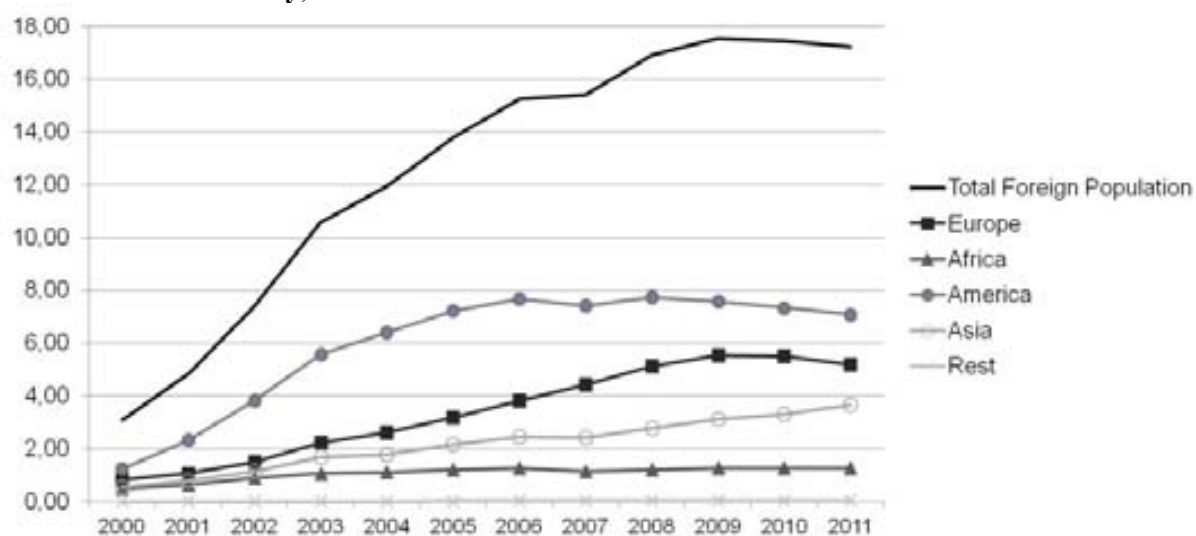


Source: Continuous Census Statistics, Departament d'Estadística, Ajuntament de Barcelona.  
Retrieved from: <http://www.bcn.cat>.

Other mentioned shop-owners are Pakistanis and Latin-Americans. Those businesses are described by Polish immigrants as gift-shops, groceries and telecommunication points (Spanish: “locutorio”). While, the presence of the Chinese owned multi-purpose shops and Pakistani gift-shops is ascribed by Polish immigrants mainly to the central part of the neighborhood (native key informants rather see Chinese owned shops as widespread throughout the entire neighborhood with particular zones of concentration), the Pakistanis and Latin-American owned groceries, greengrocers and telecommunication points are mentioned by both Polish and native key informants as present in the entire neighborhood.



**Figure 7. Changes in percentage of migrant populations in Barcelona city over time by continents of nationality, 2000 – 2011**

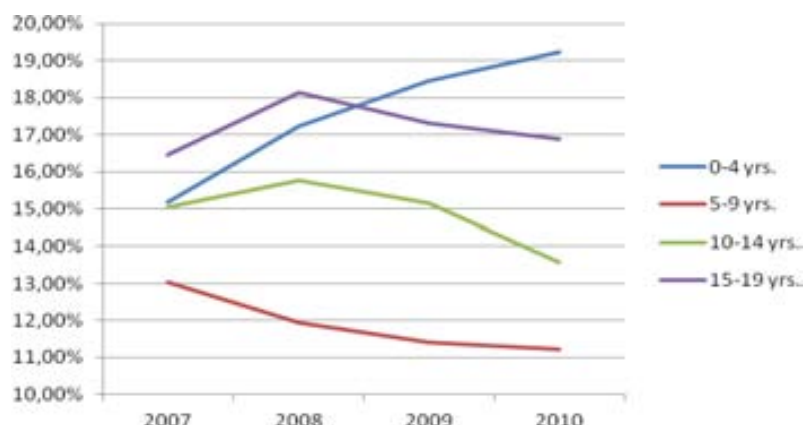


Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Padrón Municipal Revisado. Retrieved from: <http://www.ine.es>.

#### 4.7.2. Schools, Businesses, and Eldercare

Although, there is not a perception of a significant presence of the immigrants in the neighborhood, the Polish interviewees related to the Sagrada Familia for a number of years highlight – along with the natives – that during last few years the immigration phenomena in the neighborhood and city visibly increased (compare Figure 7). The incidence of this increase is mostly commented as: the abovementioned immigrants' owned business establishments, the immigrants' children in the public schools, and the immigrants' eldercare present in the neighborhood. However, all of these features, like number of immigrants' children in the public schools, are not completely confirmed by the statistics (see Figure 8). This increase is also related to some particular origins of the immigrants. Apart of the already mentioned Chinese immigrants, the Latin-American, Pakistani and Romanian immigrants are portrayed as visible ones. There is also an interesting difference between the Polish immigrants and native key informants' perspective. While Polish immigrants also mention Western and Northern European immigrants, especially Germans, the interviewed key informants more frequently mention Central and Eastern Europeans, in particular Ukrainians and Russians.

**Figure 8. Timeline of changes in the proportion of foreigners up to the age of 19 compared to the total population in their age group, Sagrada Família neighborhood, 2007 - 2010**

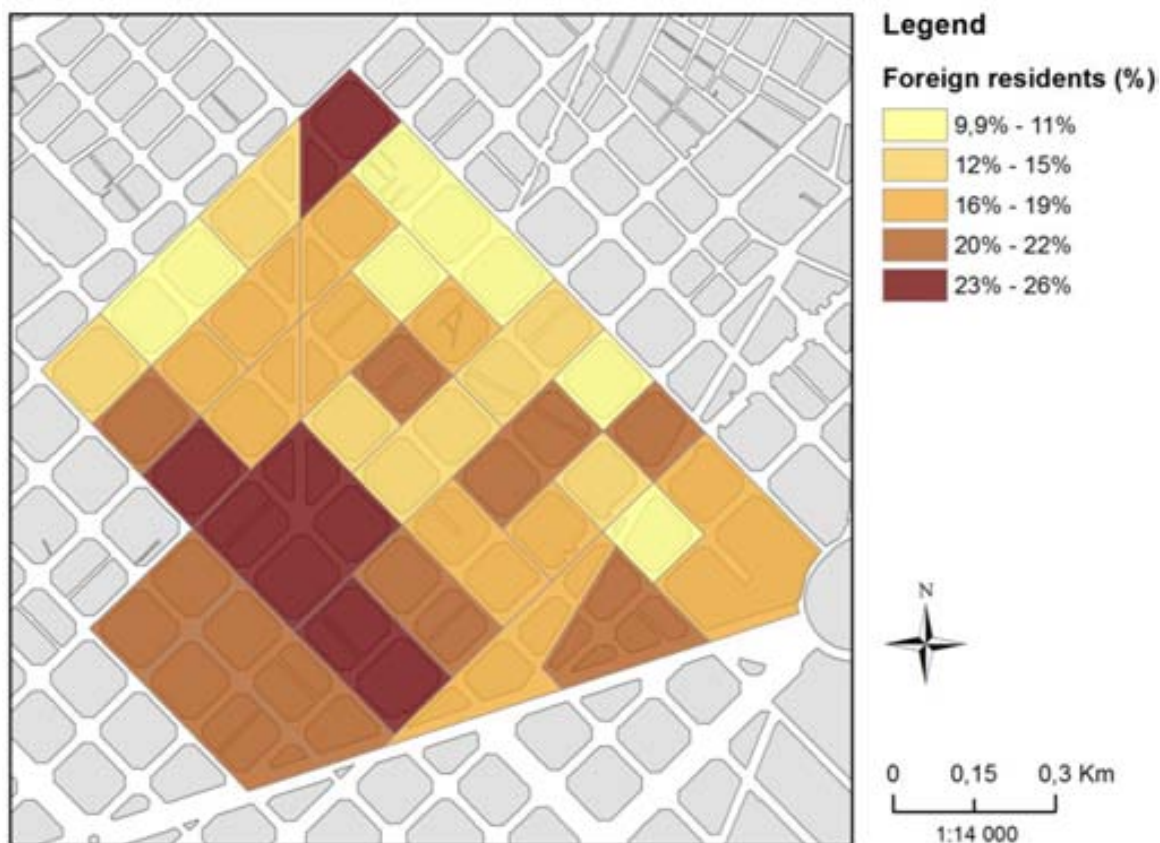


Source: *Census Statistics. Departament d'Estadística. Ajuntament de Barcelona. Retrieved from: <http://www.bcn.cat/>.*

The incidence of the immigration on the neighborhood according to both native key informants and Polish interviewees seems to be mostly visible in public schools. Most of the comments related to this phenomenon have been provided in the interviews with young parents, but also persons somehow related to the schooling in case of native interviewees. This incidence by most of the interviewees is portrayed in a negative way. While none of the interviewees contradicts the diversity in the school as such, they mention some circumstantial factors that supposedly negatively impacts on the quality of the education and the school life. Interestingly, Polish interviewees put in more direct and straightforward words than natives, the relation between a particular phenomena and the origin of supposedly responsible immigrants. The high percentage of the immigrants' children in class combined with their frequent rotation – related with the migration processes – is according to the interviewed native key informants and Polish immigrants the reason of why the level of education collapses in the public schools. Additionally, according to the Polish interviewees, the classes with too high percentage of immigrants' children are not too welcome by natives. This however depends on the children origin. The Latin-American and African origin children are portrayed as less applied to study and setting-up own groups. Their parents, along with parents of Pakistani origin are mentioned as those who are less involved in the school's life. Whether the negative comments of Polish parents are straightforward or rather veiled, they underline that they choose a school for their children (public or semi-public) where there is not as many immigrants as in the other ones (see Wladyka & Morén-Alegret, 2013)

*“I had five or six in a class of twenty five. My brother already had over 50% (...) The immigration lowers the schooling level. It is somehow ugly to say it... But it is true.” (BCN-KI-10-SP-M-24)*

**Map 17. Foreign registered residents at census section level in the Sagrada Familia neighborhood of Barcelona municipality, 1<sup>st</sup> January 2012**



Elaborated by Dawid Wladyka. Georeferenced data provided by the ICC and IGN. Population data source: INE, 2012.

#### **4.7.3. Negative Perception of Latin-American and Romanians**

The interviewed Polish immigrants similarly, to the majority of the native key informants', point out the Latin-Americans as a group that is importantly present in the public spaces. The behavior in the public places, especially the loudness and the street life until late hours are often mentioned incidence of the Latin-American immigrants on the neighborhood life by the Polish immigrants. While both the interviewed Polish immigrants and native key informants describe it in this way, Latin-American immigrants are seen by only the natives as provoking insecurity in public spaces. On the other hand, those are mostly natives that

underline their indispensability as eldercare for the aging population of the neighborhood (see: Wladyka and Morén-Alegret, 2013).

*"Sometimes you can see at the playgrounds that immigrants' children do not behave in the way you would approve, they are aggressive. Those are mainly Latin-American immigrants' children. It also depends a lot on the parents." (BCN-8-PL-F-47)*

*"Some time ago, there were only locals when you walked by the Avenida Gaudí, for example. Nowadays, you go to take a walk and at nighttime (...) some groups surge (...) and a lot of mess surges, fights and stuff (...) the young ones from outside, immigrants (...) above all South-Americans (...) A lot of people live in the rented flats (...) They call the police because some fights surge." (BCN-KI-2-SP-F-55)*

Another group, mentioned in relation to the central area of the neighborhood are Romanians. They are rather perceived as outsiders who abuse tourists. In the opinion of the Polish interviewees they are rather harmless to the neighborhood's residents, but they may be seen as responsible to the insecurity in the Gaudí's temple area. While natives mention their incidence on the neighborhood's life more frequently than Polish immigrants, some of the later also comment on the increase of their activity in the last years, after the Romanian accession to the European Union (see Wladyka & Morén-Alegret, 2013).

*„The neighborhood is safe, except of the Romanian gangs. Those are groups that look for the people to cheat. We live here so we know about it and avoid them. But tourists are often assaulted in front of our eyes, near to Sagrada Familia temple (...) There are also some begging Romanians on the streets. It started when the Romania entered the EU. They are by the church and on the streets. At the morning a car brings the ladies and distributes them. They are not a threat, they do not steal." (BCN-5-PL-F-34)*

#### **4.7.4. West or East = Wealth or Alcohol?**

The Western and Northern Europeans are often described by Polish interviewees as marriages or families that have been sent to Barcelona by the international companies based in their countries of origin. These long-term, counted in years of stay, "delegations" compel the families to involve in the local life that, above all, includes sending children to local schools. According to Polish interviewees, there are many apartments owned or rented by the

foreign companies in the central area of the neighborhood. Those should provide an accommodation for their delegated employees with families.

*“The Sagrada Familia Square (...) has groups of homeless people who live there in the street. (...) They can make a mess anytime, but it's a small problem (...) Nowadays they are usually immigrants, whereas before they were locals. Nowadays you can find that these are people from Eastern European countries who mainly have a lot of problems with alcohol. This can of course result in conflict, with some violence. But no (...) we have never had any problems.” (BCN-KI-3-SP-M-28)*

The native key informants more frequently than Polish ones mention the presence of Central and Eastern European immigrants. In that group they mainly include: Ukrainians, Russians, Byelorussians and Romanians. They describe them as the economic immigrants who are sometimes involved in delinquency, mendicancy and alcohol abuse. These are often portrayed by the interviewees as untrustworthy immigrants who create discomfort in the public realm (compare Morén-Alegret et al., 2012). The Polish interviewees more often mention those immigrants directly naming the nationality. The Ukrainians and Russians are mostly mentioned, but rather without the negative characteristics applied by some native key informants.

#### **4.7.5. Unrecognizable Polish Immigrants**

None of the interviewed non-Polish interviewees mentioned Polish immigrants as a group of immigrants that is present in the neighborhood. It has to be highlighted that Polish immigrants were not mentioned either as possibly “problematic” or “conflictive” immigrants, neither as those who participate in the social life of Sagrada Familia neighborhood. The local key informants directly asked about the presence of Polish immigrants in the neighborhood mostly showed lack of consciousness about the presence of this group. There were some relative exceptions to that pattern observed: the jeweller that talked about a usual customer of Polish origin, the Environmental Classroom’s (esp. *Aula Ambiental*) technician who mentioned a young Polish male volunteer, and Excursionist’s Association’s member/employee that mentioned a Polish young female incidentally participating in some excursions. Equally, among those who had a singular contact with Polish neighbors and those who did not, Polish immigrants are seen as a group of non-‘standing out’ European immigrants that are very similar to the natives by their external characteristics, behaviours and

life styles. Because of that, they are usually not distinguished as a separate immigrant group or when passing-by on streets or parks (see Wladyka & Morén-Alegret, 2013).

*“Poles... They are not one of the collectives we work with. In GIM (Multicultural Interaction Group in Sagrada Familia neighborhood – ed.) we do not speak about them. We speak a lot about other collectives, but not about Poles. I do not even have a pre-made image. The only ones with presence in the neighborhood are the Romanians.” (BCN-KI-6-SP-F-34)*

**Photography 14. Polish shop delivery van parked next to the Sagrada Familia Temple.**



*Author: Dawid Wladyka*



## **CHAPTER V – ANALYSIS OF INTER-ETHNIC EXPERIENCES OF POLISH IMMIGRANTS**

### **5.1. Introductory Remarks**

This chapter continues the analysis presented in the introduction to Chapter IV of this dissertation. The goal here is to present the analysis of spatial and social features of the inter-ethnic experiences of the interviewed Polish immigrants. Furthermore, the detailed analysis of patterns of development of opinions on diverse groups will be presented. Additionally, following the literature review and the research questions, the intra-group Polish interactions and natives' perspective on Polish immigrants will be also considered below. The patterns observed here will be additionally contrasted with theoretical background and research presented in previous chapters, as well as some additional sources. Both researched neighborhoods are analyzed separately on each stage, but comparative remarks are presented at the end of the chapter and in following concluding section of the dissertation.

### **5.2. The Spatial and Social Patterns of Inter-Ethnic Experiences in Empuriabrava**

The interviewed Polish immigrants related to Empuriabrava described its spatial, social and economic features quite comprehensively. They focused on both, particular spaces of residence or interactions and a neighborhood as a whole. They have included comments on current developmental issues that were similar to these of native key informants. While instead of comments about high neighborhood status they rather evoked complaints about poor infrastructure, most interviewees recognized as unique the demographic and economic dynamics of Emuriabrava. They have also frequently confronted the neighborhood to the historic center of Castelló d'Empuries. Although this phenomena should not be rather interpreted in a perspective of improving self-esteem by developing a “sense of belonging”, it should be noted and further discussed as consciousness of living in a neighborhood unique because of features related to its diversity or maybe superdiversity (Tajfel, 1982; Vertovec, 2007).

In fact, each and every of the interviewed Polish immigrants consider Empuriabrava neighborhood as an important space of everyday's activity and multiple interactions with other ethnic groups. According to the interviewed Polish immigrants, the high number of

immigrants who live and work in Empuriabrava is a key reason of their continuous inter-ethnic experiences. The places and spaces of inter-ethnic experiences mentioned by Polish immigrants include: workplaces, apartments, block of flats, streets, shops, bars and restaurants, discos, regular or a school buses, private cars, town hall, language classes, schools, employment office, football meetings, sailing boat races, fishing trips, gym, festivities, beach, Natural Park, church. In particular, there are several patterns (presented below) to how and where the interactions are most frequently developed:

*“In winter it’s horrible. My sister and I wanted to go and grab a beer to Aneta, a Polish girl who works in a bar. To Aneta, because some German or Spaniard or from other country would also come. Everything else is closed. Total lifelessness.”* (CdE-5-PL-F-30)

*“I have friends from various countries. I have Chech friend, Cuban, Dutch, Spaniard, Argentinean. Unfortunately I do not have a lot of time for them. Before I had more time for a coffee. Now it ended.”* (CdE-4-PL-F-30)

### **5.2.1. From Workplace to Bar**

Among the interviewed Polish immigrants in Empuriabrava, the workplaces is the context of most inter-ethnic experiences. However, the kind of work definitely impacts on the interactions developed. The real-estate agent (CdE-2-PL/BE-F-45) believes that work is an essential place of interactions, especially with natives, Germans, French or English. The waiter who works in kebab bar (CdE-4-PL-F-30) on the same street and deal daily with clients of diverse origins says that it is very difficult for her to reach beyond the straightforward client-waiter interaction because her job does not gives this possibility. The interviewed handy-man and construction workers (e.g. CdE-7-PL-M-53 and CdE-8-PL-M-58) collaborate with other Polish immigrants, but also with Russians, Ukrainians or Rumanians, so according to them the workplace is the most important place where they can have an interaction with other immigrants. They mention that some of those job-based interactions are continued during the meetings in local bars. Exactly the same pattern can be attached to the Polish immigrants that work in elderly care centre. The unemployed, on the other hand, maintain relations with colleagues from previous work or previous employers. Interestingly, the pattern of frequent visits in bars is quite contradictory to the previous research of Stanek (2003) carried out in Madrid. Therefore, he explained lack of interest of Polish immigrants in



bars, as a failure to understand the social function of bars in the everyday life of Spaniards (Stanek, 2003, El manejo del espacio section, para. 1).

*“Those who work, in our job there are people from many nationalities. There are Ukrainians, Bolivians, Poles, Spaniards, the Russian (...) I worked in a German office, I worked for Germans, they say: today you are going and you will clean here and there. I worked with a colleague from Bulgaria and also with a Polish girl. I worked like this during two years.” (CdE-6-PL-F-30)*

*“To spend some time they meet only in bars. There aren't many clubs, organizations. I can't see any sports ones. Even Catalans don't have too much.” (CdE-10-PL/DE-M-77)*

### **5.2.2. Work and Party in Private Apartments**

The majority of interviewed Polish immigrants do not share the apartments' with other immigrants or natives. One exception to that pattern is the case of an unemployed Polish immigrant (CdE-3-PL-M-31) who lives with his female Catalan friend in an apartment that belongs to his friend's family. Albeit the apartment sharing was not observed as a pattern in Empuriabrava, there are still other types of interactions developing in blocks' of flats, apartments and houses. The interviewees point out on parties and barbecues as leisure-type interactions arranged in friend's apartments or home-gardens (owned by e.g. Germans) where Polish immigrants are invited. The apartments and houses are also places of interactions similar to workplace type interactions. The Polish handymen (CdE-7-PL-M-53) seem to be often employed in order to perform occasional in-home repairs and renovations, especially for German, Dutch, French and English immigrants, but also for natives. In particular cases, this kind of job originated interactions and converts into more personal-level interactions that include invitations to household barbecues.

*“I tried the Catalan cousine. I live with a Catalan girl, so from time to time I eat something typical Catalan, but I prefer my cousine. Recently I went with a friend to Poland and she fell in love with food.” (CdE-3-PL-M-31)*

*“The majority of my friends are German or Swiss. I work for them every year.” (CdE-7-PL-M-53)*

### 5.2.3. *Small Talks With Next-Door Neighbors*

The next-door neighbor experiences have also been abundantly described in the interviews. Polish immigrants were often conscious of nationalities of their nearest neighbors'. In particular, Moroccans, French, Germans, Romanians and natives are the most frequently mentioned in this context. In contrast to some Empuriabrava's descriptions from previous chapters, there are no apparent residency patterns related to ethnicity that would emerge from the stories of interactions presented by Polish immigrants. In fact, a variety of immigrants and natives who live in Empuriabrava can be found as the nearest neighbors of Polish immigrants. The interviewed Polish not only are aware of the neighbors' origin, but also interact with them. Those are various types of interactions starting from "small talks", helping with bags or stroller, through quarrels and intervention about the dog treating, till thefts supposedly suffered from the neighbors, and alarming neighbors in case of suspicious behavior around their house. It should be underlined here, that in general, interviewed Polish immigrants do not claim a large number of negative experiences related to the closest neighbors.

*"I lived for 8 years in Empuria (Santo Domingo, Los Arcos, low buildings). The Moroccans lived there. In the opposite flat was a Rumanian, a colleague I worked with. There was a French woman living there as well. But mostly Moroccans. I liked living there, but you couldn't leave anything. They robbed the flats all the time."* (CdE-7-PL-M-53)

*"Morrocans are false. He says, friend, friend, and then he will call and rob your flat. They steal a lot. It happened to me. I saw it with my wife, because we lived on the 4th floor. In the opposite flat he forced the door and got everything out. They robbed my car twice. I also saw him. But what can a man say? You will not report it to the police 'cause then you would be scared to go out. There were a lot of them. Tools, he took all from my car. Twice. And I knew this but if I went to report it to the police I would be in more trouble. They are not scared of the police. They rule. The neighbor in the flat above me is also Moroccan. He beat his wife every second or third day. We heard screams. The police do nothing. They came, one French woman, who I painted the flat for, reported it. When they came he went to buy cigarettes. He came back and they went away. The Moroccan aren't in contact with other people. They stick together."* (CdE-7-PL-M-53)

#### **5.2.4. Towards Segregation in Bars?**

As stated in previous chapter, the bars and restaurant are commonly believed to be the only significant places of interaction in the neighborhood. Most of the interviewed Polish immigrants declare use of these places and were observed there during the fieldwork. These establishments are seen as the only kind of place where one can meet with his friends and have a chat. On the other hand, bars are also seen as the unique place where one can meet new people of various nationalities. Many interviewees believe that from autumn to winter the number of opened bars is smaller and therefore the interactions with other immigrants are not so often. Additionally, a repetitive observation is that during the current economic crisis the number of establishments importantly decreased. Another change in time that is evoked by some interviewed Polish immigrants (but also confirmed by e.g. German interviewees) is national “segregation” of the establishments. Polish immigrants observed that currently, the particular bars have immigrants of particular nationalities as clients. The Germans, French, Russians, Moroccans are mentioned as those immigrants that set-up their meeting-places in particular bars. The bars’ “segregation” tendencies appear to reflect more general reflection of the interviewees that public space is often separated by nationalities. The interviewed Polish immigrants who mention this tendency, are either neutral towards this situation or do not like it. There are also sparse voices of understanding towards this “segregation” pattern. These are mainly related to the separation as easing difficulties caused by the linguistic diversity of Empuriabrava. Also, the ethnically homogeneous meetings in bars are seen as fulfilling the need of spending time with people of similar background. Still, there are no explicitly applauding comments to this transformation.

*“In Empuriabrava it used to be different. Everyone used to go to one bar, a mixture. And now: Spaniard goes to Spaniard, Catalan goes to Catalan, German to German and Englishman to Englishman. It got split somehow. I don’t know. In summer you can, you can enter the crowd; talk with those foreigners, but in winter no. Everyone is isolated.” (CdE-5-PL-F-30)*

#### **5.2.5. Catalan Classes: Interaction Dependent on Time Constraints**

The Moroccans in general and Moroccan women in particular have been seen as major participants in Catalan language lessons. Interestingly, a Polish immigrant (CdE-4-PL-F-30) who participates in those lessons observed that they do not maintain contacts with other

participants. This interviewee mentions also: Germans, Irish, Uruguayan, and some “black” immigrants as people that she met during the classes. She believes that possibility of developing interaction during this kind of classes also depends on the time available that each particular person may have during and after lessons. The only person this Polish immigrant developed any relation is an Irish immigrant:

*“Now, it is even difficult for me even to participate in the classes of Catalan. (...) There are free basic classes, which are organized by the Town Hall. Here in Empuriabrava. There are about 20 individuals. Most of them are Moroccan women. They have something with the papers –that they need to have the certificate of proficiency in Catalan. Thus, they attend only in order get the certificate from the Town Hall. They do not even learn. They need it in order to get some prologue or some papers... The Moroccan who spends a lot of time only at home, with two or three children... Why does she need Catalan? I only speak with them on a basis of “good morning” and “good bye”. There are more in their own company. Anyway... What could I talk about with her? She knows nothing about how to deal with clients in a job. She only cooks and gossip with neighbors. What can she know about life? There are also two Germans, elder ladies. One older man from Ireland. There is also one Uruguayan and two blacks. The rest of them are Moroccans, mainly women. There was one man. I only speak more with an Irish man, we sit together while doing exercises. I do not have time to spend more time with those people.” (CdE-4-PL-F-30)*

#### **5.2.6. Taking Advantage of Surrounding Natural Spaces**

According to the Polish interviewees, the sport activities that are often undertaken in the surrounding natural spaces (e.g. sea, river) are related to the most intense, although rather weekly or monthly instead of daily, interactions with other immigrants and natives. In this context, the interviewed Polish immigrants mention mainly interactions with natives and immigrants from Germany, France, England, Russia, Ukraine, Romania, and Morocco. While the immigrants of other nationalities are mentioned as interaction partners in several of those places, the possibility of contact with Moroccan immigrants is described as rather restricted to football field.

*“When it comes to Russian, then they meet mostly with Poles. I went with them on a picnic, or fishing.” (CdE-7-PL-M-53)*

On the other hand, although the PNAE is not very popular place of leisure among interviewed Polish immigrants (or natives and other immigrants for that matter), some of them still make use of its premises. The experiences of one of Polish immigrants (*CdE-3-PL-M-31*) are especially worth to note here. Once he settled in Empuriabrava, and began to visit the natural park he became “addicted” to bird-watching. He developed a new hobby that according to him could be an important reason for staying in Empuriabrava for a longer period. During his trips, he met natives and also other immigrants (mainly French) who live in Empuriabrava and have a similar interest in bird watching. In some cases, he got involved in interactions with them based on common interests. Building on that experience, he currently claims that it is important to participate in order to establish new contacts that could in the future benefit also with professional opportunities. At the moment of interview, he made an attempt to engage as voluntary in an astronomical organization located in the nearby municipality of Figueres.

#### **5.2.7. *Transporting Inter-Ethnic Interactions***

The unsustainable public transport and the location of Empuriabrava correlated with internal and external large distances set-up a specific car-sharing feature of the neighborhood. According to majority of interviewees the car is a tool that is essential in order to live in Empuriabrava. Still, according to some interviews with natives, various immigrants and my direct observation, there is a number of immigrants that cannot financially sustain the cost of buying a car. According to the interviewees, there are some Polish immigrants among them. In those cases, friends, children’s friends, acquaintances or simply neighbors of various origins (mostly other immigrants and Polish) are the ones that offer a ride, especially between Empuriabrava and Castelló d’Empuries historic center.

#### **5.2.8. *Infrequent Popular Festivities***

According to the interviewed Polish (and other) immigrants, popular festivities gather mostly numerous natives, but also some immigrants of diverse origins. The frequency of the festivities is lower than of other activities, and therefore they are not as frequently mentioned. One of the interviewed immigrants of Polish origin (*CdE-2-PL/BE-F-45*) says that one can meet diverse nationalities during this kind of festivities, but highlight that Moroccans participate less than others, and therefore it is harder to experience some interactions with

them. This observation has been repeated by several other immigrants and natives (e.g. CdE-KI-1-DE-F-47 and CdE-KI-19-SP-M-58). The previously cited interviewee (CdE-2-PL/BE-F-45) also mentioned that there was an intention to set-up a festival of diversity that could embrace interests of various immigrants, but after one attempt, the idea was abandoned.

*“There isn’t any entertainment here so that people from different countries could meet. There is nothing. Recently there was some festival in Castelló. But now it only occurs very sporadically. There used to be more things like that. I used to go because I was curious what it was like. But every year it’s the same. It is repetitive. Parades are worse and worse every time. In the past if they went then 3-4 hours. Now, a couple of carts will go, they will make noise and that’s it.”* (CdE-7-PL-M-53)

### **5.2.9. Church as a Gathering’s Place**

Polish masses in Castelló d’Empuries church are commonly mentioned by Polish interviewees as the unique former place of gathering of Polish immigrants that live in the municipality. Masses were celebrated by a priest who before migrating to Germany lived on territories currently belonging to Poland, but describes himself as of Silesian origin (he had two passports - Polish and German - until he was made to give up the Polish one). According to the priest himself (CdE-10-PL/DE-M-77), Polish masses were introduced with no support whatsoever from the Catalan or Polish church. After a few years<sup>34</sup> of once a week celebration of the masses (on Sunday, after the Catalan mass), the Polish and German meetings celebrated by him ended because of the lack of understanding between him and Catalan rector of the church. The priest that celebrated Polish masses claims that there was also no special interest from the Bishop of Girona in developing international services in Castelló d’Empuries (the Catalan rector of the church passed away before this information could be confronted). The reason of why Polish masses were aborted seems to be unknown to the interviewed Polish immigrants. They seem to be disappointed because of this, especially because the aforementioned masses were the only place where Polish immigrants met among themselves in bigger group, and moreover on a regular basis. The expressed interest in Polish masses is consistent with the accounts about relatively high number of participants that were between

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<sup>34</sup> While some of the interviewees (e.g. CdE-6-PL-F-30) noticed that Polish masses were celebrated on a regular basis only during a period of about half to one year, a priest celebrating the masses (CdE-10-PL/DE-M-77), pointed out that it was several years of irregular services.

thirty and one hundred in case of important religious festivity. Furthermore, some of the followers still try to maintain contacts with the priest who lives in nearby Roses.

### **5.3. The Spatial and Social Patterns of Inter-Ethnic Experiences in Sagrada Familia**

The everyday's activity of the interviewed Polish immigrants in the Sagrada Familia seems to be mainly attached to the place where they live and/or work. Those are also places of most frequent interactions with natives and immigrants alike. Additionally, the area around Sagrada Familia temple is widely considered as significant in everyday's life (even if it is in the context of deliberately avoiding it). Therefore, most of the described neighborhood-located experiences take place in limited locations of the Sagrada Familia. Only a scarce number of the Polish interviewees relatively frequently move within the larger areas of the neighborhood. Strolls in the squares and passages or seldom meetings in bars were mostly mentioned activities that permitted some, mostly superficial interactions with other immigrants and natives. The library, gym, shops, schools, shared apartments and rarely sport events and popular festivities were other places and spaces where interaction with natives but also immigrants took place. Importantly, only small fraction of this examples repeat itself among more than one or two Polish interviewees.

#### **5.3.1. *Highlighting Contrasts to Other Neighborhoods***

A location of interviewee's activity centre within the neighborhood, characteristics of the urban fabric and ethnic diversity, and life-stage appear as factors influencing the possibilities of the inter-ethnic interactions. Some of those factors, have been especially pointed out by the Polish immigrants that had an opportunity to move to Sagrada Familia from another neighborhood of Barcelona or those who live and work in distinct neighborhoods. An interesting example is a young mother (*BCN-5-PL-F-34*) who some years ago moved from the surroundings of Les Corts and Sarrià neighborhoods to Sagrada Familia. She underlines that she is able to experience much more immigrants' presence in the streets of Sagrada Familia neighborhood than in her previous one. On the other hand, she points out that it is in Sagrada Familia where she first started to stroll with her daughter. She dropped a job, in order to take care of her daughter and she had more time to wander around. Additionally, she mentions that wide pavements of Sagrada Familia are more suitable to walk around and to

get to know the neighborhood than the ones in the surroundings of her previous apartment. Her narrative is quite consistent with the UK based findings of Lopez-Rodriguez (2010). While that interviewee mentions the playgrounds and schoolyards as spaces of coexistence with other immigrant and native mothers, she concomitantly expresses her disappointment with the scarce level of interactions with those neighbors. At the same time, however, she is optimistic that in future she will develop more interactions, especially localized in her daughter's school.

*„There are not a lot of places to visit with children. We are going to the square at Industria street. There is a group of Ukrainians or Russians with their children. Three families, but they have no contact with us, they stick together. Me and my Polish friend also meet up, so we form our own group. Sometimes others approach to chat, but there is not a lot of contact with Spaniards there. There are more Spanish mothers in the Sagrada Familia square, or from other developed countries like the Netherlands. You can see blond people, it hits your eyes. Lately, I got to know that there are some apartments rented by international companies for the employees in delegations.” (BCN-5-PL-F-34)*

On the other hand, the example of young doctoral student (BCN-11-PL-F-27) who lives in the neighborhood with her Catalan fiancé shows the opposite perception driven by the influence of the neighborhood that was her previous residence. At the beginning of her stay in Barcelona she stayed in the more central located neighborhoods, where she believed the presence of immigrants, especially from Pakistan or Africa, was higher. While the experience of immigrants' presence was not followed by intensified interactions, her claim is that being surrounded by these immigrants did not give her the sense of security. Nowadays, after several months of living in the Sagrada Familia neighborhood, she believes that presence of the immigrants in this neighborhood is smaller than in the central neighborhoods where she lived before and therefore she feels more comfortable. On the other hand she points out that after over one and half year of stay in the city she did use to the presence of various immigrants' groups, and in general the diversity is a factor that she thinks is a positive feature of Barcelona. She does not use neighborhood's public spaces very extensively, but she admits that she observes the presence of immigrants in the places like bars, shops or gym. Still, she comments that her interactions with those immigrants are scarce. In contrast to the before mentioned young mother, she spends less time strolling in the neighborhood (although she moves in the same area), also she is not compelled to the interactions in places like school and/or playground. In this sense, the possibility of comparison with two contrasting neighborhoods, in combination with the stage of life, lifestyle and job performed seems to



have quite powerful impact on these two Polish immigrants' perception of other immigrants' presence and the interactions with them.

Weather, the Polish interviewees do not describe the Sagrada Família as a posh neighborhood, there is a visible tendency to describe the quality of life in Sagrada Família as prevailing over many other Barcelona's neighborhoods. This tendency is especially visible towards neighborhoods with high number of immigrants. Although the "sense of belonging" to the neighborhood does not appear to be used in terms of improving self-esteem (Tajfel, 1982), there are evident boundaries made between Polish interviewees that consider themselves neighbors and various out groups like tourists or Romanian pickpockets. This is an interesting observation since it embraces two perspectives on belonging and boundary making. From one point of view Polish immigrants see the Sagrada Família as an example of neighborhood that does not carry particular or important limits as a result of mobility of various individuals (Massey, 1997). From another perspective the Polish interviewees are able to consequently indicate who belongs to the neighborhood and who is a stranger (Johnston, 1991, p.188). This is a type of a perspective where "affect, influence and control" (Sack, 1986, p.2) as well as reaching some sort of place's "exclusivity" (Smith, 1986, p.482) are factors decisive in boundary making process.

### ***5.3.2. Inter-Ethnic Experiences in Open Public-Spaces***

The high presence of Latin-Americans on the streets and squares has been mentioned by Polish interviewees several times as an element of neighborhood and city's diversity. Some of the interviewees, but mainly native key informants, point out that one can meet gatherings of young Latin-Americans at Gaudí Avenue and on the Sagrada Família and Gaudí squares. Polish interviewees do not mention any interactions with Latin American immigrants that would go beyond noticing their presence. Still, several interviewees (both key informants and Polish immigrants) claim that those groups provoke loud noise at night and sensations of discomfort and insecurity. Although the repeated concerns have not been confirmed during the ethnographic observation, the variety of interviewees that repeated the observation suggests that perhaps this is a problem of the recent past that has remained in some people's minds (Morén-Alegret et al., 2012).

Some issues with insecurity in public space have also been experienced by Polish interviewees as supposedly related to presence of Romanian and Moroccan immigrants. The

former have been mentioned as outside group supposedly responsible for taking advantage of tourists by pick pocketing and mugging. The Moroccan immigrants in turn, are less frequently mentioned as present on the streets. One example here is given by Polish store employee (BCN-6-PL-M-32) who focus on the experiences with, the supposedly Moroccan, teenagers that misbehaved on the streets (e.g. while destroying some public installations, like public bicycle stations).

*„The neighborhood is safe, except of the Romanian gangs. Those are groups that look for people to cheat. We live here so we know about it and avoid them. But tourists are often assaulted in front of our eyes, near to Sagrada Familia temple (...) There are also some begging Romanians on the streets. It started when the Romania entered the EU. They are by the church and on the streets. At the morning a car brings the ladies and distributes them. They are not a threat, they do not steal.” (BCN-5-PL-F-34)*

*„Some youngsters behave awfully. There are many groups like them. They believe they are allowed more than others. Two years ago I observed a situation: there is a Bicing station, one youngster, probably of Moroccan origin climbed on it and hooked a bike, so he kicked it. What for? It is stupid behaviour. I did not react. Finally, it was a child. According to me, the worst behaved are the youngsters from Morocco. I do not want to generalize, but I speak about the cases that I have seen. They feel empowered here in Spain. They are here from a long time ago. They feel more like home. They allow themselves more than Spanish. Those are acts of vandalism and aggression.” (BCN-6-PL-M-32)*

Nevertheless, the Polish interviewees' complaints about misbehavior in public space do not limit to the above presented examples. The green alleys of Sagrada Familia square are also a very characteristic place where the presence of Polish immigrants can be experienced. The ethnographic fieldwork showed that there is a group of homeless that spend their days at square's benches, chat and drink alcohol. According to the interviewed native key informants, during many years that square was a place where native homeless people have been spending their time. Thus, this habit is perceived by some native neighbors as somehow disturbing the neighborhood's aesthetics and a source of potential conflict that could potentially include violent behaviors.

*“The Sagrada Familia Square (...) There are groups of homeless people who live there in the street. (...) They can mount a mass anytime, but it's a small problem (...) Nowadays, usually they are immigrants, before they were locals. Nowadays you can find that those are people from Eastern countries [from Europe], that mainly have very big problems with alcohol. That, of course, can result in conflicts with some violence. But not (...) we have ever had any problems.” (BCN-KI-3-SP-M-28)*

Nowadays, there is a group of several men that occupies a few benches of the square. Their presence is rarely mentioned by native interviewees. If so, they are perceived by natives as Eastern European immigrants, presumably Ukrainians or Russians, which spend their days drinking alcohol. The reality is somehow different. According to the observation and interviews, most of this group is in fact of Polish origin. This is also an observation of majority of the interviewed Polish immigrants. Whether they claim that they understand the difficult situation of the homeless or believe that this kind of behavior is unjustified, they negatively evaluate the presence of the Polish homeless at the square (Morén-Alegret et al., 2012).

Interviewed Polish immigrants also believe that native neighbors are importantly disturbed with the Polish homeless presence and that this situation breaks the positive image of Polish “hard-working” immigrants. The emerging observation is that paradoxically, the native neighbors who spend time in the same park seem to have relatively positive, neutral or no relations with the homeless Polish immigrants. In contrast, the same public space is occupied by groups of young Latin-Americans that in turn are often mentioned by interviewed native key informants as a group that provoke discomfort. It is worth adding, that there have been no interactions observed between the Latin-American youth and Polish homeless. Interestingly, there have been some basic interactions visible among homeless Polish immigrants and native neighbors, especially volunteers from local charities that “keep an eye” on homeless Poles, especially in terms of taking care of their health.

### **5.3.3. *Commercial Establishments***

Several of the Polish interviewees believe that especially Chinese shops and bars are one of the landmarks of the area surrounding Sagrada Familia temple. Those experiences are very similar to the comments of some interviewed native key informants. Despite the economic recession, the experience of Chinese shops’ presence appears to grow constantly, however the observed interactions between Polish immigrants and Chinese are limited to client-vendor relations in Chinese-owned establishments. The lack of more developed interactions is explained by the Polish interviewees mainly with linguistic and cultural differences.

*“I associate Sagrada Familia with a high number of Asian persons. These various Chinese shops around the temple make me think about Asians while I think about immigrants [...] It was a surprise that they take over businesses that were here for generations. It probably concerns the whole Barcelona. The Chinese, you can see that they are entrepreneurs. I sometimes use their shops, but I have bad experience when it comes to service and quality. I know that it is another culture, but... [...] At the beginning, when I did not have Internet access in the flat, I sometimes used the internet cafe. The owners are from the South-America. In this area, because in other areas of the city those are mainly Pakistanis.” (BCN-1-PL-M-37)*

Two other immigrant groups mentioned by Polish immigrants in context of running commercial establishments are Pakistanis and Latin-Americans. For Polish immigrants, shops are the primary place where one can meet the Pakistani immigrants. Still, the Polish interviewees describe interactions with Pakistani immigrants in very similar way to the ones with Chinese. Therefore, except for the simple experience of commercial exchange, there were no further comments on interactions here. The Latin-Americans have also been mentioned by some Polish immigrants as owners of small groceries. Interestingly, in this case, there were some singular statements of “good relations” and “everyday’s purchases.”

*“As I see it, all the bars and shops around Sagrada Familia are taken over by Chinese, and the groceries by the Pakistanis. That is the rule. Before, I believe, those were Spanish shops. (...) Chinese are a terrible plague (...) they take over all the businesses. In theory I do not mind, but in the long run they are a threat to us, it is known that they take over the workplaces and flats (...) Those are organized groups, I believe. They engage those families in order to run the shops. Those Chinese families do not open the shops on their own. I attempt to avoid their shops. I buy in the greengrocer here, but it is run by the Latin-Americans, and if I buy clothes I go to the center.” (BCN-2-PL-F-30)*

Last, but not least, the native shopkeepers have been mentioned by Polish immigrants in several interaction contexts. Interestingly, the experiences here were very different from single cases of feeling patronized because of being foreigner till positive everyday’s interactions. From the opposite point of view, only one interviewed key informant – jeweler (BCN-KI-5-DE/IT-F-50), mentioned a patron of Polish origin. Interestingly, during first visits of this particular customer she was “cautious” because of his “brusque and observer-like behavior” that she further explained as cultural difference.

Additional perspective on this type of interaction’s place has been brought by the Polish shopkeepers and vendors related to the grocery with Polish products and children’s store. In case of the Polish grocery, except of the Polish customers, the owner (BCN-2-PL-F-

30) have mentioned several immigrants' groups that visit regularly the establishment since it is equipped with their national products (mainly Rumanians and Russians). Also natives have been listed as frequent patrons of Polish shops. On the other hand, the owner of the children's store (BCN-8-PL-F-47) has had experiences mostly with natives clients, and in the recent years increasing number of immigrants of various origins. While she is mostly positive about interactions with her clients, she claims that from time to time she suffers some unpleasant and discriminatory comments because of her scarce knowledge of Catalan language.

*„I do not speak Catalan, but I understand it. I am often met here with negative opinions that I do not speak Catalan. There are some radical nationalists, and some unpleasant things can happen. Once, a citizen complained that in the store we have signs only in Spanish. The inspection came and they tried to fine us because they found one small inscription that was not translated. The language policy is in the foreground here. They can cut expenses on health care, but there must be money for the language policy.” (BCN-8-PL-F-47)*

*„The shop's customers are mainly Polish. There are Russians as well. We have products from Russia, Romania, and South America. There is a lot of Romanians, recently there are more of them. I get to know them. Those are solid customers. We have good products and the price is OK for them. Tourists... they visits the shop from time to time. The Spanish and Catalans clients, those are neighbors. They have good relations with us. For example: I am FC Barcelona football club fan. There is one woman working here, she is a fan of Real Madrid, but she is an incredible person. It was a very quick contact, fast bond between the customer and a vendor. She came to the shop as she were entering her home. And that is what I want, the customer should feel comfortable in the shop.” (BCN-6-PL-M-32)*

#### **5.3.4. Library as a Point of Encounter**

According to the native key informants, another significant space of everyday's interaction is the public library building. Apart from its main aim as facilitator of books and other documents, this facility provides the residents with variety of spaces and activities. According to library employee (BCN-KI-15-SP-F-40), the immigrants who use the library are not the ones who just arrived to Sagrada Familia. The library users are rather settled down people and students or educated immigrants with working hours that allow them to use the library services. On the other hand, many economically disadvantaged African, Latin-America and Asian immigrants use Internet a lot, in order to stay in touch with their families or friends back home. They prefer free library's internet access over the paid one in a

telecommunication point (“locutorio”). According to a library’s employee, Internet attracts a lot of users from many countries, but also natives. This is due to the current economic crisis (Morén-Alegret et al., 2012).

*“I think that the most influential factor is not the group characteristics, but socio-economical characteristics.” (BCN-KI-15-SP-F-40)*

In the library there is a specific space for newcomers, but according to the interview, it is currently not as important as it was when the immigration rate was higher. Immigrants could find there some documents that would help them in the incorporation process into society, including some basic Catalan and Spanish languages learning guides. Also the national sources of various groups were collected. The newcomers’ space of the public library is rather a domain of immigrants and it allows small interactions with native neighbors, although the interaction with the library employees could be qualified as such. However, there are courses where inter-ethnic interactions take place, but this mixing or interaction are not explicit objectives of the participating immigrants.

*“Libraries are the most ‘neighborhood-related’ service. Thus, after working through first difficulties, they understood that library can help them in their integration. This is also role that the libraries assume in Barcelona.” (BCN-KI-15-SP-F-40)*

Still, in some cases the collateral result is that interaction appears. There are some Latin-Americans (Cubans, Ecuadorians and Colombians are mentioned) and some Europeans as library users and participants in activities. There are more children than adults participating. The library currently undertook attempts (cultural activities and available books in Chinese during 2012) to engage the growing Chinese collective since Chinese do not participate in the way that other collectives do. There are no adults borrowing books, there are only some children coming mainly because of the Internet access. According to the interview, the small preliminary survey made by library and family rejoining technician indicated that the long working hours and the lack of knowledge of the local languages are two main obstacles for Chinese people use of library resources. It seems that the young Chinese mothers are the ones more interested in integration since their children go to local schools (Morén-Alegret et al., 2012).

This observation is somehow similar to the situation of Polish immigrants. Only a limited number of Polish interviewees related to the neighborhood claim that they use the library. Still, these were not frequent visits and were not a source of interactions with other

immigrants. Only a young mother (*BCN-5-PL-F-34*) that live in a neighborhood showed more interest in using this facility together with her daughter. The library employee also mentioned some homeless people of supposedly Polish origin that made use of the library's internet.

#### **5.3.5. *Apartments, Schools and Playgrounds: Between Bonding and Bridging***

Polish immigrants interviewed in the Sagrada Familia rather do not mention interactions with the next-door neighbors as frequent or significant. Still, they relatively often indicate the private apartments as places of interactions with other immigrants and natives, especially in the contexts of sharing and partying. In both cases the interactions with Latin-Americans (especially Brazilians and Argentineans) have been most frequently mentioned. In case of natives, the apartments were the less frequently mentioned places of interactions and relevant above all in cases of family-based relations where a member were of native origin (mixed marriages, cousin's spouse, etc.) or in single cases as places of private parties. The shared apartments have also been mentioned as background for interactions with other Polish immigrants, either in exclusively "Polish" or ethnically mixed apartments. While the former has been mentioned as a way of cohabitating preferred by contracted Polish construction workers, the later appears mainly in context of students and individuals with no children.

Although childrearing is mentioned by some Polish interviewees as a life stage related to the withdrawal from the shared-residence patterns, it is on the other hand connected to new possibilities of bridging activities. Several of the interviewees were parents remaining in the relationship with native or Polish partner. Although depending on the time they spend in Catalonia and their knowledge of the local language(s), it seems that the most common and important landmark in their interactions with natives and other immigrants is the moment when a child goes to school for the first time, but also when they start to stroll in the playgrounds, etc. The interviewed Polish parents (in this research both mothers and fathers) with young children are the ones who develop most frequently neighborhood based interactions similarly as it was observed in the Ryan's (2011) or Lopez-Rodriguez (2010) studies based in UK.

The associative life of the classroom and school in Catalonia is developed and mainly organized by parents. In fact, the Polish interviewees with this profile were the only ones that mentioned the importance of the participation in the neighborhood based activities, at least in

relation to parents' social role. They not only highlighted the importance of parents and children participation in school based and extra-school activities like children's birthday, but also complained that it is sometimes difficult to immerse in the environment set-up by the native parents. One of the interviewees (*BCN-5-PL-F-34*) described how easier it was to set-up a small group of diverse parents who are able to plan and organize activities then immerse in the native parents group. On the other hand some of these interviewees complained that not all of the immigrant parents are willing to participate and organize activities together with other immigrant or native parents. The Moroccan and Latin-American immigrants are mentioned as those unwilling to participate together with others and rather closed in their own circles in the school context. Also, the presence of Pakistani immigrants' children in schools is mentioned by some Polish interviewees, but there were virtually no interactions observed or mentioned during the research. Some native key informants, like Encants primary school teacher (*BCN-KI-18-SP-F-50*), confirm that experience with more details, saying that it is difficult for teachers to grab an attention of Pakistani parents while there are issues concerning children education to be discussed.

### **5.3.6. *Losing an Opportunity: Rigid Traders Organizations***

Previously mentioned comments of some Polish interviewees about experiences with the hermetic circles of native parents, although not very frequent, go along with the opinions of young native and immigrant key informants interviewed on the accessibility of social tissue of the neighborhood. One of the examples of surprisingly hermetic formal organizations appears to be traders association (at least some of the several organizations of this kind present in neighborhood). This allegation put forward by e.g. interviewed Peruvian trader (*BCN-KI-11-PE-F-41*) find the confirmation in the words of the Polish shop owners (*BCN-2-PL-F-30 and BCN-8-PL-F-47*). While the representatives of traders association claim that they visit and invite to participate any new business establishment in the area whether it is of immigrant or native owner, the Polish shop despite several years of seniority in the neighborhood has not been visited and/or invited to participate in any of them. Some traders from the associations (e.g. *BCN-KI-1-SP-F-51*) recognize this kind of immigrants' explanations as a weak excuse. Nevertheless, in case of the Polish shop, the lack of contact followed with the lack of knowledge about the presence of the traders associations and their activities seems to be a direct and unique obstacle in participation. The owner of the Polish



store (BCN-2-PL-F-30) in the Sagrada Familia, also runs a similar establishment in the city of Valencia. During the interview she explained that the other shop do belong to local traders association in the Valencian neighborhood where it is located. According to the interviewee, at the beginning of the shop's activity the local trade association members visited the establishment and invited Polish owners to participate. Since that time, Polish shop in Valencia is a member of the association and as such pays contributions due. The interviewed owner of the Polish shop in the Sagrada Familia neighborhood expressed willingness to participate in local traders association and organized activities, even if this includes fees. The later are the reason of lack of participation of many other immigrant shops according to the native trader association members. On the other hand, the lack of knowledge about the associations or their hermetic structure is the reasons for the immigrants' lack of involvement according to immigrant traders themselves. The interviews and observation confirms that unusual multiplicity of traders associations in the Sagrada Familia neighborhood (in the regular case there is one association in a neighborhood, not several as in case of Sagrada Familia), complexity of its territorial and organizational structure, and hermetic power structure, not only deters immigrants from participating, but also impedes the further development of these association.

*"The store doesn't belong to the association of merchants. And is there such a thing here? Because, for example, the store in Valencia does belong, it organizes fairs, they always invite us. But here I do not know. They have never invited us. This shop has been here for five years. We have this shop in Valencia. This is where we have a sign that we belong to this district. When there are markets, we expose, we pay contribution. But here nothing was told. There, in Valencia they came to us. Here we do not have contact with any institution in the district."* (BCN-2-PL-F-30)

The slightly different case of a children's store, owned by the Polish immigrant (BCN-8-PL-F-47) and located at Sant Joan passage (nowadays outside of the neighborhood limits, but historically belonging to the neighborhood and currently frequently perceived as belonging to the Sagrada Familia) is an evidence that not only trader's association structure, but the neighborhood's associative tissue may be too complex and hermetic for the newcomers and young native neighbors. The store, currently operating over twelve years has been founded by a Polish immigrant and her Catalan husband in their mid-thirties. Several years ago, a number of local residents formed the association of the neighborhood friends in the Sant Joan passage. The shop owners immediately enrolled since they thought that dynamization of the area, also in the commercial sense, would be one of the important aims of

the association. Shortly after, the association was not too interested in the commercial issues, the majority of the members are older people who decide about its general activity, and this activity is, according to the interviewee, “quite sluggish”. This kind of association’s development discouraged the interviewed Polish immigrant who tells that nowadays she does not even take part in the meetings, although the shop still belongs to the association.

### ***5.3.7. Scarce Participation of Young and Immigrants***

The Sagrada Família is portrayed by many native key informants interviewed as a neighborhood where participation in the local social life is scarce. There are many spaces where one can participate, but just a few neighbors appear to be interested in social involvement. Especially immigrants and young people are portrayed by interviewed key informants as those who do not participate. Therefore, intergenerational cleavage is relevant in terms of inter-group interactions. In many organizations, like the Neighbors Association, it was extensively visible during the ethnographic observation that the majority of day-to-day active participants are elderly or mature people. There are many reasons that seem to provoke this situation. The most important ones would be: the repetitive group of neighbors that holds the power in some important organisations, a lack of openness for new ideas, and a lack of spaces for young people.

Another observed pattern is the type of organizations where there is interaction or where it is lacking. Traditional organizations like Castellers and the board that organizes local traditional festivities are the ones that seem to attract most of the immigrants’ and youth’s attention. In contrast, e.g. excursionists association seems to be omitted by immigrants. There is a basic difference between the two types of organizations: a fee for participation. While being a member of the excursionists’ organization costs, the participation in traditional activities, courses of Catalan language or other small courses is often free of charge.

The Chinese immigrants are perceived by interviewed native key informants (but also by Polish immigrants) as the least participative, and Latin-Americans are seen as those who are mostly involved in the neighborhood’s life. This is explained by the interviewees noting linguistic difficulties, cultural differences, long working hours of Chinese immigrants and the knowledge about neighborhood’s mechanics that are dependent on residence seniority. At the same time, native interviewees notice that the second generation of people with Chinese

origin does relate more with natives. They go to schools with natives and other immigrants and maintain friendship with them.

*“The ones from South-America participate, although not the young ones, but those who are mature do participate(...) they probably have spent some time here already (...) they know how the neighborhood works.” (BCN-KI-3-SP-M-28)*

*“One cannot see them [Chinese] buying in the stores (...) maybe now one can start to see it (...) some young, Chinese girls, sometimes, I saw one buying in the shops, in the market (...) so you say that it is not so bad.” (BCN-KI-1-SP-F-51)*

When it comes to the Polish immigrants, it seems that they follow the scheme ascribed by the native interviewees to the immigrants in general. Two single cases of participation of Polish immigrants have been noted by the natives several months before the research was conducted, and no participation has been observed during the research itself. The two mentioned cases concerned participation of young persons. The Environmental Classroom technician (BCN-KI-14-SP-F-37) remembered one Polish immigrant as a socially involved man in his twenties that participated in setting-up Environmental Classroom activities on a voluntary basis during his rather short stay (probably about a year) in Barcelona. It is important to mention here that the Environmental Classroom is one of the few locations in the neighborhood where more frequent and developed interaction between natives and immigrants takes place. This is a project created and funded by Eixample District Council aiming to promote knowledge and responsibility about the closest surrounding environment (Wladyka & Morén-Alegret, 2013, Invisible Immigrants: Polish Immigrants in the Eyes of some Local Stakeholders section, para.6). Another Polish immigrant, young woman, was mentioned by the activist of the Excursionist Centre (BCN-KI-13-SP-M-60) as participating in few single trips arranged by this organization. Still, as the native key informant underlined, she did not become a member of the Excursionist Association. According to the interviewed activist, it is because she would not pay a membership fee (similarly to other discouraged immigrants).

The interviewed Polish immigrants quite frequently (often in contrast to native key informants) appreciate the possibilities of neighborhood's activities that are aimed to individuals or groups of friends like: bars, cinema or gym. Although some of those places do

not actually lie in the neighborhood limits, they are considered as such by Polish interviewees and presented as places where interactions with other immigrants take place. However, the Polish interviewees themselves claim that the lack of participation, as frequently explained, with the lack of time and lack of personal interest in this kind of social activities. Interestingly, according to their comments, the lack of participation is not limited to their life in Spain, but also characterized their lifestyle back in Poland. The lack of personal interest of Polish immigrants in group participation in comparison to natives is quite consistent with Hofstede (2001) findings. The dimension of “Individualism versus Collectivism” elaborated by him puts Polish as visibly more individual (60 on the 100 scale) than Spaniards (51 on the 100 scale) that are described by Hofstede, along with Portuguese, as the only European Collectivists. This, according to Hofstede would mean that Polish prefer loosely structured social networks where individuals are socially expected to focus exclusively on themselves and their nearest families (Hofstede, 2001; Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010). This kind of behavior can be easily observed among the majority of the interviewed Polish immigrants. While, the interviewees participate in the local festivities like neighborhood festivities or Christmas markets, they do it only as passive observers. Asked about this, they do not show any interest in collaboration when it comes to the organization of neighborhood’s activities or organizations. Some of them underline that this kind of participation is a feature of natives and that Polish immigrants in general are rather not attracted by it. The similar comments were observed when it comes to the social and political mobilizations or political activity.

The slightly different trend could be noted in some comments of Polish interviewees about participation in organizations related to Polish culture. In particular traditional Polish dance club and Polish Christmas meetings have been mentioned (*e.g. BCN-8-PL-F-47* and *BCN-2-PL-F-30*). Also, an attempt to organize Polish football team has been explained (*BCN-4-PL-M-35*). Although all of the before mentioned activities were organized, at least partially, by based on the Sagrada Familia limits Polish-Catalan Cultural Association, they did not necessarily took place in the neighborhood, nor the interviewees’ relation with the neighborhood had impact on the participation itself. Furthermore, two of the Polish interviewees (*BCN-9-PL-F-40* and *BCN-4-PL-M-35*) that spend only a fragment of their daily routine in the Sagrada Familia, mentioned some examples of participation in local organizations and activities like: excursionist club, cinema club or football games. All of those activities took place in other areas other than Sagrada Familia. These immigrants live in other neighborhood or outside of the Barcelona, and the profile of their daily or/and

professional activity(ies) is/are directly related to social activity, in particular: Polish-Catalan Cultural Association and Polish School.

While some of the Polish immigrants scarcely participate in *Sagrada Familia* organizations, this effect might be explained with e.g. previously mentioned differences in cultural features (Hofstede, 2001; Hofstede et al., 2010), the question is whether the ethnic diversity itself makes a difference. According to the previously explained Putnam's (2007) Constrict Theory, the higher diversity assumes a decrease of both in-group and out-group trust as a result of increased presence of "others" and concomitantly lesser presence of people that one can identify with and build social connections. Although the observations of *Sagrada Familia* associative life could support this thesis, it would be rather understand from the socio-spatial point of view. The *Sagrada Familia* is a well communicated neighborhood that can be understood as an open-system (compare Wallman, 1982; Wallman, 2005; Wallman, 2006). As a result of that, and according to the interviews with the neighborhood's key informants, it constitutes a "workplace" for many outside commuters (including some of the interviewed Polish immigrants), but also a "dormitory" for those working in other areas. This suggests that many of the neighborhood's public space users are only "part-timers" with no time for real engagement in the neighborhood's associative life or with scarce presence in the public spaces. This is also a feature of Polish immigrants related to the neighborhood by work, residence or both. It is important to mention here that the work culture in Catalonia and other parts of Spain in many cases include long working hours until night hours (e.g. 20.30h or 22.00h for some of the interviewed immigrants). Therefore, although both natives and immigrants (including Polish immigrants), are described as not participative, this is rather related to the features of this particular neighborhood as a part of large city, rather than negative influence of the ethnical diversity on social capital. This observation goes along with previously mentioned Keith's and Siebel's developments on the Simmel's characteristics of urban life as indifferent, aloof and airiness. Importantly, the economic diversity, that according to previous research of Lanceen and Dronkers (2011) is the most effective in creating inter-ethnic synergies, has been a moot point in *Sagrada Familia* either intra and inter-ethnic.

### **5.3.8. Egalitarian Lack of Time**

The basic patterns of engaging in interactions gleaned from the accounts of the Polish key informants interviewed are quite similar in structure to the general conclusions of the previously mentioned Madrid and UK-based studies, and there are some interesting features of the interactions observed in Sagrada Familia that are worth noting here. The impact of the location and its social characteristics on engaging in networks (Gill & Bialski, 2011) and the perception of the traditional places for encountering people (Stanek, 2003) have been mentioned in previous studies as obstacles to developing new and diverse relations mainly with regard to Polish immigrants engaged in low-skilled jobs. According to observations provided in the analysis and consistent with the Gill and Bialski studies, these immigrants are often limited and compelled to engage in everyday interaction only in the workplace and areas they pass by, such as squares, commercial establishments, etc. Interestingly, in the case of the Sagrada Familia neighborhood the pattern is not limited to low-paid or low-skilled immigrants. The social-class based differences are replaced by type-of-work and life-stage based time constraints. In addition, these are seen as dynamic by the interviewees themselves. Several of them recall the diversity of interactions they had in past stages of their lives and in the other jobs they had. Importantly, despite the previously mentioned Hofstede (2001) studies, it is not a feature exclusive to the immigrant origin of interviewees, and some impact of the economic recession on the working time is also mentioned and observed.

*“It was a lot of fun with them 7 or 8 years ago [during university studies]. We were partying all the time. I had a good relationship with friends from Uruguay and Argentina. Now [raising a child] I have more contact with Poles.” (BCN-5-PL-F-34)*

*“I spend most of my time in the shop. Because of what I do, my friends are mainly Poles. I don’t go to restaurants. I used to go to the gym. Before, I was also a member of a traditional Polish dance club.” (BCN-2-PL-F-30)*

### **5.4. The Perceptions of Diversity in Empuriabrava**

Polish immigrants who live in Empuriabrava mention rather scarce or no previous experience with immigrants in Poland. The exceptions are the Ukrainian or Belarusian immigrants mentioned as agricultural workers or flea market vendors. Still, the interactions with them in Poland appear as scarce. There are also no negative examples of the interactions or opinions about those Eastern-European immigrants in Poland. Majority of interviewed

Polish immigrants believe that nowadays the number of immigrants in Poland is higher than in the time when they lived there. On the other hand, several of the interviewed Polish immigrants had previous experience (of a maximum few years) with temporal residence in another EU country, mainly in Germany, but also Sweden or Italy. These immigrants mention some experiences that they learned in those countries. Interestingly, most often these statements appear in order to support their – often negative – opinions about other some immigrants that live in the Empuriabrava and a majority of those quoted experiences are focused on issues related to welfare. This is visible in the account they provide in the interviews:

*“In Sweden, Swedes fought to change the social regulation, because many Arabs came and had better rights than the Swedish. They even took the neighbors’ children. It was only important that it was ‘Mohammed’. The more children, the more money they got. If they were taking the social money they couldn’t have any business. They brought a neighbor: we give you the flat, everything. You will run our business. Everything will be registered to you. We saw this situation many times. We were going from Malmo to Landskrona and saw an old Saab in the highway, so we thought it would be some Arab or Polish, but it was a Swede... And later on, there is an S class, Mercedes, and they [Arab immigrants] go in their turbans proudly. The situation here is very similar. [...] If they take social money, the public transport for children is free as opposed to Catalans who have to pay for this. This kind of nuances make that they can’t complain about living here.” (CdE-3-PL-M-31)*

#### **5.4.1. Ethnic and Linguistic Diversity**

Ethnic diversity is described by the majority of interviewees as positive characteristics of Empuriabrava. Although some negative comments related to particular groups appear, the general impression on diversity stays rather positive. Only in one case, this Polish immigrant (CdE-4-PL-F-30) expresses the she would prefer to live in a town where the number of immigrants is lower, so she could really live the native style of life. The invisibility of Catalan or Spanish culture in Empuriabrava is more frequently underlined in the interviews (either with Polish immigrants or key informants of different origins). Still, it is rather seen as one of the most important neighborhood’s features, and not as a problem. There are two mostly highlighted advantages underlined by the Polish interviewees: the possibility of knowing people of various cultures, and the possibility (or necessity - depending on the interviewee) of using various languages.

*“I like diversity. I didn’t know of these type of immigrants in Poland. In Germany, yes. Turkish. There were more in Germany. But in Germany when I was in the metro or in the street at night, he had no right to tease a white man. It’s in Germany. (...) And here, no. You’re frightened to go out in the evening. They (Moroccans) gather in groups, I don’t know what they do or why they stand like that. But now it got more peaceful, because they are fewer. But in the past there were lots of them, plenty.” (CdE-7-PL-M-53)*

On the other hand, some of the Polish immigrants underline that directly after arrival from Poland, more down-to-earth issues like having a job, an apartment and language difficulties were what they thought about first, before they have really noticed the scale of Empuriabrava’s ethnic diversity. Thus, at the beginning it did not make a difference for them if the person they work with were native or immigrant. Still, these first and general perceptions of diversity appeared to be positive. It seems that more developed reflexions emerged with time, as the result of individual’s experiences:

*“The first time we met immigrants here. It was nervous at work only, becuae you know... we didn’t know the language. Everyone has a very friendly attitude. It was very positive. Someone sitting and saying: „and I’m Romanian”. For me it’s the same. Not to be too excited about it. There is a mixture of everyone and that’s all. It has a very good effect.” (CdE-5-PL-F-30)*

#### **5.4.2. Declining but More Participative Germans**

As it was mentioned in previous chapters, the German immigrants are seen by Polish interviewees as the previously largest group of immigrants in Empuriabrava that had an important influence on developing the neighborhood. Nowadays, German immigrants are seen as declining in numbers, but still one of the prevailing groups.

*“There used to be a lot of Germans. Now there is 50% less of them. All the bars here used to be German. I could speak German in 80% of the bars. Now, no. Now there are a lot of Frenchmen settling down. The French buy up everything. Englishmen also give up on things here. I used to have at least twelve English clients. Now I have two clients from England. The rest went away.” (CdE-I-PL-M-53)*



According to Polish interviewees, the majority of German immigrants ascribe to profile of a retired sun-seeker. Still, they acknowledge an important diversity in the socio-economical profiles of Germans. In addition to retired permanent residents, there are some that – regardless they are retired or still active at the job market- spend approximately from three to six months in Empuriabrava. The apartment or house they own is also used by their family and friends as a vacation retreat for shorter or longer time periods. Additionally to the German immigrants attraction to Empuriabrava due to the landscape, climate and relatively low prices of apartments, Polish immigrants also mention German investors and businesses owners. The nautical and real estate sectors along with bars and restaurants are the most frequently brought up business activities. Interestingly, German immigrants seem to be the ones that are most frequently included by Polish immigrants in a particular immigrant's category of their own invention: those who stumbled in their country of origin and had to leave in order to start a new life in a new place. Business failures, family quarrels and criminal pasts seem to be the reasons of that stumble.

*“Before, the Germans who came, those were Germans with money. Nowadays, I asked a German, why wouldn't you back to Germany? And they answered that they had problems with family or the police. They cannot go back. On the other hand, they came here for a fresh start. They don't steal, they work... Romanians, it is horrible. They came only to steal or for prostitutes.” (CdE-4-PL-F-30)*

German immigrants are most frequently mentioned by Polish immigrants as the ones with whom they interact, whether it is on the employer, client or acquaintance basis. In fact, most of the interviewed Polish immigrants see German immigrants as their primary contacts among immigrants and natives. Paradoxically, at the same time, German immigrants are also frequently seen (either by native key informants or some Polish immigrants) as isolated from other immigrants and natives. They are often described as those who meet in the circle of German immigrants in the home garden during the barbecue or in the bar believed to be “German” one. Another issue mentioned by Polish immigrants in relevance to interactions with German immigrants, is their insufficient knowledge of other languages, including Spanish and Catalan. It is worth to remember that several of the interviewed Polish immigrants mention knowledge of German as their ability. Therefore, it is quite possible that while participating in German – language parties they are confused as Germans themselves. In fact, some of them explicitly mention situations of this kind (e.g. CdE-1-PL-M-53).

Nevertheless, the linguistic difficulties of German immigrants are ascribed mostly to older generations. They are believed to be related to the shape of social life in the past years when the German immigrants' position in the neighborhood was so strong that one could live here without knowing other language than German and communicate everywhere with everyone. The younger ones, especially with established businesses and families with children in Empuriabrava are those perceived as more participative ones and handling several languages.

#### **5.4.3. *Real-Estate Business: The French Playground***

French immigrants are seen by interviewed Polish immigrants (but also by native and immigrants key informants) as those who during the last years crowd out the Germans immigrants. Similarly to German immigrants they are seen as those with capital, but not as engaged in local small businesses. The real estate investments are seen as their playground. They are seen as those who buy a second residence or move in while retired. The proximity to France is often portrayed as an important advantage for French immigrants. French immigrants are seen as less polyglots than younger Germans. Still, there is a common belief that it is easier for them to live in Empuriabrava, because of some knowledge of Catalan (and Spanish) language in some parts of France bordering with Catalonia, and French being a relatively popular foreign language to learn in some Northern Catalan schools. Nevertheless, they are seen (by various interviewees), equally as Germans, as rather closed group of immigrants that do not maintain relations with other immigrants. Polish immigrants describing French ones, often mention them alongside with French tourists. The later are portrayed as massively visiting Empuriabrava during summer months.

*“Frenchmen stick to one group. They speak more in Catalan because the majority is from here, Perpignan etc. 40 km far away. They buy everything here, well, they used to buy. They are well settled here.” (CdE-8-PL-M-58)*

#### **5.4.4. *English Lovers, Latin American Wives and Chinese Restaurateurs***

The English, Irish, Dutch, Austrians, and Swiss are described similarly to some German and French immigrants, i.e. as retired sun seekers, second house owners, and investors, but importantly less in numbers. They are seen by Polish immigrants as middle or upper-middle class people who see Empuriabrava as a retreat spot. Also, some of them are

categorized by Polish immigrants as those who stumbled in their country and had to leave in order to start a new life in a new place. According to the interviewed Polish immigrants, they maintain some more relations with English, Irish, and Dutch, but the latter ones are described more as tourists than immigrants. Apart of the interaction in bars or Catalan classes, also employer – employee kind of interactions, and emotional relationships, especially among Polish and English immigrants have been observed:

*“I have an English girlfriend (36 years old). I fly to London, because she lives near London. But it’s probably over now. I was supposed to go to London and stay for good. She has already bought me the car insurance, she arranged for me a job, everything. (...) She got me a job for 2 thousand pounds a month. She has her own house, cars. But should I live like a prisoner? There is no summer, no spring, no winter. Only autumn. She’s has here a holiday home. She’s a stockbroker on the London Stock Exchange. She will not find a job like that here.” (CdE-1-PL-M-53)*

The experiences with Latin-Americans are seldom mentioned by Polish immigrants or native key informants in Empuriabrava. According to the observations made by interviewed Polish immigrants, there are not a lot of them in the neighborhood. According to one of the interviewees (CdE-4-PL-F-30), the supposed pattern is that the Latin-American women that live in Empuriabrava are those that married rich German immigrants. During the ethnographic fieldwork and interviews with key informants, also some marriages between Spanish and Latin-American have been observed (e.g. CdE-KI-8-SP-M-47). If there is any comment on Latin-Americans it is rather positive or neutral. In the single cases they are mentioned as acquaintances of Polish immigrants. Also, the Latin-American women is sometimes mention in the context of prostitution along with Romanian and Polish immigrants (e.g. CdE-10-PL/DE-M-77). When it comes to Chinese immigrants they are rarely mentioned by Polish immigrants. They are believed to not to be importantly present in the neighborhood. Few restaurants run by the Chinese immigrants, that provide supposedly poor quality food oriented to tourists, have been listed as the unique experience related to this immigrants in the Empuriabrava.

*“The Latin-Americans work or look for an easier life. There are some girls related to older Germans, with money. There is not a lot of Latin-Americans here. The girls from Chile rather look for older man with a money.” (CdE-4-PL-F-30)*

*“There are Polish prostitutes. There are a lot of Romanians, Polish and South Americans.” (CdE-8-PL-M-58)*

#### **5.4.5. Eastern European Neighbors**

Interactions with Russian and Ukrainian immigrants (seldom along with Latvian, Lithuanians, Czechs or Slovaks) are an interesting feature of Polish immigrants' encounters. Both of those groups seem to be sources of neighbours and colleagues. Some of the interviewed Polish immigrants ascribe them a kind of special status, based on geographical and cultural proximity of their countries of origin to Poland. Still, some of the Polish interviewees think that the Russian and Ukrainian immigrants would not treat a Polish immigrant as their own:

*“When it comes to Ukrainians, then usually the Polish are friends with them. But it is only from time to time. But they aren't stable relationships. There are people who drink and get problematic. With Poles it's the same, if they drink too much, they get nervous. We stick to the Germans or French. If there is a job, they call at once. With Romanians, Moroccans, no. We know each other a lot. I have known for many years. But you say: 'hi, hi'. You talk a bit. And then far away. It's a nation that doesn't like white people and never will. He will look you right in the eyes, he will smile, but he has coded that we're Christians. “ (CdE-8-PL-M-58)*

They are seen as those who work alongside with Polish immigrants in sectors like construction or services, and run some small-businesses. The interviewed Polish immigrants evoked also some examples of upper-class Russian immigrants that invest in real-estate. The previously mentioned category of those who because of various reasons left their country and found a new place to live is sometimes also applied to Russian and Ukrainian immigrants. The Russian grocery shop-bar in Empuriabrava is also stocked with products of Polish and other Central and Eastern European origins, so it became a place of interaction between immigrants of these nationalities. The emotional relationships between Russian, Ukrainian, and Polish immigrants are also described by Polish interviewees. According to what Polish interviewees say, in the eyes of natives, Russian and Ukrainian immigrants along with Polish immigrants are seen as harmless and hardworking, but abusing alcohol.

*“In Empuriabrava there is a Russian shop, they have Polish, Russian products. There, we buy products that suit us then we go to the Russian shop and we can meet people closer to us... Latvia, Lithuania, Russia, Slovakia sometimes.”(CdE-6-PL-F-30)*

#### **5.4.6. Moroccan Immigrants: Competitors for Welfare**

The presence of Moroccan immigrants, along with German and Rumanian immigrants, is the most frequently brought up issue by Polish interviewees. On one hand, they are described as present in Empuriabrava from many years, but on the other the last decade is described as the time when they have gained most presence. The interviewed Polish immigrants (but also majority of native and immigrants key informants) cite rather negative experiences with Moroccan immigrants. The frequently mentioned descriptions of supposed group's features are e.g. wrong treatment of women; delinquency (burglaries, thefts, drug dealing), abuse of welfare, and lack of participation in social life. Especially highlighted feature among some interviewed Polish immigrants and native key informants is a portrait of Moroccan women as housewives, occupied with rising children and taking care of household. On the one hand, they are seen as unwilling to undertake any additional activity, on the other they are seen as enclosed in the stereotype of women-men relations brought with Moroccan culture. An important and partially contrasting perspective to these comments has been brought by a politically active woman of Moroccan origin:

*"Moroccans are more with their 'clans', they are minding their own business... You know. [...] The claim that Moroccan husbands do not let their wives participate [e.g. in Catalan lessons] is not true. What happens is that they [Moroccan women] take advantage of a convenience... Let's say?... One goes to school to study, not to talk or to have tea. They are different, they meet other women there, they transform the classes into leisure. The ones I know, they go to the classes, but they go there to have a good time, not to study. They have no need to learn, but they like to go out and meet people. Since they do not go to the cafes, they do it in language classes. I do not know why [they do not go to cafes]... They consider that it is for the Christians and not for them... Look, it is a very beautiful culture, it is a big culture, but the problem with Islam or Arabic culture is that everybody interprets it in a different way.” (CdE-KI-24-MA/SP-F-35)*

Interestingly, the example of Moroccans' participation spotted by Polish immigrants go along with previously mentioned Fatima's commentary. Therefore, their participation in Catalan classes is explained as without the commitment, and empowered by the need of the

language certificate. It is noteworthy that only a couple of Polish immigrants, along with the negative examples of Moroccan immigrant activity, mentioned positive experiences. They believe that there is a minority of Moroccan immigrants that develop economic activity with good effects and participate in social life (e.g. two of the Polish interviewees mentioned the case of Fatima that apart from being politically active is a bar owner). According to the quoted Polish immigrants, those Moroccan immigrants rather maintain limited relations with the rest of Moroccans. In the particular case of Fatima (*CdE-KI-24-MA/SP-F-35*), this pattern is partially confirmed by herself commenting on her lack of visits to the Islamic Cultural Center, but “knowing” the people who runs it.

It is noteworthy, that the negative descriptions of Moroccan immigrants’ engagement in the labor market provided by Polish interviewees are often inconsistent and contradictory. For example, the supposed lack of engagement at work and unwillingness to undertake it followed by alleged abuse of the welfare system goes in pair with claims about deterioration of the labor market by working for dumping wages. Some interviewed Polish immigrants (primarily men sharing the same employment sector with Moroccan immigrants) also mention experiences with the poor quality of work performance of Moroccan immigrants. On the other hand, there are some statements of Polish immigrants that distribute a blame for that excessive reliance on the welfare system by Moroccan immigrants between them and Spanish welfare policies. Importantly, the most frequent and emotional statements are related more to the unfair welfare system. Following this way of thinking, some interviewed Polish immigrants suggest that, especially during the crisis, Moroccan immigrants supposedly have better access to public jobs such as being a dustman, than other immigrants or natives. There are two reasons that, according to interviewed Polish immigrants, provoke that situation. Primarily, Moroccan large families with lots of children help to fulfill the welfare criteria. Secondly, the “special” political relations between Moroccan and Spanish governments are blamed for the supposedly “better” treatment of Moroccan immigrants:

*“Once I went with Jozek to search for a job for a season, to collect apples, over Muga. And we talked to the boss and he said: “I won’t take you”. Jozek asked: “Why?” “You Poles are racists and we have Moroccans and Negros working here.” (CdE-7-PL-M-53)*

*“I’m registered in the Employment Office in Figueres. I am also registered here, there is an Employment Office as well (Castelló). The clerk says that I don’t speak the language well enough. But I worked for so many years in construction and I could make myself understand without any problem. Well, is the language useful in construction? He said: it is. I said to him: OK, so I will use shoe polish*

*and come back tomorrow and then you will give me a job. He says: Get out or I will call the police. It's true. Moroccans have a priority to work. Not a Spaniard, not from Europe. I don't know why it is like this. (...) They give them a flat, they pay them the flat, partially. They pay them the transport fee to school, utensils and food. For us, from Eastern Europe, there is nothing."* (CdE-7-PL-M-53)

*"Look at what is going on here. For example, when it comes to people cleaning the streets. I am so desperate that I would like to have a job. I'm tired of sitting in front of the computer every day and sending my CV and filling out the forms. Simply, any kind of job would be good. But no way, because everything is filled with these kind of people. This is the opinion of real Catalans, but I also know the opinion of Germans and the French. I know a lot of people who came here from Morocco or Pakistan. After some time, they asked for PIRMI, the minimal pension. It used to be so much easier to get PIRMI than now. They went home but were receiving PIRMI of 440 EURO in their accounts. A while back a rule came into effect that the money is no longer transferred into the account, but you have to go to the office and sign a paper. However, many people get the PIRMI and there is no chance to get PIRMI unless you have 8 children or something like this."* (CdE-3-PL-M-31)

*"Moroccans have some governmental deal. Spaniards want to fish in Morocco. The fishes are there. They sign the treaties. Then it's good for the one and the other president. Here they have three kids and the wife gets 1500 Euro every month so she doesn't have to work. And they sit drinking coffee. They don't give it to Spaniards, nor Poles."* (CdE-9-PL-M-37)

The aforementioned examples of supposed delinquencies are described by Polish immigrants as their own experiences with Moroccan immigrants being responsible for bicycle thefts, car breaking, and burglaries to private houses. Some Polish interviewees (*e.g.* CdE-8-PL-M-58) indicated that Moroccan immigrants are not trustworthy, even if they are next-door neighbors or families known from years. This is a noteworthy example of a puzzling trend inherited in some studies rooted in Contact Theory that finds existing hostile attitudes at the same time as acquaintances/affective relations between ethnic groups (see Brewer & Miller, 1996; Brown & Turner, 1981).

In this particular case, adding personal experience, the aspects of cultural and religious differences are evoked. On the other hand, again the Spanish law system, in this case the local police is accused by some of the Polish interviewees of lack of intervention if the suspected is of Moroccan origin. According to some Polish immigrants, that could be because they are afraid of being accused of "racism". Polish interviewees sometimes underline the uncivic behavior of young Moroccan immigrants in schools, and the unoccupied youth involves in

drug dealing. In the last case, according to Polish immigrants, the bad economic situation and lack of activities in the neighborhood are partially to be blamed. A very similar opinion about the reasons of increased delinquency (while not excluding some cases of Moroccans' being involved) have been cited by the president of the Islamic Cultural Center (CdE-KI-12-MA-M-35). Interestingly, the only Polish interviewed immigrant that did not mention any negative feature of the Moroccan immigrants is a priest (CdE-10-PL/DE-M-77). The only characteristics he noticed are that Moroccans are not correctly treated at work and that they need to sleep in overcrowded flats because of lack of funds. While the first comment has been confirmed directly by an interviewee of Moroccan origin (CdE-KI-24-MA/SP-F-35) commentaries on racist treatment of Moroccan immigrants, the latter has been multiple times mentioned by Polish immigrants and native key informants, e.g. Housing Technician of the Town Hall (CdE-KI-4-SP-F-30).

*"My granddaughter has friends: a Russian and Spaniard girls in Empuriabrava. She has a friend, Spaniard. International company. She is racist. She took after her grandfather. She doesn't like Moroccans, because they are insolent, boorish. Everywhere, in the bus. They misbehave, according to the teachers and others. He won't sit calmly on the bus. He is running on the bus and you are not allowed [ed.: in this moment the granddaughter came around and confirmed the grandfather's opinion]." (CdE-7-PL-M-53)*

*"Moroccans form a specific collective. I don't understand it. They live with 25 to 30 persons in one house and only two work. The rest is on the dole. I have a couple friends among them. Out of 100% of Moroccans, 10% have good and stable relationship with the others. And the rest live their own lives. Women in those headscarves, some even older like the ones in this bar, those are Moroccans. The one who is boss here, this is her brother, she smiles normally, she is happy. They live like Europeans, but most of people from that culture wear the headscarves, so wrapped that it is sad to look at. They were here before me. There might be a little bit more now, but more or less the number remains the same." (CdE-1-PL-M-53)*

*"It's hard to get a job. There are a lot of Moroccans, a lot of black Africans. They work, I've heard, under very bad conditions. They work wherever they can get a job in. Even for 5 Euros an hour. Exploitation of a man by a man. (...) They even work in gardening and get 4 Euros an hour. 30 people have a big room and they take turns to sleep. One goes to work at night, the others sleep. And those who come from the night shift sleep later on. The others go to work. Those are Moroccans, Africans. There is no friendship between Poles and Moroccans/Africans. They have no contact, because there is a language barrier." (CdE-10-PL/DE-M-77)*



In the perspective of the Pettigrew's et al. (2010) research on Contact and Conflict theories, the vast possibilities of interactions with Moroccan immigrants should importantly reduce the negative opinions towards this ethnic group. However, despite their high presence in the neighborhood, observed interactions and accounts of common participation, the overwhelming number of opinions cited by Polish interviewees is negative. Again, there are several factors, repetitive with other research elsewhere, that appear to impact on the statements of Polish immigrants. Besides the economic recession that bring a tough competition on labor market which was showed multiple times to negatively influence inter-ethnic relations (Blumer, 1958; Pardos-Prado, 2011), the central issue of why the often inter-ethnic interactions do not bring positive opinions is perceived lack of equal status of the groups (Brewer & Miller, 1996; Pettigrew et al., 2011) repeatedly explained by Polish immigrants as unequal access to the welfare funds, public jobs and treatment by the police. On the other hand, especially at the light of the unequal access to public funds, some perceived religion and cultural based differences appear to be used by the Polish interviewees to enhance the distance between the groups by highlighting the superiority of own group as it was suggested in the studies of Tajfel (1982) or Hogg and Abrams (1988), and reconfirmed in recent European research by Lanceen and Dronkers (2011).

#### ***5.4.7. Two Faces of Romanian Immigrants?***

Romanian immigrants are described by Polish interviewees as flooding Empuriabrava in the last few years. The accession of Romania to the EU in 2007 followed by the modification of visa process is seen as the pull factor. Some Polish immigrants mention also the negative attitude of Italian authorities to the Romanian immigrants as the push factor for those that previously lived in Italy. The economic crisis is seen as the factor that recently stopped this migration flow into the neighborhood, and provoked departures of many Romanian immigrants from Empuriabrava.

Romanians are described often along the same lines as Moroccan immigrants. In the eyes of Polish interviewees, they share various similar characteristics with Moroccan immigrants, but there are also important differences underlined. According to the Polish interviewees the inflow of Romanians worsened the quality of live in Empuriabrava especially because of the increase of security issues and alleged impact on spoiling the job market. The

supposed burglaries, drug dealing, pimping and gangs are most frequently described experiences of Polish immigrants.

According to some Polish immigrants, the numerous inflow of Romanian immigrants in short amount of time brought a lot of cheap manpower what consequently impacted on filling the job market and lowering the salaries. In terms of obtaining social help, they are seen as equally disadvantaged as Polish immigrants or natives in respect to Moroccan immigrants. The Romanian immigrants are relatively frequently mentioned as the ones that work in the same sector that Polish immigrants or directly as Polish immigrant co-workers. The construction and personal services sectors are most commonly mentioned. They are sometimes mentioned as acquaintances of Polish immigrants.

Interestingly, one of the Polish interviewees (CdE-8-PL-M-58) portrayed the Romanian immigrants as composed of two groups. First one is “decent” minority, the families that live and work in the neighborhood for many years. According to that Polish immigrant, they avoid as much as they can the problematic majority that is accused on delinquency and believed to ruin the reputation of those “decent” families.

*“I haven’t experienced that, but Spaniards say that Romanians are thieves. I can’t say anything because they never robbed me and no one has ever told me anything bad. I know girls from Rumania, they are very kind persons. They work in bars at night. They have two-years-old, three-years-old children in Castelló, at school. Very kind. I don’t know any men. Maybe some Spaniard can say he was robbed but I can’t. They had the same attitude toward Bulgarians. It was the same about Rumanian, that they were expelled from Italy so they came to Spain. I could say an opinion about Moroccans. I agree with it. They will rob you. They are famous of being thieves. There are more Morrocans, it’s a plague. They are visible everywhere. There are problems with them. It’s about stealing. I don’t know how many bicycles I had in Spain.”(CdE-5-PL-F-30)*

*“There are also working Romanians, but only few. Good people. With wives, children. But they stick together, meet together. They don’t even want to know their own compatriots because they know it’s a problem. (...) in case of Moroccans who have been living here for years, they are better too. But I would never trust them. I wouldn’t trust the Romanian neither. Germans, more. And the Pole... I can meet them but in general no. But why? It’s that the Pole will talk to you. Huge gossiping.” (CdE-8-PL-M-58)*

Several of the negative generalizations related to Romanians in Empuriabrava may be rooted in the competition on the job market as Conflict and Ethnic Competition Theory state (Blumer, 1958; Pardos-Prado, 2011; Pettigrew et al., 2010). According to this approach, Romanians perceived as newly arrived in large numbers can be seen by Polish immigrants (considering themselves as longer-established) as a threatening outgroup, especially because of the competition in the same job sectors (e.g. indication of decline in wages for the construction or agricultural workers because of their arrival).

Interestingly, according to one of the Polish interviewees (*CdE-4-PL-F-30*) the delinquent Romanians immigrants are far more aggressive and hazardous for physical security than Moroccan immigrants. Despite the fact that this kind of comparative statement by itself is euphemistically speaking “bold”, it is worth of some analysis. Since, according to the gathered information, the author of this statement does not compete on economic level with Romanian immigrants, an approach based on the seniority of residence, social identity, but also behaviour in a public place could be useful in order to explain this particular opinion. First of all, Moroccans are considered by interviewed Polish immigrants as long established inhabitants of Empuriabrava (although with fluctuations in their number). Therefore, they might be treated by Polish interviewees somehow similarly to other Polish immigrants as an ingroup.

Additionally, the population statistics show that the real number of Moroccan immigrants triples the number of Rumanians (see Table 23). Therefore, according to common observations from previous studies (e.g. Pettigrew et al., 2010) if the Rumanians presence is only perceived as extremely numerous, but this perception does not corresponds with reality, an additional factor of lesser possibilities of inter-ethnic experiences appear and can result with the emergence of negative opinions. In the case of Polish immigrants this pattern could be additionally empowered by the inclination to distinguish themselves from the Rumanian immigrants. The somehow similar geographical/cultural (at least in the eyes of some key informants) background might brought up a fear that the opinion about Polish immigrants will be similarly compromised as the general opinion on Rumanians because of the alleged delinquent acts of the minority. This explanation driven by Social-Identity Theory (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Tajfel, 1982) could be supported with the results obtained in the Sagrada Familia neighborhood where Polish immigrants as a group are not separately visible and often included as Eastern Europeans by the natives. Interestingly, cited interviews with native key

informants in Empuriabrava suggest that this situation does not have place in this neighborhood.

#### **5.4.8. Polish about Polish: Hard Working, but Alcohol Abusing Gossipers**

The interviewed Polish immigrants believe that the Polish immigrants in Empuriabrava are in general a group of decent and hard-working inhabitants that in many cases started families or live with their couples. Thus, they portray the compatriots as a group that work for the development of Empuriabrava, investing in their apartments, and mostly spending the earned money in the neighborhood. The construction and tourism sectors along with handymen, cleaning services, and eldercare are the most frequently mentioned occupations of Polish immigrants. Some unemployed and retired Polish immigrants, as well as Polish prostitutes and single cases of Polish thieves have been mentioned by Polish interviewees as present in the neighborhood.

*“The persons who earn here and send money to their countries, they destroy Empuriabrava, and Spain. I spend 99% of my money here. But, the Romanians, Moroccans, Pakistanis, they only pay for the rent of the house, eat something small, and send rest of the money to their countries. 15 years ago Germans and French brought money here. Now, those who came here, send money to their countries. I worked in locutorio (telecommunication point) before. I sent some 150 Euro to my mother for her birthday. The Romanians came every second day... 500 or 1000 EUR sent to their country. Moroccans the same. Other Poles also spend their money here, like me. It is rare that somebody sends money to Poland. I know only one case of a family that wants to build a house in Poland so they do not spend a lot.” (CdE-4-PL-F-30)*

*“There are women who are slaves, they stand in every corner. But I can’t intrude because the mafia would eat me alive. A lot of them are forced. Some women are depraved, they don’t want to work, so they say: “I can earn more there”. They are from Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia and I don’t know what other nationalities. And there are Spanish girls too. (...) Money is what counts here. It’s horrible. One brothel after another. You go to a hotel and you can order a woman. It’s horrible.” (CdE-10-PL/DE-M-77)*

*“I haven’t heard anything bad about us, Poles. I wouldn’t say they have bad opinion. I know one man who drinks. They have a bad opinion about him. Maybe they meet us when they see this man, that he drinks and maybe because of that they have a bad opinion about us.” (CdE-5-PL-F-30)*

*“I don’t know another worse nationality than Polish. There used to be three Russian restaurants here. Now maybe there are two. They stick together, but Polish... For example, I can lay my head on the block that I have never done any harm to anyone and for all the Polish I am a black sheep. They make up things about me [...] Polish are only interested in backbiting others. The better someone lives, the worse a man is. Those people: zero intelligence, zero education. If I meet them, we have nothing to talk about. Those are people who finished 4-5 years of school. You say a normal sentence and they will say: you have already said that.” (CdE-1-PL-M-53)*

Despite the general image presented before, the interviewed Polish immigrants have rather negative opinions about their interactions with other Polish immigrants. It seems that common gossiping about each other is what deters Polish immigrants from more frequent intra-group contacts. Some interviewed Polish immigrants believe that compatriots disseminate untruthful and harmful rumors about them. According to some of the Polish interviewees, that happens mainly (but not only) during the consumption of alcohol. The gossip drives to other two frequently repeated negative opinions about fellowmen. The second is the lack of any sense of the community among the Polish immigrants. The Polish interviewees believe that Polish immigrants live rather individual lives and do not stick to the group.

*“Russian, Rumanian and Ukrainian stick together in isolation. And Polish no, they don’t stick with other Poles. They don’t stick together. I don’t know why. It’s a feature of the nation. The same happened in Germany (2 years in Germany).” (CdE-7-PL-M-53)*

Families are seen as the only serious exception. Nevertheless, according to some interviewees with a large family in the neighborhood, this is not always the pattern. Some of the interviewed Polish immigrants express envy of Russian or Ukrainian sense of belonging to their group. There are some examples of assistance among Polish immigrants while one of them is troubled, but those are believed to be rather uncommon. Even the unique gathering place - Polish masses, are sometimes believed more to be a show off where individuals achievements are demonstrated than an occasion for meeting with compatriots. Still, the demonstration of personal assets is not always the case. Some of the interviewed Polish immigrants underline that those better-off that succeeded rather prefer not to maintain any contacts with compatriots. A similar pattern is mentioned while it comes to some new-arrivals that pretend not to speak Polish even in the presence of other Polish immigrants.

The third most important self-mentioned negative feature of Polish immigrants is alcohol abuse. Some of the interviewees mention that because of personal problems they had

an issue with alcohol consumption in the past. Although the interviewed Polish immigrants believe that permanent alcohol abuse among compatriots is currently not very frequent, the occasional drunken parties (or rather bar-meetings) are still common. Thus, the interviewed Polish believe, some negative image of Polish immigrants could emerge in the eyes of others. Also, the aforementioned gossips that arise from those parties are mentioned as one of the implications. Other ones include occasional fights among Polish immigrants that participated in this kind of drunken gathering. Although the fights are presented as harmless to the others (Polish immigrants are believed to fight among themselves in the results of some misunderstanding, etc.), they are again seen as potentially negative for the image of Polish immigrants in the neighborhood.

*“Now I live at one Pole’s house. In Empuriabrava there are Poles as well. But it depends. They have more money so you know...They have more money so they look askance at somebody. Some help, some do you harm. Help, you know, now I live at one Pole’s house. He gave me a room, the granddaughter a room. I don’t have to pay. I do some repairs in return. Once I had to repair a garage...” (CdE-7-PL-M-53)*

An interesting feature of modulating their own identity emerges from patterns observed in the comments of Polish immigrants. At the light of previous studies (Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992), perceiving own group as superior to others is more effective for increasing and maintaining individuals’ self-esteem than reliance solely on personal achievements. Therefore, one would expect that Polish immigrants will symbolically supra-position the group of compatriots in contrast to others. However, there are some distinct intra-group images received as output of the interviews with Polish immigrants. Still, the most repeated one is a perception of own group as ‘hard-working’, ‘highly-skilled’ and ‘decent’ people. Especially in Empuriabrava, these comments are put in context of labor competition with Moroccan and Romanian immigrants. Here, in addition, a mechanism of underestimating these two groups seems to be applied (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). However, in more symbolic sense there are some ambiguous comparisons. There are several rejecting statements about Polish immigrants not fitting in the above-mentioned “hard-working” scheme, and there is a common concern that these individuals would harm external perception of Polish group. In this place, apparently in order to dismiss this possibility, Polish immigrants, especially in Empuriabrava ascribe themselves to the wider group of European immigrants (especially relating to Germans). Therefore the even wider boundary with Romanian and Moroccan immigrants perceived negatively by Polish interviewees is built. This boundary making is

especially visible if the examples of alcohol abuse and inappropriate behavior in public spaces are cited. Therefore, Polish immigrants explain these cases as present, but not threatening to the others, internal Polish quarrels. On the other hand, when there is no contextual comparison with external group, Polish immigrants are characterized as not internally integrated, not keen to help other Polish, and disseminating hurting gossips. Interestingly, at this point they are contrasted with positive images of Russian and Ukrainians immigrants perceived as well internally integrated communities.

#### **5.4.9. ‘Polacos’ Like Poles?**

The natives are rather positively portrayed by Polish immigrants. The majority of the interviewed Polish immigrants believes that there are some differences between Catalan and Spaniards. However, while speaking about the everyday interactions the manifestations of these differences are rather infrequently mentioned by Polish immigrants. On the other hand, some of the interviewed Polish immigrants highlight that there are also differences between other Spaniards, since they arrived from various parts of Spain. Nearly all of the interviewed immigrants believe that Catalans and Spaniards have positive attitude towards Polish immigrants. The similarities in the histories of Catalonia and Poland and the fact of denominating Catalans as “Polacos” (in Spanish, Poles) by other Spaniards are the mostly mentioned features that bring Polish immigrants and Catalans closer. Still, in some particular comments Catalans are mentioned as more greedy and closed than Spaniards, and in other comments Catalans are depicted as those which brought help when the person was in need.

*“Nothing has changed when it comes to how Spaniards treat us. When we came there weren’t a lot of us. Then you could work immediately after coming here. Now we are treated as European Union. They hear European Union and say ‘a bueno’ [ed.: ah well] ....” (CdE-5-PL-F-30)*

*“Catalans are different than Spaniards, they are more greedy. They would work from morning until night. Spaniards rather not.” (CdE-5-PL-F-30)*

*“There are different Catalans and there are different Spaniards. Just like there are different Poles. It depends on what you talk about with the person. I work for a Catalan woman and she would give me everything. But for example even this woman I work for says that Catalans are greedy. Spaniards are different.” (CdE-6-PL-F-30)*

The issue of Catalan language is quite frequently mentioned by the Polish immigrants, but mainly as an issue between Catalans and Spanish. While one of the Polish immigrants' says that other Spaniards are treated by the Catalans in Empuriabrava equally as foreign immigrants, another notes experiences that according to him prove that Catalans discriminate those who do not speak Catalan. It appears that Catalan is spoken only by a few Polish immigrants in Empuriabrava. The popularity and need to learn other languages as Spanish, German, French or English in order to get a job in Empuriabrava converts learning Catalan as unattractive according to some Polish immigrants. Those that undertake the classes seem to treat it rather as hobby or an additional asset in longrun rather than an everyday tool. With or without the knowledge of Catalan, Polish immigrants declare to interact with both Catalans and Spanish, and to maintain positive relations with them as friends, neighbors, coworkers, employers or emotional partners.

From the opposite perspective, the presence of Polish immigrants in Empuriabrava was mentioned in several cases by interviewed key informants. Their presence is noted rather as individual and not collective, like in the cases of: a single working mother of a student in a local school, a worker in the boating sector, a family in social and financial troubles, a person who uses help of local Caritas, an unemployed who looks for a job, a participant of the classes of Catalan, a shop attendant. Still, in three cases, the Polish immigrants were mentioned as a group: participants in the football activities (*CdE-KI-12-MA-M-35*), summer-season waiters (*CdE-KI-24-MA/SP-F-35*), and as a group that participated in Sunday masses in their own language (*e.g. CdE-KI-3-SP-F-64*). Interestingly, the interviewees who described the presence of Polish immigrants in most collective ways are other Polish immigrants. Nevertheless, in the same time they often claimed that intra-group relations among Polish immigrants carry some negative features.

While it comes to more generalizing comments, Polish immigrants are mentioned by native key informants simply as part of the European immigrants (despite that, there is no external visibility of Polish presence in Empuriabrava, like the Polish shop in Sagrada Familia), but the small size of the group is simultaneously underlined. In the accounts of some native key informants the Polish immigrants are put in opposition to Moroccan and Romanian immigrants. Therefore, Polish immigrants are perceived as 'non-immigrants', European citizens, employees or business people, people who sometimes look for a change in their lives, new start or that are restrained before coming back to their countries of origin. They are neither mentioned as possibly "problematic" or "conflictive", nor as participating in social life



of the neighborhood. The features that in the eyes of key informants distinguish Polish immigrants from i.e. Germans in Empuriabrava are that Polish are rather not providers of capital or retired sun-seekers.

## **5.5. The Perceptions of Diversity in Sagrada Familia**

Most Polish interviewees related to the Sagrada Familia neighborhood had not had any contact with immigrants before they arrived in Barcelona. Apart of some short-term (few months) student exchange based visits, only in three cases Germany and UK were the previous migration destinations. Most of the interviewed Polish immigrants describe encountering ethnic diversity of Barcelona's population as a very influencing experience. Although most of the interviewed Polish immigrants see Barcelona as an extremely diverse city, in some cases (*e.g. BCN-1-PL-M-37*) they are "disappointed" because of the high presence of Latin-Americans. In their eyes, the accumulation of hispanophone population converts Barcelona into less diverse than cities like London or Berlin that according to the interviewees contain more visible and audible cultural diversity. However, another Polish interviewee, in turn, comparing the same cities, highlights that Barcelona is even more diverse than the British and German capitals. In any case, the presence of mass-tourism is noted as a factor that sometimes blurs the impression of a highly diverse society in some parts of Barcelona and especially in the Sagrada Familia neighborhood. Still, the majority of the interviewees admit that by experiencing the everyday's life, they have developed some general opinions about natives and immigrants from other countries. Some major patterns resulting from the analysis of these comments will be presented in the following paragraphs. Still, it has to be underlined that when comments about other immigrants and natives are given, these are never exclusively based on the interactions based in the neighborhood. Thus, the input from some experiences gained in other neighborhoods of Barcelona is taken into account.

### **5.5.1. *Ethnic Diversity is OK! But Only for Holidays...?***

While it appears that to live within a diverse city is an influencing experience for almost all of the interviewed Polish immigrants, there are some that perceive that phenomenon negatively. Only one of the interviewees (*BCN-2-PL-F-30*) clearly refuses the long-time life in this kind of diverse neighborhood and sees it as disadvantage of Barcelona

and reason to return to Poland. The several years of the seniority in Barcelona did not influence on her attitude towards it. She claims that diversity is in fact very inspiring and interesting, but rather as a part of short touristic get-away, and not as a part of everyday's live. That person also put some mixed opinions about various groups of the immigrants. While some of them are rather negative, these originate in the comments of other persons. She herself claims that she had not a lot of personal interactions with other immigrants since she mainly has Polish acquaintances or business-partners and do not have a lot of free time out-of-work. Interestingly, while she get to describe the immigrants that she had some interactions with (like Latin-Americans), she tries to depict them in a positive way, even opposing the words of her Polish friends and acquaintances that she cite.

Still, most of the interviewed Polish immigrants, even if they declare distrust or the imprecise sentiment of being overwhelmed by the presence of other immigrants at the beginning of their stay, admit that with time (months or years of stay) they got use to it and positively evaluate city's diversity. They also do not express negative opinions about immigrants (or clearly avoid to do it in some cases), although some of the immigrants' groups are negatively stigmatized across most of the Polish interviewees. Interestingly, those negative opinions are quite compatible with the ones expressed by some interviewed native key informants. In this context, it is worth to mention the Polish interviewees that were bonded with the neighborhood (or even particular place within it) from several or dozen years (*e.g. BCN-8-PL-F-47*). They, similarly too several interviewed native key informants, observed the incidence that immigration had on the neighborhood during the last ten years. Especially the growth of immigrants' number in the neighborhood was noted by them. According to their descriptions, the number of interactions with the other immigrants in the neighborhood was growing with the growth of the immigration phenomenon in the Sagrada Familia. Additionally, it is important to notice, that the majority of the comments on the immigration's increase is characterized with the negative experiences from the new interactions.

### **5.5.2. *Scarce Experiences with Moroccans, Pakistanis and Romanians***

In several cases, mentioned at the beginning of the previous paragraph, auto-evaluated shift in the opinions about diversity and other immigrants can be related to the change of the interviewees' neighborhood of residence or work. The clearest examples here are those

related to the interviewees (*e.g. BCN-11-PL-F-27; BCN-10-PL-F-27; BCN-12-PL-F-26*) that previously were related to the most centrally located neighborhoods like El Raval, Barrio Gotico or El Borne. They described their first experiences with immigrants in Barcelona that took place in these neighborhoods in the negative ways. These experiences were mainly related to the presence of Pakistani community described as “overwhelming” and African immigrants (often imprecise with any particular origin, but sometimes referred to as Moroccans) seen as “disturbing” in terms of security and illegal street vending. Although mentioned Polish interviewees are still conscious of the presence of the above mentioned immigrants in El Raval, Barrio Gotico or El Borne, they are not bothered anymore since they spend less time in these neighborhoods.

In contrast, the Pakistani immigrants in the Sagrada Familia neighborhood are portrayed neutrally or their presence is omitted in comments of Polish immigrants. Interviewed native key informants portray them quite similarly in a rather positive way as a relatively quiet, peaceful, and well organized community. The unique spaces in the neighborhood where both native and Polish interviewees negatively describe presence of the Pakistani immigrants are schools. In that context they are seen as not participative and closed by the Polish immigrants. The native key informants add that the negative influence of the man – woman relations and hierarchy is present in their culture and as interfering with the possibility of regular participation of (especially) parents in school life.

There are not more developed comments from the Polish immigrants (and very few of the natives) about presence of Moroccan immigrants in Sagrada Familia. Still, the schools are sometimes (but rarely) mentioned in the context of Moroccans as spaces of issues similar to mentioned above.

Rumanians have been mentioned in the context of teasing, quarrels and insecurity in the neighborhood’s streets and squares, but they are perceived as dangerous to tourists rather than residents. A few Polish interviewees, including those with longest seniority in the area and those related to the Polish shop noted the increase of the Romanian origin residents of the neighborhood after the Romania joined the EU.

### ***5.5.3. Economically Dangerous but Peaceful Chinese***

The group that is much more often judged by the interviewees (either Polish immigrants or native key informants) are Chinese immigrants. Chinese immigrants are described by Polish and native interviewees as the most hermetic community in the neighborhood. The comments about poor quality of Chinese-owned shops and products they sell are similar, but more frequent, to comments about commercial establishments owed by Pakistani immigrants. In contrast to Pakistanis, there is a strong suspicion about the source of the economic resources that allow Chinese immigrants to open a large number of new establishments. They are also described by both Polish and native interviewees as flooding the neighborhood during few recent years. The comments about the Chinese community (besides their commercial establishments) are neutral, but the comments about their children and second generation of Chinese immigrants seem to be very positive (as observed mainly by native key informants). Since, both Polish and native interviewees rather do not engage in interactions with Chinese immigrants (cultural and language aspects are used as the explanation), many of the comments about Chinese immigrants are based on incidental interactions in shops, bars and schools, and – important to mention – on the rumours, vastly spread mainly by the local trade associations, that are unhappy with a growth of “not participating” and expanding Chinese businesses.

The repeated concerns about growing numbers of Chinese commercial establishments, their suspicious sources of income during the economic recession, and disruptive influence on the neighborhood’s shopping scene might appear puzzling if contrasted to general neutral or positive opinion about Chinese immigrants in Sagrada Familia. However, this kind of negative opinions fit into the perspective of several lines of research on inter-ethnic relations. The general negative opinions about economic activity Chinese immigrants are concordant with what Stephan and Renfro (2002) understand as collective threat (in this case an economic one) to the in-group. The fact, that this economic threat does not translate into more symbolic one may be explained with Lanceen and Dronkers (2011) conclusions about economic differences as not being related to individual’s identity, and therefore having less potential to generate distrust at other levels. These conclusions can be supported with statements of interviewed Polish immigrants and native key informants that are also business owners. Their comments about Chinese economic presence are the most developed and demanding, also in some cases highlight the lack of satisfaction from Chinese social behavior

in the neighborhood (lack of participation, not buying in local stores, etc.). This difference appears inherited in their understanding of growth of Chinese business not as a collective, but rather individual threat to their business and livelihood (Stephan & Renfro, 2002).

#### **5.5.4. *Loud Friends from Latin-America***

The Latin-American immigrants are the most often mentioned group of immigrants when it comes to interactions, but also present in the life of Polish immigrants as their acquaintances, friends and co-workers. They are frequently described as friendly, open and keen to bring aid. The fact that they speak mainly Castilian language is often highlighted. Still, Polish immigrants recognize the Latin-Americans as people of culture “different from ours” what is visible in “their behaviour”. Surprisingly, the usually shared Roman-Catholic religious background and a church as a place of encounter were not widely mentioned as features that would facilitate interactions between Polish and Latin-American immigrants or influence on their perception. The other qualities of Latin-Americans, mentioned by Polish immigrants, are especially the loudness and the street life until late hours. Those characteristics ascribed to Latin-Americans are shared by interviewed Polish immigrants and native key informants that live or work in Sagrada Familia neighborhood.

*“Mainly Spaniards, Catalans, and Brazilians. From South America, from Paraguay... Very nice and good people (...) I hadn't paid her for the Internet, she told me: you can pay when you find a job.” (BCN-6-PL-M-32)*

*“Sometimes you can see at the playgrounds that immigrants' children do not behave in the way you would approve, they are aggressive. Those are mainly Latin-American immigrants' children. It also depends a lot on the parents.” (BCN-8-PL-F-47)*

#### **5.5.5. *Polishing Polish Presence?***

The Polish interviewees noted--this can be confirmed with official statistical figures--that nowadays most of the arriving (and/or staying) Polish immigrants are young people. They come to Barcelona to study, to finish their studies or as already trained professionals, highly competitive in the job market. Their main advantages seem to be a good command of several

foreign languages and knowledge of IT technologies that facilitate them finding a job or running their own business. The highly trained Polish immigrants are seen by all Polish interviewees in a positive way as those who earn their livelihoods. Even if described as those who would rather avoid the contact with other Polish immigrants, and engage in interactions with natives and other immigrants, they rarely immerse themselves in the associative tissue of the neighborhood and city (although there are single contradictory comments on this as presented below).

*“A young person that arrived in order to learn Spanish would not necessarily look for contact with other Poles. That person prefers to get to know local life, at least at the beginning (...) On the contrary, the older individuals, that do not like to learn other languages, are attracted to everything Polish (...) But, the time while they have to inscribe children to school and maintain relations with other parents is a turning point. I can see in myself.” (BCN-4-PL-M-35)*

*„The Poles (...) do not have a necessity of setting up activities that would be dedicated exclusively to Poles. The Poles integrate very well, and I believe, that they integrate easier with natives and it is easier for them to participate in associations that are not strictly Polish. On the contrary, I can see groups of Chinese or Asia people in general that are integrated within their group. They do not participate outside.” (BCN-9-PL-F-40)*

On the other hand, those who only came to work, save some money and return to Poland are not depicted positively by Polish immigrants. Some fears about the image of Polish immigrants are visible here. Especially that Polish interviewees on the examples of different immigrant groups describe the negative impact of the return migrations or changes of migration's projects on the level of education in public schools, etc.

According to the interviews with Polish immigrants, the workers who have been contracted on the construction sites and are currently back in Poland because of the economic recession, have maintained interactions mainly among themselves and among other Polish immigrants. Overall, middle age Polish immigrants (including married couples when both are Poles and their families) prefer to meet with other Polish immigrants and rarely look for new acquaintances outside this environment. However, that does not mean that they form any structured associations. Those are rather individual encounters through the families and acquaintances.

Still, the most critiques arise from observations of unemployed and homeless Polish immigrants that spend their days on drinking alcohol in the public spaces. Therefore, those seems to be the Polish immigrants that are the most visible and recognizable (just after the Polish shops employees) for other Polish immigrants in the Sagrada Familia neighborhood. The comments of other Polish immigrants about them are filled mostly with shame or rage, and only sometimes bring some understanding for their situation.

#### **5.5.6. *Polish Immigrants Polished to Invisibility?***

According to the comments of the interviewed native key informants, the fears of Polish immigrants about their image, possibly corrupted by the group of homeless man seem rather baseless. Interestingly, the interviews showed significant differences in the reception of Polish, German, and Ukrainian, or Romanian immigrants among native key informants. In cases when there is a lack of personal experience and interaction with Polish immigrants (this is the case of the vast majority of interviewed local key informants), they are included and described as part of the following categories: ‘People from the East’, ‘Eastern Europeans’, ‘Central Europeans’ or simply ‘European Union’ immigrants. Importantly, it seems that perception of Polish immigrants resides half-way between the perception of German and Scandinavian immigrants, and, on the other hand, of Romanian or Ukrainian immigrants. The first ones are rather described as non-immigrants, European citizens, directives of international companies, providers of capital, that (apart of the lighter hair and blue eyes) are unrecognizable in the public realm. The latter are described as the economic immigrants who are sometimes involved in delinquency, mendicancy and alcohol abuse. These are often portrayed by the interviewees (both native key informants and Polish immigrants) as untrustworthy immigrants who create discomfort in the public realm (Wladyka & Morén-Alegret, 2013, *Invisible Immigrants: Polish Immigrants in the Eyes of some Local Stakeholders*, para. 8).

The portrait of Polish immigrants is somewhere in between. First of all, although the number of Polish immigrants that live in the Sagrada Familia neighborhood is similar to the number of Ukrainians and Russians and higher than Byelorussians and Bulgarians, the presence of immigrants of those nationalities is mentioned more often than the presence of Polish immigrants. This happens especially when it comes to some negative characteristics. This coincides with the portrait of Polish immigrants as unrecognizable because of their

external appeal and behaviour which is apparently shared with the portrait of German and Scandinavian immigrants (Wladyka & Morén-Alegret, 2013, Invisible Immigrants: Polish Immigrants in the Eyes of some Local Stakeholders, para. 9).

*“The immigrants from welfare states like Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Norway, Netherlands or even Germany, are seen with admiration (...) Romanians: they are seen as – oh, the little poor things, but... we are better (...) Poles, I do not think they are perceived in the same way as Romanians are. Poles are not stigmatized with delinquency like Romanians. A Polish immigrant, I think he is seen as – those poor ex-communists that try to earn a living, we will see how they behave – that is more or less the idea. It is more a lack of knowledge. I do not think that there is a strong opinion about Polish immigrants. I have only met Poles in Spain on holidays in Costa Brava, 15 years ago, and it was like: he has blond hair, blue eyes and speaks English... so it is already attractive. But I have no knowledge about the Polish community in Barcelona.” (BCN-KI-22-SP-M-32)*

An added characteristic of Polish immigrants is that their country of origin is still generally unknown for natives and perceived as an “exotic” land that has little bonds with Spain. However, according to David Abelló i Bajos (BCN-KI-21-SP-M-27), current neighborhood’s councillor, the latter issue has improved since the EU accession, and today Poland seems to be less unknown than before. On the other hand, several key informants (either natives or immigrants) were aware of the presence of the Czech bar and Hungarian shop in the neighborhood, although those establishments are physically less visible in the neighborhood and the number of the immigrants of those nationalities is few times smaller than the number of Polish immigrants:

*“I suppose that the Polish community here must be quite large, but I have never met a Pole here (...) No, I did not know about Polish shops, but I know that there is a Hungarian shop where I bought something once. (...) I have also seen a Czech bar, it is on Provença street, with Castillejos. Yes, I had noticed the presence of the Czech bar.” (BCN-KI-21-SP-M-27)*

A noteworthy observation is the context-dependent variation in describing Polish immigrants as ‘Eastern Europeans’. The interviews showed that native key informants mention the presence of Eastern European immigrants mainly in the context of some minor conflicts. The so-called “people from the East” are mostly mentioned in the context of the bad opinion they have and related to alcohol abuse, conflict, insecurity and discomfort. The interviewees who were asked to be more precise in their description, mainly mentioned



Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Russians, Romanians and sometimes immigrants of Balkan origin as the so-called 'Eastern Europeans'. Enquired directly, when talking in the context of the abovementioned features, native key informants do not perceive Polish immigrants as those Eastern Europeans that cause the disturbances. However, in a more neutral context, Poles are included as Eastern Europeans and the statements of the interviewed policymakers or street level bureaucracy actors show a differentiation between Poles and the abovementioned nationalities as it was explained in the previous paragraph:

*"It's a bad reputation that they have (...) What the Catalan, who is a person that considers himself more from this neighborhood, thinks of Romanian as person who lives to deceive, to cheat, but for a small scale..." (BCN-KI-5-DE/IT-F-50)*

*"People had no idea about Poles [in the 1990s ] (...) they had no idea about Eastern Europe (...) There were typical questions: is it somewhere near Russia? Do you speak Russian? It was completely exotic, but there was no prejudices." (BCN-7-PL-F-36)*

#### **5.5.7. Language and Cuisine: Native's Drawbacks**

Most interviewed native key informants have little contact with Polish immigrants, thus their experience does not allow them to draw any clear portraits. In contrast, the opinions of Polish immigrants presented below are based on experiences of interactions learned in a variety of places. Importantly, the vast majority of interviewed Polish immigrants (regardless their socio-demographical characteristics) were unaware or not interested in the features of Catalan society before the arrival. All of the interviewed Polish immigrants, living or working in the neighborhood had multiple interactions with natives in the researched area and outside. Most of the interviewed Polish immigrants who live in Barcelona distinguish natives between "Catalans" and "other Spaniards". There is a lack of more developed opinion on the other Spaniards, the most important characteristics seems to be that they are more open to new friendships than Catalans (Wladyka & Morén-Alegret, 2013, 'Closed' Catalans? Members of the Native Population in the Eyes of some Polish Immigrants section, para.1)

*"Some Spaniards think that Poles that are closed. I haven't spoken too much with Catalans. When they (Spaniards) got to know us (my colleague and me), they saw that it is not like that and that we are good/hard workers. I never had problems because of the Spaniards. They have no prejudices towards*

*Poles. My Brazilian friend also have good opinion about Poles, they treated me well.” (BCN-6-PL-M-32)*

Tolerance and open-mindedness for the phenomenon of immigration are frequently highlighted as general features regarding Catalans. However, at the level of individual interactions, Catalans are often perceived among the interviewees as rather closed and difficult to understand. The latter is highlighted especially when it comes to issues concerning the political independence of Catalonia and the use of the Catalan language. In a few cases a Catalan cuisine is perceived as non-attractive one and in singular cases a Catalan sense of humour is pointed out as a distinctive from Polish and non-understandable for Poles.

*„ I bought in the Polish store from the beginning of my stay here, maybe twice a year. It is obvious, I miss the taste of the country. All those Spanish sausages, the Mediterranean diet... I simply do not like it” (BCN-6-PL-M-32)*

*„They are definitely different, but it is hard to say what is the difference (...) I can't understand the Catalan soul, I do not understand some things. I cannot find a key to what is the difference between this culture and Spanish one. I ask people but they cannot give me specific answer (...) I do not like this nationalistic approach.” (BCN-1-PL-M-37)*

The interviewed Polish immigrants (including those mixed Catalan-Polish marriages that speak both Catalan and Spanish) believe that high political and personal pressure on speaking the Catalan language is negative both for immigrants and for the promotion of Catalan culture. Majority of the Polish interviewees mention that too high pressure on speaking Catalan language might be an obstacle in interactions among Catalans and Polish immigrants (especially those who do not plan a permanent stay in Catalonia), and in participating in the social and cultural life of neighborhood and city. Although there were not clearly positive comments on the politics that promote Catalan language, the same interviewees show some understanding on the promotion of the Catalan language. That happens especially if they explicitly compare the issue with historical Polish experiences regarding a lack of political independence. Importantly, the opinions about the use of Catalan language and language policies are derived not exclusively from the neighborhood- or city-based interactions. It seems that the observation of political-cultural scene by the interviewees has an important role (Wladyka & Morén-Alegret, 2013, ‘Closed’ Catalans? Members of the Native Population in the Eyes of some Polish Immigrants section, para.6).

*„ I believe that they exaggerate and that they lose more than they gain. I observe it in my children. They have a scarce number of hours of Spanish language in school and they make mistakes. They translate Catalan grammatical constructions into Spanish and it is not right. (...) My husband is Catalan and he believes that they exaggerate. He is upset that children do not speak Spanish well, that they mix both languages. (...) You do not know where you will live in future, maybe not here, so the knowledge of Catalan would not be important, and the knowledge of Spanish will. (...)I believe that one should take care of his language but not in such an exaggerated manner. In order to get a better job, you need to speak Catalan. I had an au-pair once, she was from Bolivia, and she needed to know Catalan in order to get permanent residency, so she was attending classes.” (BCN-8-PL-F-47)*

## CHAPTER VI – CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

This exploratory dissertation presents data from the first recorded contemporary comparative study based on documental, statistical, and empirical evidence on inter-ethnic experiences of Polish immigrants living in Barcelona city and the town of Castelló d'Empúries. Specifically, the focus here has been on the Sagrada Familia neighborhood in Barcelona and Empuriabrava neighborhood in Castelló d'Empúries. The carried out analysis supported the hypothesis that *the inter-ethnic experiences of Polish immigrants in Catalan neighborhoods lead to the emergence of the opinions about ethnically diverse life environment and about particular groups contacted during everyday's life, while the socio-economic and spatial factors modulate both, the possibilities of experiences and the consequent opinions*. The analysis also shows evidence for differences for these phenomena in the comparative perspective of a large city, and a small town neighborhoods with significant presence of ethnically diverse actors of everyday's life. This concluding chapter provides the summary of the most significant findings, with precise indications on the modulating features and the roles of *large city* and *small town neighborhood* perspective in a context of previous literature on the topic. The indications for future research are additionally provided at the end of the chapter.

The findings presented in this dissertation show that the basic characteristics of Polish immigrants in Barcelona and Castelló d'Empúries are somewhat similar to the profile of Polish immigrants in other European countries. Castelló d'Empúries, a small touristic town, hosts mainly Polish economic immigrants employed in construction, services and agriculture. Barcelona, a large city, hosts immigration comparable to three types of Polish immigrants self-description analyzed in a UK-based study (Fomina, 2010): a) self-confident and highly-trained; b) disadvantaged and stuck in one place; c) the, so called “old migration”. The degree and significance of the “old migration” appear however smaller than in countries like the UK and France (Wladyka & Morén-Alegret, 2013, Discussion and Conclusions section, para.2). In case of Barcelona, statistics and qualitative data show the increased importance of highly-skilled young Polish immigrants perceived as people who move freely within the diverse environment and eschew interactions with other Polish immigrants (e.g. disadvantaged ones). In case of Castelló d'Empúries the economic immigrants of all ages, mainly with technical education and sometimes arrived through a network of family and friends can be found. Interestingly, while in Barcelona the construction workers, handymen or housekeepers relate

mostly within the Polish immigrants group and have reduced inter-ethnic interactions; in Castelló d'Empuries this limitation is not visible.

### **6.1. The Significance of Spatial and Life-Stage Patterns**

The results gathered in Sagrada Familia indicate that interviewed Polish immigrants in this neighborhood focus their inter-ethnic experiences, but also everyday's life in a few particular (for each individual) places related to work and/or residence, particular parks, playgrounds, shops and bars that are conveniently located. Some patterns related to socio-spatial experiences, especially life-stage (students, single professionals, and young parents) has been observed in similar way as in previous research (e.g. Lopez-Rodriguez, 2010; Ryan, 2011). Distinctly to cited research even if either low-paid or better off Polish immigrants are often limited to interacting exclusively in their workplace or flat, because of time constraints imposed by their work and/or lifestyle. In contrast, for the immigrants in Empuriabrava, the entire neighborhood is considered as a space of everyday's inter-ethnic interactions. This finding can be considered paradoxical if one takes into account lack of human-built spaces of interaction in the neighborhood. Nevertheless, high diversity, inefficient public transport, clear boundaries and short-employment contracts linked to less workload off season are factors that bring Polish immigrants to the bars that are crucial places of inter-ethnic interactions in Empuriabrava.

On the other hand, the need for neighborhood-orientated integration policies is visible in the context of places where interaction takes place. This is especially true in a neighborhood like Sagrada Familia, whose urban fabric offers very few public places where interaction between inhabitants can occur, and Empuriabrava, whose underdeveloped infrastructure converted bars into virtually unique micro-publics where inter-ethnic interaction unrelated to employment, occurs on daily basis. In case of Sagrada Familia, the Environmental Classroom and the Multicultural Interaction Group seem to be important spaces and places (besides state schools, the public library, and the civic centre) with regard to regular interaction between ethnicities in the neighborhood. A similar observation has been made by Hickman et al. (2008) while underlining how important the existence of private and public interaction spaces are in the UK localizations, especially regarding young people (Wladyka & Morén-Alegret, 2013, Discussion and Conclusions section, para.6).

## 6.2. The Emerging Opinions on Diversity

The ethnic diversity as everyday's phenomenon is perceived positively by Polish interviewees in both neighborhoods, with only single opposite voices. Still, there are some comments about a time at the beginning of residency that was needed to accustom and grasp the variety and number of immigrants. Also, the continuous experiences with presence of various groups are highlighted as easing the preliminary hardships with getting accustomed to ethnic picture of neighborhoods. In fact, the Polish interviewees in both researched neighborhoods quite accurately perceive the presence and amount of immigrants' groups. The important exception here is an overestimation of the number of Romanian immigrants in Empuriabrava which is apparently related to the perception of Romanians as competition in the labor market, similarly as the case suggested by Pettigrew et al. (2010).

While opinions about particular groups of immigrants are frequently positive, there are also abundant negative comments about Moroccan and Rumanian immigrants in Empuriabrava neighborhood. According to the analysis, these opinions are driven by symbolic and economic threats at collective level and, in several cases, individual level (Stephan & Renfro, 2002) especially enhanced by economic recession in context of high vulnerability of Polish immigrants (Pardos-Prado, 2011) and perceived inequality of status (Pettigrew et al., 2011). On the contrary, the negative opinions about other immigrants presented in the Sagrada Familia are usually restricted to particular conflicts, whether it is an increase of Chinese shops number, or public space related complaints about Latin-American or Moroccans alleged undesirable behaviors. The analysis shows that neither of these groups is considered as importantly threatening to the Polish immigrants interviewed in Sagrada Familia neighborhood, and therefore the negative comments are limited. Still, some perceptions of Latin Americans that can be found among Polish immigrants in Barcelona – such as loudness and permanent presence in the street are nearly identical to characteristics of Latin-American immigrants mentioned in previous studies elsewhere. A relevant example of such a similarity is the Polish immigrants' perception of Puerto Ricans in New York's Greenpoint neighborhood (Sosnowska, 2008). Despite the abovementioned negative remarks, Polish immigrants have rather positive opinions about Latin-American immigrants. This observation is worth deeper insight in future international comparative studies.

### **6.3. Cultural and Spatial Restrains to Participation**

There were slightly distinct patterns observed in participative behaviors in both researched neighborhoods. The Polish immigrants in Sagrada Familia, besides the lack of time, explicitly brought up their lack of interest in participation in traditional organizations and involvement in popular festivities that can be explained with cultural differences (Hofstede, 2001; Hofstede et al., 2010). The Polish interviewees in Empuriabrava on the other hand, although provided more examples of participation, also more frequently pointed on ‘distance’, transportation issues, and financial limitations as obstacles. Although the observations of Sagrada Familia associative life could support Putnam’s (2007) Constrict Theory that higher diversity assumes a decrease of in-group and out-group trust, the observed behavior should be rather understand from the socio-spatial point of view. The Sagrada Familia is well communicated neighborhood that can be understood as an open-system (Wallman, 1982; Wallman, 2005; Wallman, 2006), as a result constitutes either “dormitory” or “workplace” for commuters. Therefore inhabitants are rarely present in the public spaces and have no time for engagement in neighborhood’s life. This observation goes along with previously mentioned Keith and Siebel developments on the Simmel’s characteristics of urban life as indifferent, aloof and airiness. On the other hand, a subsequent factor that influence on the lack of participation is a lack of understanding of Catalan culture by Polish immigrants. Criticism towards some policies promoting Catalan language is expressed by a number of Polish immigrants interviewed, especially in Sagrada Familia neighborhood. Paradoxically, these policies are partially seen as impeding integration.

### **6.4. What Economy and Politics do for Participation?**

Importantly, the economic diversity, which according to previous research of Lanceen and Dronkers (2011) is the most effective in creating inter-ethnic synergies, has been a moot point in Sagrada Familia. In contrast, the economic relations between Polish immigrants and immigrant employers have been several times mentioned as a basis for some sport and nature oriented common activities in Empuriabrava. Another interesting observation is that recent dynamization of Empuriabrava’s political scene related to common-goal of improving infrastructure successfully brought together natives and diverse immigrants. Still, e.g. Polish or Moroccan immigrants appear to be scarcely represented in this movement. These findings also confirm previous contributions of Lanceen and Dronkers (2011) that support the thesis

about positive impact of diversity on social capital when common goal is present. On the other hand, the scarce participation of Polish and Moroccans brings to live the multiple restrictions assigned to this theory (Allport, 1954; Lanceen & Dronkers, 2011; Pettigrew, 1998).

## **6.5. Notes on Age and Gender**

It should be noted at this point that the research presented in this dissertation does not attempt to be representative for Polish immigrants in any of the studied neighborhoods. Still, the above presented analysis describes several patterns that have been found during the study. While looking at the possible patterns also some basic characteristics of interviewees like age, gender, education, or immigration seniority have been taken into account. While some patterns concerning the education level and the immigration seniority in relevance to the inter-ethnic experiences have been already highlighted in the previous paragraphs, some explanation will be given here to issues of gender and age.

It should also be noted that the previous paragraphs do not indicate directly any patterns relevant to these two basic characteristics of the individual. Although some patterns that indirectly includes age or gender have been spotted, there either were not in a direct interest of the researched topic or were considered as inherited in other phenomena. While in Empuriabrava neighborhood some negative opinions about Romanian and Moroccan immigrant were more frequently and boldly expressed by Polish males, there were directly related to interactions and/or competition in the same labor market sectors. Therefore, while gender is a pattern-builder when it comes to types of employment (usually Polish male in Empuriabrava work in jobs related to construction while female in eldercare and tourism related services) it cannot be inferred that it influenced the patterns of opinions about other immigrants. The similar situation constitutes a context to some age related patterns. Thus, if older interviewed Polish immigrants provide more inter-ethnic experiences or deeper insight into the neighborhoods' socio-economic details it was (in this case) related to the immigration seniority and not directly with age. Still another pattern somehow related to gender and age, an increased inter-ethnic interactions of young parents (mostly mothers, but there is also a male example within the interviewees), has been previously explained in a perspective of life-stage changes.



## 6.6. 'Invisible' Polish Immigrants

An observation that calls for more profound comparison in the future is that Polish immigrants present in the researched neighborhoods are not perceived by the native population as petty criminals or in any other negative way as they sometimes are in countries like UK or Ireland (e.g. Fomina, 2010). In fact, Polish immigrants in Sagrada Familia can be considered 'invisible' immigrants, and in Empuriabrava are recognized individually on a basis of particular experiences of interviewed key informants (not as a group). While for individuals of some ethnicities outdoor sociality is habitual or even homely as pointed out by Hickman et al. (2012), others may feel disturbed by manifestations of social activity in neighborhoods' public places. The dissatisfaction expressed by some natives with Latin-American immigrants socializing on the street and the phenomenon that Polish immigrants rarely participate in neighborhood's popular festivities fits to this pattern. Still, ethnicity is not the unique factor here. The patterns of socializing on the street that were observed in this study are quite similar to what is described by Hickman as "cultural constructions and experiences (...) informed by specific intersections of ethnicity and class" (Hickman et al., 2012, p.86). An illustration of this statement is the lack of perception of the presence of Polish immigrants by the native interviewees around Sagrada Familia Square, where the Polish shop is located and where a group of Polish homeless spend their days consuming alcohol. While, Eastern European immigrants drinking alcohol outdoors in Peterborough (UK) are perceived by South-African immigrants as disturbing or even threatening (Hickman et al., 2012), they rarely are as such by natives in Sagrada Familia. Instead, the Polish immigrants abusing alcohol in public spaces are negatively depicted by other Polish neighbors as corrupting the image of "hard-working" Polish immigrants in both researched neighborhoods (Wladyka & Morén-Alegret, 2013, Discussion and Conclusions section, para.3).

The native key informants in Sagrada Familia explain the observed "invisibility" by the physical similarity of Poles to other central Europeans and even to Catalans and other Spaniards themselves. The aforementioned patterns concerning the type of employment of Polish immigrants, as well as their knowledge of foreign languages, seem to enhance this "invisibility" similar to the case of Polish immigrants in Ireland (Bobek, 2010). One might conclude that group's "invisibility" is a direct consequence of the limited number of Polish immigrants present in the neighborhoods. However, in case of Sagrada Familia, Polish immigrants, both the highly skilled and the disadvantaged ones, remain "invisible" even compared with other less numerous Central and Eastern European immigrants. This is

definitely an interesting subject for further research, where the hypothesis concerning the impact of the quarter's fabric on this lack of perception may be developed. Especially since the aforementioned "invisibility" encourages an erroneous image of reality in public areas (Wladyka & Morén-Alegret, 2013, Discussion and Conclusions section, para.4).

### **6.7. Population Density, Education and Socio-Economic Status**

The interviews with Polish immigrants show that the negative opinions on other immigrant groups are definitely more abundant and frequent in case of Empuriabrava neighborhood than in case of Sagrada Familia. This observation might be quite puzzling in a light of presented previous research (e.g. Pettigrew et al., 2010; Stein et al., 2000) that find more positive inter-ethnic attitudes within the low-density areas. Accordingly, the population density factor, and especially, higher observed number of interactions appear to be overweight by issues like perceived group's size that altogether with economic and symbolic competition provide again a perception of a collective (and in several cases individual) threats (Stephan & Renfro, 2002). Still, another substantial observation is a difference in the socio-economic statuses of Polish immigrants interviewed in Empuriabrava and Sagrada Familia neighborhoods. According to Pardos-Prado (2011) the socio-economic and educational statuses are the factors that shape the development of attitudes towards other groups in a first place when there is a competition on scarce resources. Therefore, the highly-trained interviewed Polish immigrants in Barcelona as being less vulnerable and not involved in direct competition are expected to be less interested in information about influx of immigration in general and therefore might simply rely on previous political affiliations as a cognitive cue that reduces complexity and enables the articulation of coherent opinion. On the contrary, the low status Polish immigrants in Empuriabrava while being in direct competition with other groups would necessarily activate the attention to any information regarding the immigration issues (e.g. rumors), they articulation of hostile attitudes would be more straightforward and not based on previous ideological basis (Pardos-Prado, 2011). In the light of these findings, a more profound study of political affiliations of Polish immigrants and their influence on inter-ethnic relations would be worth of attention.

## **6.8. Towards the Multi-Approach and Multi-Environmental Perspective**

There were several previously listed differences between observations made within Empuriabrava, a neighborhood of a small town, and Sagrada Familia that belongs to the large city. These examples indicate that urban fabric and population density might have an influence on possibilities of inter-ethnic experiences. On the example of interviewed Polish immigrants one would say that, in this case, the features of a small town provided more frequent and diverse inter-ethnic interactions. Still, the specificity of Empuriabrava socio-economic tissue that heads toward characteristics of *superdiverse* environments (Vertovec, 2007) should be taken into consideration. It should also be recognized that contact with other ethnicities resulted with positive opinions as far as economic and symbolic threats empowered by economic recession did not appear. In this perspective, the findings of this dissertation on one hand supports the previous works (of e.g. Callens et al., 2013; Lanceen & Dronkers, 2011; McLaren, 2003; Pettigrew et al., 2010) that call for interdisciplinary and multi-theoretical approach to inter-ethnic relations, and on the other find the research projects focused on particular neighborhoods, e.g. Concordia Discors (Bergamaschi & Ponzo, 2011), GEITONIES (Fonseca, 2012) and Neighborhood Project (Wilson, 2011) as essential in order to include socio-spatial features of interactions at micro level. Furthermore, the presented results should empower projects that while focusing on immigrants' integration complement the large city perspective with the comparative studies, also centered on the small towns and rural areas while regarding importance of built and natural environment.

## **6.9. Additional Indications for Future Research**

Although, the previous paragraphs already noted findings worth of more profound consideration, it is still relevant to highlight at this point several conclusions that, altogether with other studies elsewhere, could constitute a co-foundation for further research.

The conducted analysis showed, in case of several interviewees, evidence about negative attitudes which exist at the same time as friendly interaction or even acquaintances between individuals of distinct ethnic groups. Since, some similar findings have been noted previously (see Brewer & Miller, 1996; Brown & Turner, 1981; Bergamaschi & Ponzo, 2011; Bergamaschi, 2012), it is still another reminder that the principles of Contact Theory are not unconditional, and that this particular issue calls for a profound and interdisciplinary study that would include a variety of modulators that impacts on the effect of inter-group contacts at

the individual level. On the other hand, this research shows that the participation preferences formed on the cultural differences (see Hofstede, 2001) might be an important obstacle when it comes to the engagement in the life of community and therefore restrain possibilities to contact with individuals of other ethnicities. The context of culturally inherited individualism appears also to be one of the modulators of inter-ethnic experiences, which subsequently influences on emerging opinions about other ethnic groups present in the neighborhood. The findings of stronger focus on the individual activity, nearest friends and nearest family in the case of interviewed Polish immigrants that found themselves in more collectivist Catalan society could constitute a contribution to further considerations on involvement of individuals with diverse cultural background into the life of neighborhood.

The findings of this research provide evidence that in the case of Polish immigrants, the possibilities of inter-ethnic experiences are not only influenced by the “tyranny of micro-geography” (Gill & Bialski, 2011), but also by the infrastructural development. Interestingly, these obstacles intersect various urban settings and socio-economic patterns. In the case of large city neighborhood, the micro-geography related to the place of work or residence was observed as factor influencing the development of inter-ethnic interactions of Polish immigrants regardless their socio-economic status, but rather related to stage and style of life. In case of the neighborhood of a small town, the underdevelopment of infrastructure (and especially public transportation) occurred to constitute a key element especially for immigrants that undergo economic hardship. Importantly, in both locations, the intersection of micro-geography with infrastructural development appeared to play an important role in the accessibility of participative activities. These results, following previous research (e.g. Hickman et al., 2008) constitute another call for an applied research and local politics that take into account the presence of private and public interaction spaces, but also appropriate transport infrastructure while considering the development of social cohesion.

While the previously cited observations reveal several obstacles to development of inter-ethnic interactions, the analysis of Empuriabrava’s findings also brought up some patterns of economic and political rooted synergies that confer the possibility of increasing inter-ethnic contact. The economic relations between Polish employees, and European (especially German) contractors in Empuriabrava neighborhood were highlighted as frequent inter-ethnic interactions and as starting points of several acquaintances. Additionally some work experiences in the multi-ethnic environment were related to further political engagement in the local grass-root movements. Interestingly, the analysis showed that political

engagement that resulted from the need of improving certain aspects of neighborhood's quality of life brought a valuable space of inter-ethnic interactions that was further developed. The above mentioned observations, but also an example of the immigrants founded organization – Islamic Center, which occurred to be an economic asset to the town while attracting particular groups of tourists, confirmed assumptions (e.g. Lanceen & Dronkers, 2011) about the potential synergies that the diversity of economic sector could provide. Still it should be remembered that ethnographic fieldwork provided examples of several issues that local authorities had with taking advantage of the mentioned synergies for further development of the community. Since the beneficial use of the developing inter-ethnic collaboration is regarded as a key to construction of a cohesive community (see Butler Flora & Flora, 2013), this issue should be especially considered in further research.

This call for profound and comparative research in that matter should be especially empowered by the results obtained from the Sagrada Família. The observations from this neighborhood of a large city provided evidence that some initial attempts of economic collaboration with involvement of diverse groups faced obstacles i.a. inherited in the rigid structures of local traders' organizations. Several observations showed that lack of mutual comprehension regarding economic collaboration resulted in discouragement of both immigrants and natives in relation to development of further common activities. Additionally, the lack of inter-ethnic economic collaboration, results with the dissemination of negative rumors about the expansion of Chinese owned establishment. Therefore, because of the communication shortages, the purchasing power and investments made by one of the groups drove to the increase of hostile attitudes instead of being a positive economic impulse.

The observations made in this dissertation support the idea of tight relationship between the quality of inter-ethnic relations within the neighborhood, and its economic and social sustainable development. Furthermore, provided evidence indicate the vicious circle type of relationship where the neighborhood's infrastructure (under)development and local authorities (in)activity can lead to (dis)appearance of inter-ethnic contact and collaboration that in turn can lead to either deepened stagnation and social disintegration, or further economic development and social cohesion. Thus, the further research should not only take into account comparative perspective between the large cities, small towns and rural areas, but also should analyze the *superdiverse* environments in the perspective of the sustainable development. This approach could not only enrich the analysis of inter-ethnic relations, but could also provide some useful tools and tangible benefits to the wide array of local communities.

## **Annex 1. The Semi-Structured Interview Guide**

### **1. The interviewee profile:**

- a) The basic socio-demographic characteristics (family, education, current occupation status);
- b) The date and circumstances of the arrival to Catalonia and to the current place of work/residence;
- c) The basic characteristics of the migratory process;

### **2. Sagrada Familia/ Empuriabrava as place of social and economic activity:**

- a) The basic socio-económico profile of the Sagrada Familia / Empuriabrava neighborhood's inhabitants;
- b) The possibilities of activity in the Sagrada Familia / Empuriabrava neighborhood;
- c) The most frequently visited places in Sagrada Familia / Empuriabrava neighborhood;
- d) The most significant places in Sagrada Familia / Empuriabrava neighborhood;
- e) The participation in activities and/or formal and informal organizations that set-up social life of the Sagrada Familia / Empuriabrava neighborhood;
- f) The incidence of the foreign immigrants on the life of the Sagrada Familia / Empuriabrava neighborhood in the recent years. The comparison between various immigrants' groups.

### **3. The places and spaces of interethnic encounters:**

- a) The personal experience with foreign immigrants and natives;
- b) The third-person based accounts about experience with foreign immigrants and natives;
- c) The frequency, types and possibilities of contacts of the interviewee and neighbors inside of the Sagrada Familia / Empuriabrava neighborhood with foreign immigrants and natives;
- d) The frequency, types and possibilities of contacts of the interviewee and neighbors outside of the Sagrada Familia / Empuriabrava neighborhood with foreign immigrants and natives;
- e) The spaces and places of encounter with foreign immigrants and natives;

- f) The changes in frequency and importance of contacts with foreign immigrants and natives in the recent years;
- g) The personal experience of contacts with foreign immigrants in Poland (Spaces, frequency, evaluation);

#### **4. The participation in the organizations and social mobilization:**

- a) Description of the reasons of personal participation (or lack of thereof) in the organizations and social mobilization in the Sagrada Familia / Empuriabrava neighborhood;
- b) Evaluation of the participation;
- c) Description of the reasons of foreign immigrants' participation (or lack of thereof) in the organizations and social mobilization in the Sagrada Familia / Empuriabrava neighborhood;
- d) Description of the reasons of participation (or lack of thereof) in the organizations and social mobilization in Poland. Description of changes in personal participation patterns and their reasons if provoked by the migration process;

#### **5. The perception of local politics and political / electoral participation:**

- a) The foreign immigration as the focus of local politics (laws, political promises, introduced regulations and following outcomes);
- b) Description of the electoral participation. The differences between participation in Poland and Catalonia.

#### **6. The outcomes of interethnic encounters:**

- a) The evaluation of the contacts with foreign immigrants and natives;
- b) The general opinion about foreign immigrants and natives;
- c) The explication of the differences between foreign immigrants (if any);

**Annex 2. The List of Polish Immigrants Interviewed in the Sagrada Familia  
Neighborhood, Barcelona (Code Scheme: BCN-Id-Origin-Sex-Age)**

<b>Code (LOCATION-ID- ORIGIN-SEX- AGE)</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Origin</b>	<b>Primary relation(s) to the neighborhood</b>	<b>Basic relevant professional and/or social activity</b>
BCN-1-PL-M-37	anonymized	M	37	Polish	work	Private school of foreign languages
BCN-2-PL-F-30	anonymized	F	30	Polish	work / leisure	Polish store
BCN-3-PL-M-42	anonymized	M	42	Polish	daytime residence	Homeless
BCN-4-PL-M-35	anonymized	M	35	Polish	work / participation	Polish Information Point
BCN-5-PL-F-34	anonymized	F	34	Polish	residence / leisure	Stay- at-home mother
BCN-6-PL-M-32	anonymized	M	32	Polish	Work	Polish store
BCN-7-PL-F-36	anonymized	F	36	Polish	Work	Social worker
BCN-8-PL-F-47	anonymized	F	47	Polish	residence / work	Children's store
BCN-9-PL-F-40	anonymized	F	approx. 40	Polish	work / participation	Polish school
BCN-10-PL-F-27	anonymized	F	27	Polish	work / participation	Polish school
BCN-11-PL-F-27	anonymized	F	27	Polish	residence / leisure	Student
BCN-12-PL-F-26	anonymized	F	26	Polish	residence / work / leisure	Private school of foreign languages



**Annex 3. The List of Key Informants Interviewed in the Sagrada Familia Neighborhood, Barcelona (Code Scheme: BCN-KI-Id-Origin-Sex-Age)**

<b>Code (LOCATION-ID- ORIGIN-SEX- AGE)</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Origin</b>	<b>Primary relation(s) to the neighborhood</b>	<b>Basic relevant professional and/or social activity</b>
BCN-KI-1-SP-F-51	anonymized	F	51	Spanish	work/participation/leisure	Jewelry store / Traders' organization
BCN-KI-2-SP-F-55	anonymized	F	55	Spanish	residence/work/leisure	Grocery stall at the local marketplace
BCN-KI-3-SP-M-28	anonymized	M	28	Spanish	residence/participation	Traditional and youth organizations
BCN-KI-4-SP-M-52	anonymized	M	52	Spanish	work/participation	Health Centre
BCN-KI-5-DE/IT-F-50	anonymized	F	50	German/ Italian	work/participation	Jewelry store / Traders' organization / NGO 'Help for Ukrainian children'
BCN-KI-6-SP-F-34	anonymized	F	34	Spanish	work/participation	Espai 210 / Communitarian Plan / Multicultural Interaction Group
BCN-KI-7-SP-F-30	anonymized	F	30	Spanish	work/participation	Espai 210
BCN-KI-8-PK-M-35	anonymized	M	approx. 35	Pakistani	work	Telecommunication point ('Locutorio')
BCN-KI-9-SP-M-52	anonymized	M	52	Spanish	residence/participation	Traditional organization
BCN-KI-10-SP-M-24	anonymized	M	24	Spanish	residence/work/participation	Claror Sport Centre / Traditional organization
BCN-KI-11-PE-F-41	anonymized	F	41	Peruvian	Residence/work/participation	Telecommunication shop / Traders' organization
BCN-KI-12-CN-M-50	anonymized	M	approx. 50	Chinese	residence/work	Bar
BCN-KI-13-SP-M-60	anonymized	M	approx. 60	Spanish	work/participation	Excursions' Centre
BCN-KI-14-SP-F-37	anonymized	F	37	Spanish	work/participation	Environmental Classroom
BCN-KI-15-SP-F-40	anonymized	F	approx. 40	Spanish	Work	Sagrada Familia Library

BCN-KI-16-SP-M-65	anonymized	M	65	Spanish	residence/leisure/participation	Petanca organization
BCN-KI-17-SP-M-72	anonymized	M	72	Spanish	residence/leisure/participation	Petanca organization
BCN-KI-18-SP-F-50	anonymized	F	50	Spanish	work/leisure	Encants Primary School
BCN-KI-19-SP-M-38	anonymized	M	38	Spanish	residence/work/participation	Encants Primary School Parents Organization / An activist for the development of Glories area
BCN-KI-20-SP-F-56	anonymized	F	56	Spanish	residence/work/participation	Former District's Counselor / ICV Political Party
BCN-KI-21-SP-M-27	David Abelló i Bajos	M	27	Spanish	residence/work/participation	Current District's Counselor / CiU Political Party
BCN-KI-22-SP-M-32	anonymized	M	32	Spanish	residence/participation/leisure	PSC Political Party
BCN-KI-23-SP-F-65	anonymized	F	65	Spanish	participation	ERC Political Party
BCN-KI-24-M-SP-M-30	anonymized	M	approx. 30	Spanish	participation	The Popular Group of the Town Hall / urbanity division

**Annex 4. The List of Polish Immigrants Interviewed in the Empuriabrava Neighborhood, Castelló d'Empuries (Code Scheme: CdE-Id-Origin-Sex-Age)**

<b>Code</b> (LOCATION-ID-ORIGIN-SEX-AGE)	<b>Name</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Origin</b>	<b>Primary relation(s) to the neighborhood</b>	<b>Basic relevant professional and/or social activity</b>
CdE-1-PL-M-53	anonymized	M	53	Polish	residence/work/leisure/participation	Nautic sector
CdE-2-PL/BE-F-45	anonymized	F	45	Polish/ Belgian	Residence/work/leisure/participation	Real estate agency / CiU political party
CdE-3-PL-M-31	anonymized	M	31	Polish	residence/leisure	unemployed, IT freelancer
CdE-4-PL-F-30	anonymized	F	30	Polish	residence/work/leisure	Kebab bar
CdE-5-PL-F-30	anonymized	F	approx. 30	Polish	family matters/leisure	Elders residence
CdE-6-PL-F-30	anonymized	F	approx. 30	Polish	residence/leisure/family matters	Elders residence
CdE-7-PL-M-53	anonymized	M	53	Polish	Residence (formerly)/ Work/leisure	Handyman freelancer
CdE-8-PL-M-58	anonymized	M	58	Polish	Residence (formerly)/ Work (formerly)/leisure	Retired / Construction (formerly)
CdE-9-PL-M-37	anonymized	M	37	Polish	worked (formerly)/leisure	Disability pension / Construction (formerly)
CdE-10-PL/DE-M-77	anonymized	M	77	Polish/ German	Leisure	Retired Catholic priest / Presiding German and Polish masses in Castelló d'Empuries

**Annex 5. The List of Key Informants Interviewed in the Empuriabrava Neighborhood, Castelló d'Empuries (Code Scheme: CdE-KI-Id-Origin-Sex-Age)**

<b>Code (LOCATION-ID- ORIGIN-SEX- AGE)</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Origin</b>	<b>Primary relation(s) to the neighborhood</b>	<b>Basic relevant professional and/or social activity</b>
CdE-KI-1-DE-F-47	anonymized	F	47	German	residence/work/leisure	International magazine
CdE-KI-2-DE-F-45	anonymized	F	45	German	work/participation	Landlord's organization
CdE-KI-3-SP-F-64	anonymized	F	64	Spanish	leisure / participation	Parochial Caritas / School Teacher (formerly)
CdE-KI-4-SP-F-30	anonymized	F	30	Spanish	Work	Town Hall (housing / immigration)
CdE-KI-5-SP-F-27	anonymized	F	27	Spanish	Work	Town Hall (education / integration)
CdE-KI-6-SP-F-31	anonymized	F	31	Spanish	Work	Ambulatory - Castelló d'Empuries
CdE-KI-7-SP-M-63	anonymized	M	63	Spanish	participation	PNAE Friends Organization
CdE-KI-8-SP-M-47	anonymized	M	47	Spanish	residence/work/leisure	Telecommunication point
CdE-KI-9-VE-F-40	anonymized	F	approx. 40	Venezuela	residence/work/leisure	Telecommunication point
CdE-KI-10-SP-M-37	anonymized	M	37	Spanish	Work	Information Point - Empuriabrava
CdE-KI-11-SP-M-45	anonymized	M	approx. 45	Spanish	Work	Town Hall – (economic promotion, tourism and trade)
CdE-KI-12-MA-M-35	anonymized	M	approx. 35	Morocco	residence/work/participation/leisure	Islamic Cultural Center
CdE-KI-13-DE-M-45	anonymized	M	approx. 45	German	residence/work/participation/leisure	German newspaper
CdE-KI-14-SP-M-54	anonymized	M	54	Spanish	residence/work/participation/leisure	Neighbors organization
CdE-KI-15-SP-F-57	anonymized	F	57	Spanish	residence/work/participation/leisure	Neighbors organization
CdE-KI-16-SP-M-30	anonymized	M	30	Spanish	Work	Job Board operated by Caritas and Town Hall
CdE-KI-17-SP-F-40	anonymized	F	approx. 40	Spanish	participation	Library - Castelló d'Empuries

CdE-KI-18-SP-M-54	anonymized	M	54	Spanish	residence/work/participation	Secondary school (Empuriabrava)
CdE-KI-19-SP-M-58	anonymized	M	58	Spanish	Participation	Traditional organization / Local cleaning company
CdE-KI-20-SP-M-68	Joan Auge i Bataller	M	68	Spanish	residence/work/participation/leisure	Town Hall Councillor / UDEM Political Party
CdE-KI-21-SP-M-64	Juan Puerto Galan	M	64	Spanish	work/participation/leisure	Town Hall Councillor / UDEM Political Party
CdE-KI-22-SP-M-46	Xavier Martínez Cantero	M	46	Spanish	work/participation/leisure	Town Hall Councillor / UDEM Political Party
CdE-KI-23-SP-M-49	Xavier M. Sanllehi i Brunet	M	49	Spanish	work/participation	Mayor of Castelló d'Empuries / CiU Political Party
CdE-KI-24-MA/SP-F-35	anonymized	F	35	Spanish/Moroccan	residence/work/participation/leisure	Bar - Restaurant / CiU Political party
CdE-KI-25-HU-M-30	anonymized	M	30	Hungarian	Work	Bar
CdE-KI-26-RU-M-53	anonymized	M	53	Russian	residence/work/leisure	Russian Shop

## **Annex 6. The Summary of the Interview with BCN-5-PL-F-34**

### **A6.1. The interviewee's migratory background and profile**

The interviewee left Poland (1997) to work in Germany. After two years spent in Germany, she has been convinced by a friend that it is a good idea to live in a "warmer" climate. Since, the interviewee met a number of Spanish, while working in Germany, and become keen toward language and culture, the Spain has been selected as a destination.

The interviewee arrived to Catalonia in 1999, directly from Germany. The initial employment was an Au-pair job and the interviewee's plan was to stay in Spain about a year. She lived two years with the family she worked for as Au-Pair in the surroundings of Sarria neighborhood. Since her employer worked for the Austrian tourism promotion, she was offered subsequent part-time jobs related to the tourism business. Those flexible employments gave her an opportunity to concomitantly graduate from university. She graduated from German language studies at the University of Barcelona, and she further involved in the postgraduate psychology program. Finally, she found a permanent position in a tourist office in Barcelona (firstly in surroundings of the Lesseps square, and further in Sants neighborhood).

Nowadays, already from several years she lives in the Sagrada Familia neighborhood. Already from several years she lives with her Polish partner (met in Barcelona), and their child. She is now a stay-at-home mother, since she left her job in order to take care of their newborn daughter.

The interviewee states that her proficiency in Catalan is not as good as in Spanish language, but that she is making an effort to understand it and to speak it if she finds it necessary. She picked up Catalan mainly at the university, since some of the classes were in Catalan only, and in her job because of the pressure of her boss to speak Catalan in the office.

### **A6.2. Sagrada Familia as an appealing and (relatively) safe neighborhood**

In the interviewee's opinion the neighborhood she lived at the beginning of her stay (Sarria) appears boring, with no street life and people barred within own houses. Although she was strolling with the girl she wanted, she was unable to experience any street life. She mentions that in the Sagrada Familia neighborhood, the sole presence of the Gaudi's temple or

Sant Pau hospital builds a pleasant ambience, that is noticeable during everyday's commuting to work or study.

She appreciates the fact of wide pavements that give multiple possibilities to stroll. Still, she recognizes that she was unable to experience the neighborhood during the past years since she was occupied with work and the university. She mentions that the only time spent in the neighborhood was at night, since the weekends were mostly occupied by short excursions. She underlines, that this changed with her having a child (concomitantly terminating studies and leaving full time job), and that a neighborhood occurred to be a nice, calm and safe even during the evening/night strolls with a child.

Although she is satisfied with the possibilities of strolling through the neighborhood with children, she acknowledges that a number of public places that one can visit and play with her daughter is limited in the Sagrada Familia. She points out the square by Industria street as one of the most popular open public spaces. The interviewee mentions that although this square is visited by parents and children of various nationalities, especially Ukrainian, Russian, but also Spanish, the interactions between them are rather rare, since the nationalities tend to form own groups. On the other hand, the interviewee mentions some cases when she made initial contact with parents at the playground, and although the outcome was positive, the time-restrictions did not allowed to continue the acquaintance. On the other hand, the playground located at the Sagrada Familia square is described by her as a place where one can meet parents and children, from "developed countries" (e.g. the Netherlands). She links this observation with another one, that apartments by the Sagrada Familia temple are inhabited by the executives of the foreign companies during delegations.

The interviewee recalls some instances of mugging attempts on foreign tourists by pickpocket groups described by her as Romanians. At the same time she underscores that this phenomenon is limited to the Sagrada Familia temple surroundings. Also, the alleged problem with the Romanian pickpocket groups is described as aimed at tourists and not neighborhood's residents. She additionally links that nationality with the beggars sitting in various locations of the Sagrada Familia and Gaudi squares, however, she assure that this not influences on her reception of the neighborhood's safety. She also observes that Romanians are not the neighborhoods residents, but rather daily "visitors". She further links the increased presence of the Romanian immigrants in the recent years with the adhesion of Romania to the European Union.

She also claims that most of the incidents related to the public insecurity happen in the surroundings of the Sagrada Familia temple, and Gaudi Avenue. She is glad that her apartment is located further from the Sagrada Familia temple, in the proximity of the less crowded Sant Pau hospital. Still, she points out that recent renovation of the historical building and its' conversion into the monument will increase the flow of tourists.

#### A6.3. The (in)visible ethnic diversity of Sagrada Familia

The interviewee observes that at the Sagrada Familia neighborhood streets, the most visible neighbors are Spanish, e.g. she highlights the presence of Spanish senior citizens at the Gaudi Avenue benches. She contrasts this perception with e.g. her visits in the Pubilla Cases, a neighborhood of the Hospitalet de Llobregat municipality [belonging to the Barcelona metropolitan area], where, as she says, one feels as a resident of South America [but also is able to meet more Polish immigrants]. Still, she acknowledges that during days there are a lot of outsiders (mainly tourists) in the Sagrada Familia, and that she can notice immigrants during strolls through neighborhood's squares, in schools, stores, bars, and offices.

The lower number of foreign residents increases, in the opinion of the interviewee's friends, the quality of life in the neighborhood, e.g. it assures the higher quality of the public schools (because of the lower number of immigrant pupils). However, in her opinion, the decrease of the apartments' prices would influence in the higher influx of foreigners.

#### A6.4. Schools' cliques that do no "click" together

She claims that the first attempts of interaction with other parents in school were quite difficult. The interactions in her daughter's school are with only few parents, and they are mainly of immigrant origin (the interviewee especially mentions a Dutch and South American mothers). She thinks that once organized activities in school starts she will be able to interact with a larger and more diverse number of parents. In general, she finds it easier to get along with foreigners than Spanish. The later, she observes, have already established network of acquaintances.

On the other hand she cites her friend's experiences from nearby schools where the South American parents set up close groups that are not willing to integrate with other parents during common meetings, lunches or birthdays. Especially Peruvians, Bolivians, and Colombians have been mentioned in this context. The interviewee observes a similar pattern regarding the Chinese immigrants. On the other hand, she had some interactions with



Argentineans and Uruguayans in a context of school, but she claims that some of them returned to their countries with the development of the economic recession in Europe.

The interviewee also observed presence of immigrants from “Arabic countries” in her daughter’s school, but she still did not have enough contact with them to say precisely where they are from. She also cites an opinion of her Catalan acquaintance who belong to the parent’s board in another neighborhood’s school, that native parents are not too pleased if there is a large number of immigrants in class. Following that citation, in their opinion, the presence of immigrants lowers the level of education. Interestingly, this opinion regards selective groups of immigrants, especially the ones from Morocco and South America. According to the opinion cited by the interviewee, the European immigrants (e.g. Polish, Russian, German) are not perceived in this way by natives. Interestingly, she does not agree with the cited stereotype, since, in her eyes, the individual conditions of immigrant are decisive, and not the origin.

#### A6.5. Where to meet who?

She mentions presence of some Moroccan, Pakistani, Dutch/English, and Ukrainian and Russian children and parents at the schools and playgrounds. She also observed a large number of Chinese pupils, but she claims that they keep a low profile in school, and are not really visible in the neighborhood’s streets.

The interviewee highlights the presence of some South American families in the neighborhood. However she claims that she really acknowledged their presence only when she started to stroll in the park with her daughter and when she had first contacts with children in daughter’s school. According to the interviewee, the South American immigrants are mostly visible while taking care of elderly Spanish and babysitting.

She sometimes visits the Polish grocery, but she used to bring Polish products by herself from Poland, since buying in Polish shop is more expensive. The Polish and Ukrainian male immigrants are rather perceived by her as involved in renovation works, and female immigrants in housekeeping. On the other hand, the interviewee lists examples of well trained Polish or Ukrainians employed in private business and education. The same pattern is noted for well educated South American immigrants, e.g. she mentions an architect and accountant that are her acquaintances from the neighborhood. She also observes on the margin, that the

Polish female that are in relation with Spanish partner appear to have more possibilities of professional development.

The interviewee highlights the presence of Polish and Russian homeless immigrants at the Sagrada Familia square. She describes their activity as “sleeping and drinking alcohol”. She notes that they occupy this space already from many years. She believes that they receive expired goods from the Polish store located nearby. She does not believe that they constitute a large problem for the neighborhood. Still, she indicate that they presence negatively impacts on the aesthetics of the square. Also, she feels embarrassed if some of the group approaches her to chat. On the other hand, in her opinion, the neighbors are not conscious about the Polish origin of the homeless.

The interviewee observes that in the Sagrada Familia neighborhood it is quite easy to meet immigrants in the restaurants and bars as employees. She worked about a year in a restaurant, where she had some contact with Romanian employees that worked without contracts. She described them, in contrast to her experiences with Sagrada Familia pickpockets and beggars, as decent individuals.

Although she mentions the opportunities to experience presence of immigrants from “Arabic countries”, e.g. in playground or school, she had no interactions with them. Additionally, she says that Pakistanis are visible in small groceries owned by them, and as employees during public works. She is also surprised that Pakistanis get these kind of jobs, since in her opinion of those are decently paid, and stable positions.

#### A6.6. The workplace and university as key spaces for inter-ethnic interactions

The interviewee highlights that interactions with natives, were easier and more straightforward in her former workplace than in her daughter’s school, since the contact was continuous, and empowered by common visits to bars and cafes. Also, at the university studies, she tended to get along with Spanish, and not foreign immigrants (with a few exceptions, e.g. of a German friend). On the other hand, she mentions that the biggest contact with other immigrants she had exactly during her university years. This is related to the apartment-sharing practices. She states that she had a lot of contacts with the South American immigrants, when she shared a flat with Uruguayan girl. Those contacts, mainly with Argentineans, Uruguayans, Brazilians, and Venezuelans were originated in common apartment-based partying and cultural activities (e.g. Argentinean movies in theaters). This

pattern has changed for the interviewee when she started the family with her Polish partner in the apartment that is no longer shared. From that time, she states, that most of her new contacts are Polish that live in the neighborhood or nearby. Still, she states that she is in touch with her former acquaintances, especially these met at the previous workplace and at the university. On the other hand, following some family relations of her partner's cousin, they have South American friends (e.g. Peru).

#### A6.7. Previous contacts with immigrants

She states that she did not have contact with immigrants in Poland, except of two Ukrainian young boys that worked seasonally in agriculture and rented a room from her grandfather. The interviewee first interacted with diverse foreigners on daily basis during her stay in Dusseldorf, Germany (she especially mentions Spanish and English friends), but she observes that the number of immigrants was scarcer than in Barcelona, and the only "visible" immigrants were those from Turkey. Still, she claims that her stay in Germany, "prepared" her for the diversity she met in Barcelona, so it was not such a novelty for her.

#### A6.8. The patterns of social and political participation

The only activities (meeting, excursions) that she participated in back in Poland were related to the church, and took place when she was a teenager. She did not participated in any organizations during her stay in Germany. She recalls the reason as lack of time, but she also noted that she did felt that Germans were not keen to their participation. Therefore, she and her friends took some excursions by themselves.

The interviewee attends the Polish masses in the Hospitalet de Llobregat church. She states that this is the place where apart of Polish shop or Consulate founded celebration she can meet regularly other Polish. On the other hand, she also expressed an ambiguous opinion about the cultural meetings organized by the Consulate General located in Barcelona. In particular she was not keen toward the ambience of these meeting, directed, according to her, for the "higher society" that constitute a fraction of Polish residents in the city. She also mentions Polish Christmas carols concert in the Sagrada Familia temple. Although she knows about the Polish library located at the Aragó street she does not use its services. She also recalls some Polish masses in a church located in Ferran street in the Barcelona's old town.

The interviewee does not participate in the local organizations or neighborhood based activities. She explains it principally by lack of time, first related to study and work, later to

involvement in the new relationship, pregnancy and child rearing. Interestingly, she mentions that she participated in a Lamaze course, and that she met there some natives and South Americans. Once the interviewee's daughter was born, she rather strolls with her Polish friend that also is a mother of a same-age girl. They were also visiting the Sagrada Familia library from time to time.

She mentions that she participated in the Polish elections, in the Consulate General, but she stopped to do it, since she does not watch Polish TV (according to her, in contrast to many other Polish) and therefore she is not up-to-date with the situation in Poland. Still, she acknowledges that she follows some news from Poland through the Internet. Although, she claims knowing who a Barcelona's mayor is, she thinks that her familiarity with local politics is not enough in order to vote in local elections.

#### A6.9. Distinguishable natives, hard-working Chinese, partying Argentineans, and twofold Polish

The interviewee states that the Catalans and Spaniards can be distinguished, even by physical appearance. Based on her experiences from visits in other regions of Spain and acquaintances in Barcelona, she noted that Catalans are more closed than Spanish. She underlines that in Catalonia it is hard to establish a first contact with natives, and that her work as Au-Pair for an Austrian mother that already had established relations with Catalans helped her a lot. She also mentions the example of her partner who works with other Polish, Ukrainian, and some South American immigrants and therefore his relations with natives are scarce.

She additionally mentions that it was easier for her to maintain contact with Catalans met during her career at the university. She noted that some of these acquaintances had experiences of study/work abroad and therefore they were more open to new acquaintances with foreigners. On the other hand, the interviewee also highlights the importance of the economic circumstances of the studies at the university. She noted that it was much more difficult to develop contact with both natives and immigrants during the graduate studies while majority of students had at least part time jobs, than during the undergraduate courses.

She states that she does not have any interactions with Chinese immigrants. She recalls, that already in Germany she noted the Chinese as closed individuals, who live in closed communities. On the other hand she noted that in Barcelona a vast number of bars have

been acquired by Chinese immigrants, and that those are nice, tranquil, and conflict avoiding individuals. The interviewee also makes an observation about two bars: a Chinese and Argentinean, located at one of the neighborhood's squares. She describes the Chinese owners as hardworking family that work long hours and where children help in some tasks like translation. Therefore, she contrasts this observation to her opinion about an Argentinean owned establishment that opens around noon, and although offer "better coffee", yet loses the majority of customers to Chinese business which openearly.

Although she seems unwilling to reveal her opinion about other Polish that live in the Sagrada Familia neighborhood, she refers her opinion on the Polish immigrants, she met in Pubilla Cases neighborhood of Hospitalet de Llobregat. She states that Polish immigrants she knew there form closed groups, hard to infiltrate for an outsider. She based her opinion on a 'Polish-only' parties and meetings she took part in. She also believes that this kind of behavior is strongly related to the Polish that arrived to Barcelona with a strict economic aim (etc. job in construction, housekeeping, etc.). In her opinion the ones who additionally are interested in language and culture, and take at least language classes or work in ethnically diverse workplace do not follow this pattern. Additionally, the interviewee mentions the language courses she took in Barcelona are an opportunity to meet various foreigners. On the other hand, the interviewee thinks that the number of solely economic immigrants decreased, since the possibilities of gaining large money ended.

## **Annex 7. The Summary of the Interview with BCN-1-PL-M-37**

### **A7.1. The interviewee's migratory background and profile**

The interviewee previously lived for five years in Berlin where he arrived directly from Cracow, Poland. He used to work at the university in Frankfurt (Oder) as English language teacher. His arrival to Barcelona was a combination of various factors, but he underlines weather, change of people's mentality, culture, and a new language. Also, some economic issues like the fact that he had no health insurance in Germany prevailed. Some time before moving to Barcelona, he was traveling in Spain. He had friends in Barcelona (met in Germany) and he liked the city. Therefore, it was not a spontaneous decision to go to Barcelona. His friends are a couple: he is Italian, and she is basically Catalan, but comes from the Italian immigrant family. At the time of interview, he has been living in Barcelona for a year. The interviewee works at the private language school in the Sagrada Familia neighborhood near to the Sagrada Familia temple. He started to learn some Spanish before coming to Barcelona. But it took him just a moment to learn basics.

### **A7.2. The Sagrada Familia temple surroundings as an unfriendly spot overcrowded by tourists**

He does not spend a lot of leisure time in Sagrada Familia. He associates the neighborhood with work. He does not go out there with friends unless somebody come to visit him in Barcelona then they go to visit the Sagrada Familia temple. He spends his free time mostly in Gothic Quarter, Gracia, sometimes in Raval, but not in Sagrada Familia. He perceives Sagrada Familia as a limited area around Gaudi's temple. According to the interviewee, the dominant role in the neighborhood is played by the church, but then there are many coaches, tourists, and cues. In his opinion, the neighbors are not happy about it. His sensation is that the atmosphere around the neighborhood is hostile. He observes some typical bars for tourist, McDonalds, Chinese shops with various goods. He noticed that Avenida Gaudi, which is a closed street to traffic, is not considered welcoming for a regular neighborhood's resident or employee. In his eyes, the two squares surrounding the temple are not appealing as well, because of the construction of the squares that does not provide a lot of space for the public, and the amounts of tourists. He is convinced that this situation will stay this way and cannot be changed, because of the tourism's importance.

### **A7.3. An Asian footprint on the neighborhood.**

The interviewee observes that the Sagrada Familia neighborhood is an ethnically mixed area, but still with important presence of natives. He lives in Sants (Hostafrancs) which seems more Catalan as the immigrants are not as visible as in the Sagrada Familia. He mentions some immigrants from Pakistan and South America present in Sants neighborhood where he lives in. The European immigrants he knows are not visible because of the similar appearance, behavior, and dress. In the Sagrada Familia, he observes lots of people from Asia. He highlights the presence of multiple Chinese shops. He was surprised by the entrepreneurship feature of Asian immigrants who take over the businesses that are here for generations such as bars, clothes stores, hairdressers. The same might be noticed in the Sants neighborhood where there is a lot of places owned by Chinese people. His experience is rather negative because the products and service quality. The latter, he mostly explains with cultural differences. Also, he highlights that in his language school, there is a lot of immigrant students both, teenagers and adults, mainly from South America.

#### A7.4. Barcelona: diverse, but not as expected

When the interviewee lived in Poland, he knew very few immigrants. They were mostly from the United States, and the acquaintance was due to his job of English teacher. He feels like there are few immigrants in Poland and rather from former Soviet Republic who had some connection with Poland.

During his stay in Berlin, he had contact with immigrants from Poland and from other countries. Comparing Berlin and Barcelona, he admits that in Berlin the ethnic diversity is greater. He had students from all over the world. He mentions contacts with many immigrants from Greece, Russia, and also from the former Soviet Union countries. Also, a large presence of Polish immigrants in Berlin has been noted.

In contrast, in Barcelona, he observes a lot of immigrants from South America and Asia. The interviewee, before coming to Barcelona, did not realize that there were so many people from South America. He knew that Spain had some connections with Latin America but he was not interested in the history of country, so he did not know all the facts. He was surprised by the number of immigrants from South America as it was also his first contact with them. His experience with Latin American immigrants is rather positive than negative. Their appearance, he states, is very characteristic because of some Indian origin. Personally he has no prejudice against those immigrants, but was surprised that each Latin America

country has a different stereotype among natives and among immigrants themselves, that seems to be popular in Barcelona.

In his opinion the immigrants from South America or China, although increasing diversity, does not contribute to the enrichment of the local culture. Thus, the city does not feel multicultural, but it appears to be one culture. This, according to the interviewee is provoked by Spanish language prevalence within the South American immigrants, and their cultural heritage somehow related to Spain. The presence of immigrant is, however, visible in the street, according to the interviewee. One example he gives is a very large population of Pakistanis, and the Internet cafes and 24-hours shops they run. Another example are immigrants from Africa associated by him with people selling bags in Raval, still his experiences with them are scarce, and he has no opinion about them. Interestingly, the interviewee, explicitly dislike the scarce diversity when it comes to food, as he believes that Spanish and Catalan cuisines dominate.

#### A7.5. No language, no party

He mainly met people through his Polish cousin who grew up in Buenos Aires, but now lives in Barcelona and her roommate, who is Italian. He began to teach her English. They also organized some parties. His friends are mostly immigrants, from Italy, from Brazil or Latin America. He doesn't know many Polish, nor people from Eastern and Central Europe. He points out one girl he works with and his cousin housekeeper as the only Polish contacts a part of the cousin. He has one friend from Germany who came to Barcelona about 20 years ago. He feels that he doesn't know a lot of people. It's because he has no time but there are also language issues involved. He is not fluent in Spanish and doesn't know Catalan at all. He claims that he has no motivation to learn Catalan.

#### A7.6. Unread Catalan mind

Coming to Spain is seen by the interviewee, as a cultural discovery. He states, that in Poland, Spain is Spain, as a whole, and here it turns out that that Spain is falling apart. There is Catalonia, Basque Country, Galicia, Andalusia, others. The interviewee states his mixed feelings for the Catalans. He claims that he does not understand the "spirit of Catalonia", the need for independence and manifestations. He admits not knowing the difference between Catalonia and the rest of Spain. According to his words, when he asked some Catalans, they were not able to tell the difference. He observes that they refer to some historical background



and point out that Catalan is a language, not a dialect. From his experience, most Catalan nationalists are people who are of immigrant origin, like from Galicia. On the other hand, some elderly people he had some contact with and who have lived in Catalonia for the whole life have no problem when speaking Spanish and are less rampant when it comes to this issue.

He explains that this may be a reason why he gets along better with people from South America who came to Barcelona and also have to confront this reality. He does not want to learn Catalan, as he doesn't want to spend the rest of life here. Learning Spanish, on the other hand is much more practical. Also he claims that the Catalan cuisine is not so different from the Spanish one. He heard that Catalans are not as effusive as Spaniards. But this seems to work for him as he was used to the German culture, which in his words is not effusive at all. Still, from his incidental personal experiences, he can say that Catalans are very nice people.

At the very beginning of his stay, the interviewee was very enthusiastic about all the new things he encountered in Barcelona such as the directness of the people and the climate. The lack of distance or looking down as it was in Germany gave him a positive impression. Later it has changed and he claims that there is nothing there behind this directness. He considers that people do not think too much about life. According to him, in the Central Europe people are more existentialist, but here in Barcelona everything seems to come down to the beach and party. He admits that it's shocking that this culture is so different from the rest of Europe. He claims that the difference might result from such factors as the climate. He admits, however, that this is a generalized point of view as his contact with Catalans is very scarce. He points out at various cultural codes which he does not understand, for example children playing on a square so late at night which would be unthinkable in Poland.

#### A7.7. Exotic Poland, esteemed France

He did not have any negative experience from the locals for being Polish what had happened to him in Germany. But he thinks that people in Barcelona, Catalonia, have a rather positive opinion about the Polish. Still, Poland seems to be a rather exotic country, there is no strong relation with it. It is an opposite situation than with French or Germans. He observes that, there are a lot of French people in Barcelona, and they are considered here as a more civilized neighbor. Also Germany is positively associated. On the other hand he notes that natives seem to have prejudice against Romanians.

#### A7.8. The patterns of social and political participation

The interviewee does not participate in any activities or local organizations. He knows about the Polish-Catalan Association. He was about to give there a Polish course as had some previous experience from Germany, but the collaboration did not work out. He met people from the Association, but it was an online contact exclusively. Back in Poland he did not participate in any organization.

## **Annex 8. The Summary of the Interview with CdE-4-PL-F-30**

### **A8.1. The interviewee's migratory background and profile**

The interviewee came to Empuriabrava ten years ago and was invited by Polish friends who had lived there for 5 years. They told her about a job as a waitress. She did not know a lot about Spain before arriving. She left her hometown when she was 20. She went to a 3-year trade school and after graduating went to work. She used to be a hairdresser in Poland. Although she wanted to continue the profession in Empuriabrava, she could not, due to the language difficulties. Once, she learned the language, the crisis started so she did not risk opening a new business. Currently, she speaks Spanish, does not speak Catalan, but started to learn. She thinks it's needed if she wants to change a job. She lives with her mother and daughter. Her mother came to help her raise her daughter as it is hard to combine work and a child. The interviewee's partner, Ukrainian has been banned the residency in Spain because of the law related reasons.

### **A8.2. The lack of accessible public spaces**

She appreciates the Emuriabrava as she regards it as peaceful, especially off the three busy summer months. On the other hand she states that Empuriabrava is nice but rather for a short time. She observes that when one lives here permanently, there is nothing to do. In her eyes this is because of the lack of neighborhood's development, the lack of planning, lack of improvements of infrastructure. She says that the crisis is very visible in the Emuriabrava. She gives an example of a kindergarten development plans that were stopped halfway.

According to the interviewee, the Empuriabrava was thought as touristic neighborhood and therefore there is no infrastructure or activities for permanent residents. The existing infrastructure is in bad shape. The unique meeting places seem to be bars and restaurant, especially true if the weather is bad. With a good weather, a beach and Natural Park are the only places to go. She claims that elderly and people with young children complain most because of this situation. The lack of playgrounds for children and benches to sit has been highlighted by the interviewee.

### **A8.3. Expensive and inaccessible leisure**

On the other hand, she claims that only leisure related places where an adult can go are run down and expensive. She gives an example of Nautic Club, but she states that it is partially closed, since the swimming pool was not economic enough for the owners. Still, even with an expensive price (the interviewee recalls paying 70-80 EUR/month), she was a club member a few years ago. She however acknowledges that not everybody can afford it. She ceased her membership, once she become a mother a few years ago, and her everyday life became more focused on childrearing and subsequently on providing appropriate livelihood by working more hours. She also mentions a bowling club as a place where one can meet friends, but she regards it as far too expensive. She complains about a lack of a cinema or theatre. She points out that a trip to Roses or Figueres is needed in order to participate in some cultural oriented activities, even as something as common as going to the cinema and/or theater.

#### A8.4. Changes in residency and migration patterns

The interviewee underlines that nowadays there is more permanent residents in Empuriabrava than before. According to her observations the vast majority of neighbors are foreigners. She claims that ten years ago there were more Germans and French immigrants visible. Recently, that trend changed, and Moroccans and Romanians appear to her as the majority. She claims that this shift consequently decreases the possibilities of an economic development of the neighborhood. These claims are based on her observations that the Moroccan or Romanians neighbors much often send money earned in Empuriabrava to their countries in contrast to Germans and French that brought money to the neighborhood. She notices that when the crisis started, the French and German went back to their countries. Before, she says, they used to buy houses and open restaurants. She is not pleased with her observations that the Romanians, Moroccans, Pakistanis, they only pay for the rent of the house, eat something small, and send rest of the money to their countries. She base her observations on the job she has in a telecommunication point ('locutorio'), where she conveyed every day multiple international transfers of sums between 500 to 1000 EUR administered by the immigrants of these nationalities.

She also highlights other "disadvantages" of the influx of Romanians. Those are mostly related to the safety reasons. She claims that Romanian immigrants often steal, and work as prostitutes. The interviewee is relating the delinquency in a similar way to Moroccan immigrants, but she claims that Romanians are most "physically" dangerous. The source of

the supposed dissemination of delinquency is seen by her in the lack of administrative control of the neighborhood, the weak Spanish laws, and lack of police interventions when necessary.

Additionally, in case of Moroccans, she states that they have advantages in Spain related to the social help. She claims that a woman Moroccan female that lives in the neighborhood and has one or two children can easily receive social funds from the authorities. The interviewee claims that this is not a case of the European immigrants, e.g. Polish.

#### A8.5. Diminishing, but decent population of Polish immigrants

She claims, the contrary to some other immigrants, she spends 99% of her money in Empuriabrava. She also suggests that other Poles spend their money here, and she find it rare that somebody sends money to Poland. The interviewee knows only one case of a family that wants to build a house in Poland so they do not spend a lot. She knows currently eight Polish people working in the Empuriabrava. Some of them are Europe wide truck drivers that decided to settle here. There were 10 of them but only three left. She claims that some lost their job, some left because of family reasons. There are also those who have mortgages, but left them unpaid as it was hard to make ends meet.

The interviewee states that the Polish immigrants in Empuriabrava are perceived as hard-working individuals that do not steal, and do not drink. They are treated as good, helpful people. She heard of only one Polish guy who made a scam of some kind in Figueres. In her words, German immigrants, on the other hand, perceive the Polish immigrants from their stereotypical point of view, i.e. that they steal. The Germans believe that they are better than Polish, but also than Spanish, and French.

#### A8.6. Where and with whom are the interactions?

She admits that back in Poland, in her hometown there were only few immigrants from Korea having their stalls at the street, selling clothes. She did not know them personally. She knew one “black man” who studied in her hometown.

The interviewee observes that in Empuriabrava, there are only foreigners working in the offices, bars, etc. She claims that Spanish only work in banks. She prefers the situation from Figueres as there are more Spaniards there than foreigners. She explicitly keen towards Spanish and Catalans. She considers that Spaniards live more at ease. Catalans, on the other hand, are seen by her as more hard-working, educated, and achievers. She claims that they

both have some positive and negative characteristics, but she does not ascribe a bigger importance to those differences.

Still, the interviewee admits to have friends from various countries: Czechs, Cubans, Dutch, Spanish, Argentinean. She claims that there is not a lot of Latin Americans in Empuriabrava. Those that she noticed work like others or look for “easier life”. The later are described as girls related to older and rich Germans. She gives a particular example of her Chilean acquaintance at this point.

She participates in free basic Catalan classes in Empuriabrava, organized by the Town Hall. She says that there are about 20 participants in the classes. Most of them are Moroccan women according to her. She claims, that their high participation is related to the immigration law. She believes that they need to have the certificate of proficiency in Catalan. Thus, in her eyes, the Moroccans attend only in order to get the certificate from the Town Hall. They do not even learn. On the other hand, the interviewee admits to have only very superficial contact with Moroccan immigrants. She explains it with lack of a common ground. She states that female participants in the Catalan classes know nothing about professional life. The interviewee describes their interests as limited to cooking and gossiping with neighbors. The interviewee also spots two German ladies (after their 50s) and one man (after his 50s) from Ireland that participate in Catalan classes. She also mentions a presence of one Uruguayan and two “blacks”.

#### A8.7. The patterns of social and political participation

The interviewee does not belong to any local organization. She tries to participate in the local festivities. But, she states that the most of the festivities she is interested in starts late afternoon, at the time when she daily starts work as well. She also claims, that immigrants are rather less active than Spaniards and Catalans in the participative life of the Empuriabrava. She states that nowadays neighbors do not have a time to protest. They mostly want to earn money, and immigrants to take money away. They are not interested in the participation.

She has never participated in the local elections. However, she tried to vote once, but she was informed that she couldn't because she was not on the list. She states, that she got to know that one needs an inscription to be on the electoral register, but she wasn't informed. She claims that the government should include her name in the register automatically, since

she has been registered resident from many years. On the other hand, the interviewee states that she was not active in the political campaign.

## **Annex 9. The Summary of the Interview with CdE-3-PL-M-31**

### **A9.1. The interviewee's migratory background and profile**

The interviewee's arrival to Spain in 2008 is treated by him as a partial coincidence. Before, although mainly lived in Poland, he worked in various countries during short time periods. He worked in Germany, France, Sweden, Denmark, and England in sectors like construction and agriculture. During one of these episodes, he stayed in Italy (mainly Milan), than France (e.g. Marseille), and subsequently Spain (Barcelona). He claims, that already from France he was considering going directly to Mallorca, since he has a family over there, but the final decision was to go to Barcelona. He claims that in Barcelona, serious financial problems started for him. In this context, he recalls meeting three Polish female, that lived in Barcelona from several years, that advised him not to stay because of the current economic situation. He states that he did not took seriously this advise at the time, and that because of that he is now "stuck" with no job in Empuriabrava.

He been living for a year and four months in Empuriabrava. He came here from Barcelona, where he lived a year and a half (in Barceloneta neighborhood). He shares a flat with one more person who in his word is more than a friend, but less than a partner. In terms of livelihood, they share all the resources.

The interviewee is currently unemployed. He was employed in various sectors during his life course. In Spain he only had some short-time contract jobs, and some undertook voluntary activity in an internet café. He says that he has experience in using heavy machinery in agriculture, but he has no appropriate diplomas and licenses to prove it. He claims that undertaking a course in too expensive for him. He did not have an employment assured in Empuriabrava before arriving here. He and his Catalan friend came to live here because of the location of the apartment that belongs to her family.

He claims that he speaks Spanish rather „well”. He participated in a three months intensive course in Barcelona. He said that at the beginning he rejected a possibility to learn Catalan in order to focus on Spanish. On the other hand, he says, he is sometimes already confused with a number of languages that co-exist in Empuriabrava, so he does not want complicate it further.

### **A9.2. Empuriabrava: great place if one has a car**



The interviewee says that Empuriabrava is a kind of cul-de-sac. He claims that tranquility and small size are advantages of the Empuriabrava. Still, he underlines, that these advantages fade if one has an imminent need to get somewhere and do not have a car. According to him, one should have a car in order to live here. Otherwise, an individual is “on the mercy” of the public transportation which is inefficient, not frequent enough and poorly planned. He claims that there is not enough pressure to improve the public transportation since the majority of the neighbors use a car, and those who do not have a car constitute a non-influential group. He claims that the Empuriabrava infrastructure, including roads is in very bad shape, and that this is a major concern of the neighbors. Although, he uses a bike on a daily basis, he states that the neighborhood is not prepared for it, e.g. there is nowhere to safely park a bike. He claims that only minority of inhabitants’ uses a bike.

He states that ambulatory in Empuriabrava is opened only two times a week, and therefore if there is some serious medical issue, the ambulatories in Castelló d'Empúries, Roses or Figueres are the only choices. On the other hand, interviewee does not know if there is a library in Empuriabrava or Castelló d'Empúries. He has got a Catalan libraries member card, so he would like to use Internet or borrow books.

He claims, that if he has got money, he likes to relax at the go-cart track in Roses. He claims that a main attraction in Empuriabrava is a possibility to watch a football game with other neighbors in a bar. The bars are also popular places to gamble while playing machine games. Also, at the mornings, the neighbors spend a time in bars and cafes reading newspaper and drinking coffee.

The interviewee claims that during the summer season, the 80% of the neighborhood’s population is constituted by tourists. He underlines the importance of the summer months, since those are seen as possibility to get to know new people from all over the world. He says, that this is a time when people party all the time. Off that time, the neighborhood is mostly quiet. He points out that temporary residents that visits Empuriabrava for approx. three months in a year only rest, take care of house, meet with neighbors by the barbeques and bear. He points out that this is a very exemplary for Germans.

#### A9.3. Lack of employment as an obstacle to further development

He claims, that at this moment inhabitants are rather focused on the livelihood and crisis. The development of the neighborhood is rather pushed back. On the other hand, he

thinks that the small business owners in Empuriabrava are able to gain enough money during the summer months in order for them and their families to live decently rest of the year.

He observes that current situation on a job market is very difficult. He does not receive any social benefits. He tried to get informed about the possibilities, but social assistant advised against applying since even large families have issues with receiving money. He states that during the summer season there is a growth of demand for employees. Still, he claims, that these positions are for 2-4 months, and therefore a person does not even benefit an unemployment rights afterwards. Additionally, he underlines vary poor social and economic conditions of the summer jobs. The interviewee claims that a lot of the immigrants in the area is underpaid and work excessive hours. He mentions an experience he, and his friend had working in a kitchen seven days a week, way over contracted 40 hours, but not being paid even the contracted salary. Interestingly, he entangles the ethnic context to this plot, since he emphasize that they worked for a Spanish Roma.

In the interviewee's opinion, another reason to find a job is that a lot of businesses are held within a family, and therefore personal relations or recommendations prevail when it comes to the employment opportunities.

#### A9.4. Privileged non-EU immigrants

He says that according to him, and his friends (mainly Polish, but also German, French, and some Catalans) experiences, the “blacks” and “Arabs” have priority in accessing the job offers provided by the local employment offices. In his opinion, because of this favoritism, he cannot access “even” janitor's job. The interviewee claims, that in his, and his friends opinion the immigrants, especially those from Morocco, abused social system by claiming basic income benefits (PIRMI), and when they obtained it, they returned to the countries of origin. He also points out that this practice already stopped, because of the new law that forbids transferring to money to the bank account, and instead imposes a reception of benefit in person. He compares these experiences with some similar examples of social system abuse by “Arab” immigrants in Sweden, that he supposedly witnessed.

Additionally, the interviewee claims that some of his Catalan friends complain about privileges that non-communitarian immigrants that use social benefits receive, which includes school bus transportation of children, while the Catalans have to pay for it on their own.

#### A9.5. Segregated or mixed?

In general, he says that there are no conflicts between various nationalities in Empuriabrava. He claims that inhabitants come to terms with the situation, and that they strive to do their best.

The interviewee goes to Ukrainian – Russian bar to watch the football games with his friends. He says that various football team affiliations sometimes stimulate conflicts, but these are suppressed in a moment and not significant according to the him.

He claims that there are friendships between various groups. He counts six acquaintances among Polish, additionally underlines Russian, Spanish, and sparse Catalan friends. On the other hand he highlights, his good relations with Germans in Empuriabrava, but he does it in a context of employment. He claims that German immigrants in Empuriabrava are better-off, often retired, and that they meet within their own company in particular bars.

He observes that there are particular groups that meet in particular bars and cafes, e.g. Germans, “Arabs”, French. He claims that although they meet on separate basis, it is understandable, since it is comfortable to speak for some time in one’s native language. For interviewee, being surrounded by several languages all the time (mainly Spanish, English, and German), although not negative, may become tiresome. He likes to buy in the local supermarket, where a Polish female is employed, so he can chat a little in Polish.

The interviewee did not know any immigrants while he lived in Poland. He evaluates his experiences with other immigrants positively. Despite several previous negative comments about “Arabs”, he claims that his opinion about their presence in everyday’s life of the neighborhood is neutral. The issue that he highlights is a, observation about wrong treatment of female by males.

He believes that it is a good idea to maintain positive relations with a variety of neighbors in order to avoid possible conflicts, but also because of the possibilities of employment that the acquaintances could bring.

He claim that his stay in Empuriabrava made him looking at immigrants presence, through the eyes of the neighbours that have been living here for a long time and compare various social context. He claims that those people (and he himself) do not oppose a presence of the immigrant entrepreneurs, people who are willing to work. According to him, the ones that are not welcome, are those who abuse the welfare state.

#### A9.6. Immigrants and tourists

In general, he claims that although there is a high presence of immigrants in Empuriabrava, the ones in Barcelona are more numerous. He perceives the “Arab” immigrants as the most visible ones, than Germans, and French. The Germans, he claims, could be divided by groups of the permanent residents and those who spend only several months a year in Empuriabrava. He underlines the continuous presence of French that results from the border’s proximity. On the other hand, he highlights that during the summer months there is a high influx of Dutch tourists. He also observed an important influx of Russian immigrants. He claims that some of them are in Empuriabrava already for many years, and that they run own businesses. The interviewee also noted two Chinese restaurants. He says that these are run by Chinese that are permanent residents of Empuriabrava.

The interviewee claims that foreigners use mostly English in Town Hall. He distinguishes among various groups of Germans. He claims, that the younger ones speak very well English, and these who grew up here speak also Spanish and Catalan, but the elderly behave as everyone would speak German. He underline that “Arab” immigrants speak very well and fast in Spanish. The Polish, according to the interviewee speak mostly Spanish, and less frequently Catalan. On the other hand, he claims, that these young Polish that attended school in Catalonia speak also Catalan language.

He says that in his, and his Catalan acquaintances opinion, the public security decreased with the massive arrival of foreign immigrants. In the interviewee’s words the negatively perceived immigrants are those that attempt to receive social benefits from the state. He says that those are most frequently the immigrants from “Arab” countries. Following that thread, he claims that young people in Empuriabrava are often involved in drug dealing. He claims that he has never met a Catalan that would sell the drugs. He claims that the “Arabs” are the ones involved. In his opinion the drug selling people in Empuriabrava resemble a mafia structure.

#### A9.7. Who and where?

He observes that there are only few apartments occupied off-season in the eleven-stories block of flats where he lives. Therefore, his possibilities of interaction with next door neighbors are rather scarce. Still, he mentions a Catalan neighbor that he had problems with, since he and his friend attempted to take away her dog since she mistreated it. He also

mentions a Moroccan family with children as his neighbors. He claims that he needed to help female several times with trolley or shopping bags, since her husband would not even move from sofa to open the doors.

The interviewee states that he meets other immigrants in bars and private apartments (football games, parties, etc.). He prefers to meet with other immigrants other than Polish, since he claims that Polish immigrants in Empuriabrava are not well educated, and the conversations with them are rather fatiguing.

He mentions that there are groups that play football at the field, near to the local airfield. He states that there are Russians, Spanish, and other nationalities. He participated few times, and claims that it was a good fun, but later he injured a knee, and he cannot play football for now. He claims that in general the Polish in Empuriabrava do not participate in sportting activities. The interviewee noticed a sports facility with a swimming pool, etc., but he points out that this is mainly used be German immigrants.

The interviewee underlines his interest in the PNAE. He spends a lot of time in the park watching birds or simply being surrounded by nature. He states that the only thing he misses is a professional camera so he could develop his hobby of bird-watching. He also states that the PNAE, because of the lack of artificial lights, is a great place to observe the stars. He explicitly says that PNAE is one of the reasons why he could live permanently in Empuriabrava. He appreciates a Park much more than a beach. According to the interviewees' observation, while spending time at the PNAE he can meet a lot of neighbors of various nationalities (German, French, and Spanish are pointed out), especially people with children, dogs and on bikes. He underlines his contacts with French neighbors who several times gave him tips where to go in order to find a good bird-watching spots.

#### A9.8. Catalan cuisine from time to time

He observes that there are some differences between Catalans and Spanish. He points out that Catalans do not like to be called Spanish. He also mentions some experiences with small shops owned by Catalans (both in Barcelona and Empuriabrava) where he claims, he was better served if he tried to use Catalan language than Spanish. The interviewee has rather neutral opinion about Catalan cuisine. From time to time he orders Catalan dishes in local bars, but since he live with Catalan friend, he also had a chance to try a homemade Catalan food. Still, he claims that he prefers Polish cuisine.

In the interviewee's words, the Polish immigrants are perceived positively. He was surprised about connotations between Catalonia and Poland that exist in other parts of Spain, he claims that fight for independence is the common ground. He says that indeed, the Catalans have a positive attitude towards Polish.

#### A9.9. First job, than participation

He made an attempt to participate as a volunteer in an astronomic organization in Figueres, but he is awaiting a response. He volunteered, because he received an e-mail from a social assistant about possibilities of work as a voluntary that could give possibilities of improving Spanish. The interviewee claims, that these kind of activities gives them opportunities to meet people, what subsequently might improve the possibilities of finding employment. In his general opinion, Catalans like to participate in various groups, meet, and organize activities together with others. He contrasts this observation with his opinion about "Arab" immigrants, that according to him are closed off within their own community.

The interviewee did not take part in Spanish parliamentary elections. He explains is not a Spanish citizenship. He also did not vote in the local elections, because he was out of town during the election day. He states then, when he lived in Poland, he took part in the elections. He also voted in the Polish presidential elections in the Consulate General of Poland in Barcelona. He claims that he is not interested in a political life of Empuriabrava. He declares more interests in a political scene of Catalonia, and he opinionates that Catalonia would cope as an independent state.

On the other hand, he recalls several conversations about local politics with his English speaking friends from Empuriabrava. He points out that a common agreement is that they lack someone that would pull them into local politics. Also, he states that he and his friends often find a lack of basic employment as an issue that impedes not only participation, but also further economic development. He claims that tourism is a most important sector of local economy. The local airfield is pointed out by him, as a place that draws tourist all year round. He claims that if basic needs of the neighbors would be assured, diversity of the Empuriabrava would help in developing new and innovative ventures.

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## Annex 15. List of Acronyms

AVE	Alta Velocidad Española [Spanish High Speed]
BAEL	Badanie Aktywności Ekonomicznej Ludności [Labour Force Survey]
CBOS	Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej [Center for Public Opinion Research]
CdE	Castelló d'Empúries
CiU	Convergència i Unió [Convergence and Union]
ERC	Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya [Republican Left of Catalonia]
EU	European Union
GIM	Grup d'Interacció Multicultural [Multicultural Interaction Group]
GUS	Główny Urząd Statystyczny [Central Statistical Office]
ICV	Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds [Initiative for Catalonia Greens]
IDESCAT	Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya [Statistical Institute of Catalonia]
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estadística [National Statistics Institute]
IT	Information Technology
ICC	Institut Cartogràfic de Catalunya [Cartographic Institute of Catalonia]
IGN	Instituto Geográfico Nacional [National Geographic Institute]
OBMUW	Ośrodek Badań nad Migracjami Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego [Centre of Migration Research of the University of Warsaw]
OPI	Observatorio Permanente De La Inmigración [Permanent Observatory on Immigration]
PEPMNPAE	Pla especial de protecció del medi natural i del paisatge dels Aiguamolls de l'Alt Empordà [Special Plan for the Protection of the Environment and Landscape of the Empordà Marshes]
PIRMI	Programa Interdepartamental de la Renda Mínima d'Inserció [Interdepartmental Program of the Basic Income]
PNAE	Parc Natural dels Aiguamolls de l'Empordà [Natural Park of the Empordà Marshes]
PSC	Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya [Socialists' Party of Catalonia]
SF	Sagrada Familia neighborhood
UDEM	Unitat i Defensa d'Empuriabrava [Unity and Defense of the Empuriabrava]
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States of America

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