



Centre d'Estudis Demogràfics

**WHEN INCLUSION MEANS EXCLUSION:  
CONTRADICTORY DISCOURSES IN LOCAL  
MANAGEMENT OF INTERCULTURALITY IN  
SPAIN**

Andreu DOMINGO  
Xiana BUENO GARCÍA

452

*PAPERS  
DE  
DEMOGRAFIA*

2015



**Centre d'Estudis Demogràfics**

**WHEN INCLUSION MEANS EXCLUSION:  
CONTRADICTIONARY DISCOURSES IN LOCAL  
MANAGEMENT OF INTERCULTURALITY IN  
SPAIN**

Andreu DOMINGO  
Xiana BUENO GARCÍA

**452**

**Centre d'Estudis Demogràfics**

**2015**

**Resum.-** *Quan la inclusió significa exclusió: discursos contradictoris en la gestió local de la interculturalitat a Espanya*

En 2013 es van realitzar 64 entrevistes personals en profunditat dirigides a tècnics municipals d'immigració a una selecció de municipis espanyols, en el marc del projecte "Canvi demogràfic i gestió local de la interculturalitat". El concepte d'*interculturalitat* apareix com discurs normatiu en totes les entrevistes (entre les quals polítics de diferents ideologies responsables de l'àrea d'immigració també van ser entrevistats); mentre que el d'*inclusió* tendeix a aparèixer independentment de les característiques del municipi, l'origen de la població estrangera o el tipus de concentració residencial observada. No obstant, s'han detectat importants contradiccions als discursos dels entrevistats, entre el que s'exposa com un discurs normatiu (i suposadament aplicat a la pràctica) i la resta del discurs on posicionaments incoherents s'identifiquen amb respecte al discurs hegemònic. Per exemple, en alguns casos els entrevistats expresen forts prejudicis que, a la pràctica, podrien entendres com exclusius.

**Paraules clau.-** Població immigrada; Gestió local; Interculturalitat; Anàlisi qualitatiu; Espanya.

**Resumen.-** *Cuando inclusión significa exclusión: discursos contradictorios en la gestión local de la interculturalidad en España*

En 2013 se realizaron 64 entrevistas personales en profundidad dirigidas a técnicos municipales de inmigración en una selección de municipios españoles, en el marco del proyecto "Cambio demográfico y gestión local de la interculturalidad". El concepto de *interculturalidad* aparece como discurso normativo en todas las entrevistas (entre las cuales políticos de diferentes ideologías responsables del área de inmigración también fueron entrevistados); mientras que el de *inclusión* tiende a aparecer independientemente de las características del municipio, el origen de la población extranjera o el tipo de concentración residencial observada. Sin embargo, se han detectado importantes contradicciones en los discursos de los entrevistados, entre lo que se expone como un discurso normativo (y supuestamente aplicado a la práctica) y el resto del discurso donde posicionamientos incoherentes se identifican con respecto al discurso hegemónico. Por ejemplo, en algunos casos los entrevistados expresan fuerte prejuicios que, en la práctica, podrían entenderse como exclusivos.

**Palabras clave.-** Población inmigrada; Gestión local; Interculturalidad; Análisis cualitativo; España.

**Abstract.-** *When inclusion means exclusion: Contradictory discourses in local management of Interculturality in Spain*

In 2013, in-depth personal interviews were carried out with 64 local government staff members working in the area of immigration in a range of Spanish municipalities, as part of the project “Demographic Change and Local Management of Diversity”. The concept of ‘interculturalism’ appears as normative discourse in all the interviews (where politicians of different ideologies and responsible for the immigration area were also interviewed), while ‘inclusion’ tends to appear in the rest of interviews regardless of the characteristics of the municipality, origins of foreign-born population or the type of residential concentration observed in the municipality. However, significant contradictions have been detected in the interview accounts between what is expounded as normative discourse (and, supposedly, the practice) and the rest of the discourse, in which incoherent positions are identified with respect to the hegemonic discourse. For instance, in some cases, interviewees expressed strong prejudices which, in practice, might have become exclusionary.

**Keywords.-** Migrant population; Local management; Interculturality; Qualitative analysis; Spain.

## CONTENTS

1.- Introduction: Paradoxes in Immigration Management.....	1
2.- Data and Methodology .....	3
2.1. Methodological design .....	3
2.2.- The voice of the immigration staff member: a special kind of discursive genre	6
3.- The Normative Discourse: From Diversity to Interculturality.....	7
3.1.- Intercultural space and time .....	7
3.2.- The normative project .....	10
4.- A Politically Incorrect Question Regarding Integration .....	11
4.1.- On classification.....	11
4.2.- Aversion to the concept of “integration”?.....	12
5.- From Stereotype to Discrimination: The Geometric Variable of Interculturality.....	14
5.1.- Confirming difference .....	14
5.2.- Stereotypes attributed to different origins.....	16
6.- Discriminatory Views .....	20
6.1.- Loss of impartiality .....	21
6.2. Naturalising difference .....	22
6.3. Tension between “visibility” and “invisibility” .....	23
6.4.- Inverting the argument: “they’re the ones who don’t want to be integrated” ...	24
7.- Discussion: Contradiction or Coherence? .....	25
Acknowledgments .....	28
References .....	29

## LIST OF FIGURES

1.- Do you believe that certain communities integrate more easily than others?.....	15
2.- Do you think that there are communities that integrate more easily than others? .....	16

## LIST OF TABLES

1.- Interview categories for Catalonia and Rest of Spain.....	5
---	---



**WHEN INCLUSION MEANS EXCLUSION:  
CONTRADICTORY DISCOURSES IN LOCAL MANAGEMENT OF  
INTERCULTURALITY IN SPAIN**

**Andreu DOMINGO VALLS**  
adomingo@ced.uab.es

**Xiana BUENO**  
xianabuenogarcia@fas.harvard.edu

**1.- Introduction: Paradoxes in Immigration Management**

This is nothing new. On the contrary. The migratory cycle's dependence on the economic cycle gives rise to the first paradox of intercultural management. After the extraordinarily sharp rise in immigration flows coinciding with the boom cycle and the dramatic downturn in numbers with the change of economic circumstances, the immigration manager has been faced with the need to make a greater effort when settling the immigrant population since this now takes place in a context of increasing scarcity of means for meeting the demand, and where political discourse tends to retreat to protectionist formulas with regard to the autochthonous population. What has been true in the past and, to a greater or lesser extent, for all countries that have received immigrants, is also the present case in Spain (Arango, 2013).

Spain stands out for the exceptional intensity and volume of its migratory flows which abruptly turned a country from one which had traditionally been notable for emigration into one of immigration. This transition is outstanding in terms of both intensity and volume. In less than a decade, from 2000 to 2008, more than 5.5 million migrants entered Spain, which came to occupy second place after the United States on the worldwide list of immigrant-receiving countries (OCDE, 2007). This extraordinary situation has been aggravated by two converging, or at least coinciding phenomena: the economic crisis and critiques of the prevailing models of management while, on the heels of the economic crisis came a structural adjustment programme of as yet unknown dimensions. Among its first manifestations have been the so-called "austerity policies", which have been applied

with a particularly heavy hand in local government and, within that, to the redefinition, if not elimination, of areas concerned with immigration (Alemán and Soriano, 2012; Ortega-Pérez, 2011). Second, with reference to criticisms of models of immigration management, and especially multiculturalism, the situation has contributed towards the demise of the notion of “political correctness” and disparagement of much of the work done in the past (Lentin and Titley, 2011; Kymlika, 2012; Vertovec, and Wessendorf, 2012), or it has been deliberately confused with management emphasising interculturality.

The more or less obvious desire to move on to a re-ordering of local immigrant policies, with the argument that immigrant flows have dwindled, tends to come together with the temptation to reinterpret the investment made during earlier years as an unnecessary luxury and thereby to disparage the normative foundations of the political action. In this regard, studies have been carried on the political discourse which, at certain points, has fuelled racism and xenophobia (Triandafillydou, 2000; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001; Van Dijk, 2003), and which, with the present downturn, is now occurring in the Spanish case as well (Rubio-Carbonero, 2013). Then again, there are many other studies of the treatment that the mass media have given, and are giving to the phenomenon of migration before and after the crisis (for example, Prieto Ramos, 2004; Chavonec, 2013). However, there are still very few works analysing the discourse of immigration specialists at local government level, even though they are leading agents in the design and application of migration policies and would therefore be among the first people to have been affected by the about-turn caused by the economic crisis.

Our aim is to fill this lacuna, at least partially. Nonetheless, with this study it is not so much our aim to analyse the consequences of the crisis or to determine whether a new model of management– in which “diversity” has gone back to having pride of place (Faist, 2009) – is being favoured as a result of it as to point out the inconsistencies and, at times, outright contradictions one finds in the discourse of staff responsible for the application of local immigrant management policies, which have been defined from the outset as intercultural. These inconsistencies draw attention to the limits of the conception of interculturality as a normative framework for local government policies being applied to diversity management (Zapata-Barrero, 2013). We take as the starting point for our analysis the first results of the qualitative approach in the study “Demographic Change and Diversity Management”, which has been carried out from 2012 to 2014.



## **2.- Data and Methodology**

### **2.1. Methodological design**

A mixed methodology was used for this study in which, on the basis of quantitative analysis of the territorial distribution of the immigrant population, municipalities were selected for qualitative analysis. In the qualitative approach, semi-structured (which is to say, script-based) in-depth interviews were used in keeping with Patton's typology (1990). A total of 64 interviews were carried out, thirty in Catalonia and, with a view to comparative analysis, the remaining 34 took place throughout the rest of Spain. A sample of 54 municipalities was selected and, in these, staff members engaged in immigration management were interviewed. In ten of the Catalan municipalities, the politician in charge of immigration was also interviewed.

In order to obtain both quantitative and qualitative perspectives, the interview script was designed in conjunction with the survey which was undertaken as part of the project. The interview script consisted of four thematic blocks: 1) immigration management; 2) population residing in the municipality and the viewpoint of local administrators; 3) impact of the economic crisis; and 4) evaluation and suggestions for the future.

The selection of municipalities for the qualitative interviews was made on the basis of a previous territorial analysis of 8,116 municipalities in Spain using census data from the 2011 *Padrón Continuo* (Population Register). This earlier analysis at the census track level made it possible to identify all the municipalities with enclaves based on residents' places of birth. This data was then used to classify the municipalities in accordance with three criteria:

**Type of residential enclave.** Using the classification method proposed by Poulsen et al. (2001) and Johnston et al. (2002), and adapted for the Spanish case by the authors, municipalities with census tracks that could be classified as "enclaves" were selected. The types of enclave were identified using criteria of concentration in terms of the proportional presence (%) of the different groups. Six typologies were established: (1) Isolated host communities, (2) Non-isolated host communities, (3) Plural enclaves, (4) Mixed enclaves, (5) Polarized enclaves, and (6) Exclusive enclaves.

**Size of municipality.** The municipalities were classified in accordance with population size and taking into account the level of central government funding. With the exception of towns with fewer than 1,000 residents, these were distributed into the following six

categories: 1,000 to 10,000; 10,001 to 30,000; 30,001 to 50,000; 50,001 to 100,000; 100,001 to 1,000,000; and more than 1,000,000.

**Level of segregation.** This classification was based on the values of dissimilarity and isolation indices (Massey and Denton, 1988) for the different continental groups (Latin Americans, Western Europeans, Eastern Europeans, and Africans and Asians). When none of the groups analysed had more than 30 points on the dissimilarity index, or more than 5 points on the isolation index, then the residential segregation level was classified as “low”. If at least one of the continental groups showed values between 30 and 50 points on the dissimilarity index and/or 5 to 15 points on the isolation index, the general residential segregation level was classified as “medium”. Finally, if a group showed more than 50 points on the dissimilarity index and exceeded 15 points on the isolation index, its level of general residential segregation was classified as “high”.

As the result of combining the above criteria (6 enclave types, 6 municipal sizes, and 3 segregation levels), a final overall sample of municipalities was created and, from this, an overall classification scheme consisting of 28 selected categories emerged. Exhaustive categories, which is to say, a selection of municipalities that met the criteria for each of the intersections of municipal size and segregation level (except for cities with more than 1,000,000 inhabitants where the segregation level can only be low), were only established for municipalities with plural enclaves in the strict sense of the term, namely those where the population born abroad comprised more than half of the population. The municipalities with plural enclaves then produced 15+1 categories. The 12 remaining categories of the sample were comprised by 3 municipalities with isolated host communities, 3 municipalities with a non-isolated host community, 2 municipalities with polarised enclaves, 2 municipalities with mixed enclaves, and 2 municipalities with exclusive enclaves. The selection of these last 12 categories took into account the fact that a range of sizes and different majority groups by origin were represented. Two interviews were therefore carried out for most categories, one in Catalonia and one in Spain. Far from seeking a representative sample design, the aim has been to allow the greatest possible heterogeneity in accordance with the criteria selected as analytically relevant.

**Table 1.- Interview categories for Catalonia and Rest of Spain**

CATALONIA					THE REST OF SPAIN					
Cat.	Type of enclave	Municipality size	Segregation level	N.E.	Cat.	Type of enclave	Municipality size	Segregation level	N.E.	
1	Isolated Host Communities	1,000-10,000	Low		1	Isolated Host Communities	1,000-10,000	Low		
2		30,000-50,000	Medium		2		10,000-30,000	Low		
3		100,000-1,000,000	Medium		3		100,000-1,000,000	Medium		
4	Non Isolated Host Communities	1,000-10,000	Low		4	Non Isolated Host Communities	1,000-10,000	Low		
5		30,000-50,000	Low		5		1,000-10,000	Low		
6		50,000-100,000	Low		6		30,000-50,000	Medium		
6bis					7				Low	1
7	Plural	1,000-10,000	Low		8	Plural	1,000-10,000	Medium	1	
8	Plural	1,000-10,000	Medium		9			High	1	
9	Plural	1,000-10,000	High	1	10			10,000-30,000	Low	1
10			Low	2	11		Medium		1	
11			Medium	2	12		High		1	
12		30,000-50,000	High	1	13		30,000-50,000	Low	1	
13			Low	1	14			Medium	2	
14			Medium	4	15			High	1	
14bis			1	16	50,000-100,000		Low	Low	4	
15	Plural	30,000-50,000	High					17	Medium	1
16	Plural	50,000-100,000	Low					18	High	3
17	Plural	50,000-100,000	Medium				18bis	High	4	
18	Plural	50,000-100,000	High				19	Low	1	
19	Plural	100,000-1,000,000	Low	1			20	100,000-1,000,000	Medium	1
20			Medium	6	21		High		1	
20bis				1	22		> 1,000,000		Low	15
21			High	1	23		Mixed	50,000-100,000	High	6
21bis		3	24	10,000-30,000	High			3		
22		> 1,000,000	Low	18	25		Polarized	30,000-50,000	High	6
23	Mixed				26	100,000-1,000,000		Medium	14	
24					27	Exclusive	30,000-50,000	Medium	2	
25	Polarized				28		50,000-100,000	High	4	
26										
27	Exclusive									
28										

Cat.: Category; N.E.: Number of enclaves

In practice, this classification led to certain difficulties when selecting municipalities that exemplified the group prototype. We therefore adopted different strategies for Catalonia and the rest of Spain. Catalonia showed no examples of mixed, polarised, or exclusive enclaves so we decided to complement the discourse of Catalan immigration specialists with that of people occupying political posts in 10 of the municipalities, in order to represent the different ideological viewpoints in local government. Examples of the 28 categories existed in the rest of Spain although all of the enclaves were concentrated in only 6 autonomous communities: Community of Madrid, Valencian Community, Andalusia, Murcia, the Balearic Islands, and the Canary Islands. In order to obtain the broadest possible geographical representation, we therefore selected 6 municipalities in 6 of the remaining autonomous communities, Galicia, Castile and León, Castile La Mancha,

the Basque Country, La Rioja, and Aragón. These represent the isolated and non-isolated host community categories (where there are no enclaves), which cover the vast majority of Spanish municipalities. Only 0.75% of all census tracks have an enclave.

Fieldwork was carried out in 2013. The interviews lasted between approximately 90 minutes and two hours. All interviews were carried out in person at the municipal offices. The interviewees had previously been shown the results of the territorial analysis of their municipalities (cartography as well as dissimilarity and isolation indices). After this they filled in a form detailing the basic demographic data for the interview (position, length of time in position, and political party in government). Finally, the interview was conducted and audio-recorded with prior consent from the interviewees and guarantees of anonymity for both interviewee and municipality. The transcriptions are in the language used for the interview (Spanish, Catalan, or Galician, in keeping with the interviewee's preference).

## **2.2.- The voice of the immigration staff member: a special kind of discursive genre**

Before discussing the results, it is necessary to address the singularity of the discourse under analysis. The immigration staff member's account differs from that of the politician. Although immigration specialists (and the few political appointees) interviewed were asked to indicate where their points of view on immigration management differed, this is not our concern here. Rather, we wish to discuss a prior subject with noteworthy theoretical and methodological depth: the specificity of the voice of the local government immigrant specialist or, if one prefers, his or her discursive genre and its consequences for the analysis. In accordance with Mikhail Bakhtin's terminology (2011), we use the term "discursive genre" to designate the use of language in a particular area of human activity which, in this case, would be that of the public service employee working in immigration management. In this sense, "political discourse" differs from what we shall call, for the sake of brevity, "technical discourse". Although similar in thematic content (given that both types are concerned with immigration at the municipal level as something to be managed), they vary somewhat in their vocabulary and clearly in their style. Hence, one of the outstanding characteristics of the immigration specialists' discourse regarding immigration management, which also characterises their style, is a pragmatic approach towards seeking feasible objectives within the tradition of the administrative culture wherein they have been socialised (Caponio, 2010). Of course, any technical discursive genre responds to its historical circumstances, and it is defined with reference to other

discursive genres (for example, political discourse, scientific discourse, or media discourse), while also being influenced by the assault of neoliberal ideology on management itself, whereby the use of terms and concepts coined in the entrepreneurial field is extended. Immigration staff and politicians share the self-censoring weight of what is deemed to be “politically correct” and, their discourse is similarly mediated by ideology (with varying degrees of self-awareness). In contrast with politicians, however, immigration specialists do not have an audience and neither nor do they try to shape their discourse to what they believe are the demands of their electorate (Van Dijk, 2009; Vasiliachis de Gialdino, 2014). Moreover, immigration technicians usually have much a much wider-ranging and closer view of the subject (with all the pros and cons of this) than politicians do, thus becoming in a certain sense the “living memory” of the administration’s immigration management policy and therefore rather more than just the social agent responsible for its application.

What each immigration specialist has to say in the interview – its content – belongs, then, to his or her specific discursive genre, while also linking up with other statements coming under the headings of a range of other genres making up the discursive framework regarding immigration and the immigrant population. This framework characterises the voice of the immigration specialist through a complex conceptual structure which is polarised between proximity (with the immigrants and their demands) and distance (as a result of performing the roles of administrator and supplier of goods and services).

### **3.- The Normative Discourse: From Diversity to Interculturality**

#### **3.1.- Intercultural space and time**

Interculturality generally, although not always, appears as the normative model for cultural diversity management, which one of the interviewees defines as the “*process of mutual assimilation for building a new citizenry*”. The guiding principle is preservation of social cohesion. In this scheme, diversity, in its simplest definition, takes into account the number of nationalities arriving in the municipality and, in a more complex approach, incorporates the associated linguistic plurality (especially, as might be expected, in the municipalities of the Autonomous Communities which have another official language besides Castilian), religious and socioeconomic differences, as well as the varying conditions under which the

migratory process occurs and which mark the variety of situations in which immigrants find themselves. These include family circumstances, employment conditions, age at time of arrival, and gender. Above all, however, the predominant perception is that of cultural pluralism (which is defined on exceptional occasions as ethnic pluralism in order to introduce the subject of racism).

In management terms, this same normative discourse positively associates diversity with the idea of intercultural richness, recognising that it has evolved into an ethical construct (Vertovec, 2002) in which the diversity arising from immigration is just one of its components and, accordingly, of the policies addressing immigration management (Zapata and Van Ewijk, 2011). In rural contexts in which depopulation is a major concern, the immigration specialists value diversity as a demographic contribution (working population and birth rate) in a utilitarian but very appreciative sense. Then again, others have drawn attention to “diversity exhaustion”, this referring to the educational effort involved in trying to remedy the distortions caused by the prejudices and misunderstandings inherent to diversity. Here, we find a wide range of actions, from simple celebration of cultural differences (gastronomy, craft, and clothing shows or festivals featuring local traditions) through to the demand that management personnel should reflect the municipality’s composition by countries of origin. There are also actions designed to oblige intercultural contact (intercultural mediation in general, seeking leaders who would seem to synthesise the intercultural paradigm, ethnic businesses, joint sporting activities, providing linguistic resources to facilitate communication and creating ecumenical spaces for religious diversity). We also find organs of representative organisation and municipal participation guided by the diversity principal, these taking the forms of spaces for debate and exchange called “intercultural forums” or “community building forums”. However, a certain degree of frustration is frequently expressed because of the gap between the goals pursued and the limited results, as repeatedly shown with regard to efforts to stimulate interaction and mutual learning processes among people of diverse origins, which are sometimes expressed in terms of community building or understanding. In this sense, the work of the manager is concerned with both the immigrant and the local resident and, at times, management unwittingly ends up moving away from both parties in the name of arbitration, the most energetic expression of which would be “consciousness-raising” activities – where reciprocity or dual directionality is conceived as a key element of interculturality – with immigrants but preferably among local residents. Nevertheless,

managers are also aware of the need to guide their “intercultural capacity building” actions towards the local administration, entities and associations. This is deemed to be an essential tool in the process and one which, used as a form of mediation and thereby “creating connections and structures”, functions as an “integrative element” from the overall perspective, which is to say one that is aimed at the entire population.

The spatial dimension in the interculturality discourse is represented by the idea of “proximity” in the territory beyond the municipal entity as a whole, where the action is often located in public spaces, in neighbourhoods and in nearby communities as well as in spaces where people meet and interrelate, such as associations and libraries. From an applied point of view, priority is given to “community life” over “social cohesion” (in the broad sense), in which immigration managers see themselves as figures who should “encourage” and, on occasion, “force” gatherings, approaches, or approximation with the different groups when experience shows that they do not occur naturally. The task of creating these “meeting spaces” and ensuring that they are associated with real citizen participation is so fraught with difficulty that it is always perceived as something of a battle. As for the temporal dimension, it is also conspicuously present, shaping the progress of a slow and developing process from which there is no turning back and whose goal is glimpsed in the challenge of community building and equal opportunities. This “idea of a process” (*little by little, small contributions, dealing with problems as they appear*) goes hand-in-hand with the awareness that intervention by the administration is necessary, in the form of monitoring throughout the process of re-socialisation, which is known to be slow. Some immigration managers, however, express a “feeling of progress” when they look at the everyday realities in their towns and see that their efforts have not been in vain. The perception of difficulty sometimes appears in the discourse where the ideas of “effort” and “challenge” are repeatedly mentioned, and ardently so in times of economic recession.

The influence of the crisis is felt when interviewees introduce the argument about the need to consider equal opportunities as a frame of reference for community building or, more simply, when discussing the impossibility of undertaking such actions when budget cuts have reduced room for manoeuvre to very limited welfare work, which is sometimes frustrating for the immigration manager. In their discourse, one sees how the yearning for equal opportunities becomes focused on children. Then schools and high schools appear as by far the best spaces for normalisation and prevention of racist and xenophobic attitudes.

### 3.2.- The normative project

Why normative discourse? First, some Autonomous Communities (for example Catalonia) have adopted interculturality as the official line defining an immigration policy which is obligatorily focused on settlement because controlling immigration flows is the exclusive jurisdiction of the state (Zapata, 2012). This discourse is usually presented as a “third way” or the Autonomous Community’s own model, which is halfway between “assimilationist” and “multicultural”. The Catalan case is paradigmatic in this regard (Bisrl and Soler, 2004). Here, interculturality becomes a definition of identity referring to the country’s immigration tradition, which is repeatedly cited as part of family memory by interviewees as immigrants or descendants of immigrants from other parts of Spain who came to Catalonia in the twentieth century migrations. Nevertheless, this identity probing is not confined to immigrant-receiving regions since it is also expressed in terms of the more or less recent historic memory of regions with significant levels of emigration (for example, Andalusia), or as a way of recovering the history of Al-Andalus, which is embodied in the names of towns of other communities, as also happens in Aragón and Valencia. Neither is it unusual to find that identity appears at the local level, in which case the reference becomes a municipal idiosyncrasy, which is linked with its model of a city or town (and, accordingly, to its management) and expressed in terms of identity.

Second, this orientation is also presented in canonical form when the municipality defines “interculturality” as an objective coming under the heading of diversity management, related in this case, with the concept of new citizenship which appeared during the nineties (Bosniak, 2007), usually associated with belonging to European networks established for this purpose (for instance, the *Spanish Network of Intercultural Cities*, RECI<sup>1</sup>), some members of which were included in the interviews (Barcelona, Cartagena, Fuenlabrada, and Parla). To these might be added municipalities where specific training activities have been undertaken as part of intercultural management. Some interviewees participated in these. Notable among them is the project funded by the Social Programme of the bank “La Caixa” and led by anthropologist Carlos Giménez, which was being carried out at the time our fieldwork was being done in some of the municipalities (Giménez, 2012; Giménez and Lobera, 2014), including Barcelona, Madrid, Logroño, Tortosa, El Ejido, and Salt. The vocabulary and definition of this project were easily recognisable. For example,

---

<sup>1</sup> RECI (Red Española de Ciudades Interculturales – Spanish Network of Intercultural Cities) is the Spanish network of the Council of Europe’s Intercultural Cities programme.



“coexistence” was distinguished from “interculturality”, where the former is generally expressed as “turning a blind eye” and the latter as the transition from coexistence to community building. Part of this normative discourse includes the practice of transversality in overall municipal management and moving beyond concepts such as “immigrant” and “integration”, although managers do express disagreement on finding that the theory is lacking when it has to be put into practice.

Finally, what the interviewees did not say was just as revealing as their statements: immigration specialists in municipalities characterised by the presence of residential enclaves of populations from north and central Europe (mainly British and German), which show the highest levels of concentration and segregation, rarely use the term “interculturality” when discussing their management work. These municipalities stand out from the rest because of activity that is split between residents from northern and central Europe – generically referred to as “foreigners”, with a focus on the administrative areas of tourism, culture, and citizen participation – and residents from non-EU countries (together with Romanians and Bulgarians), who are called “immigrants”, and are mainly pigeonholed in social welfare and social services, although, on fewer occasions, they are also included in the work of other departments (Citizenship and Community Building, Citizenship and Civicism, and Equal Opportunity).

#### **4.- A Politically Incorrect Question Regarding Integration**

##### **4.1.- On classification**

Classification, which is imposed as a form of narrative obviousness, usually alluding to the immigrant’s place (or State) of birth or nationality is the first filter in the process of constructing the evaluative discourse with reference to any particular group. The interviewee tends mainly to refer to, for example, “Romanians, Senegalese, or the Chinese”. This type of identificatory unit is not the only one as supranational groupings frequently appear under four headings: “Latin Americans”, “Sub-Saharan”, “Western Europeans” and “Eastern Europeans”. The terms “Africans” and “Asians” are less common. Nevertheless, the predominant unifying element is not political-geographic, as these labels would seem to suggest but, rather, cultural affinity (Latin Americans), racial (Sub-Saharan), and political-economic (Western and Eastern Europeans). In the case of

Asians and Africans, owing to the heterogeneity of the former and the division into two subgroups of the latter (Maghrebis and Sub-Saharan), these terms are used metonymically, referring in the end to a single group (speaking, for example, of “Asians” but thinking exclusively of people born in Pakistan or China, or of Maghrebis rather than Moroccans as a more palatable form of the politically incorrect “*moro*” [Moor]).

As if this level of complexity were not sufficient, on many other occasions there is an implicit understanding that, when speaking about young people or the “second generation”, the collective adjective does not refer to place of birth but to the ethno-cultural classification grouped under the national label. Thus, no distinction is made between “Chinese” immigrants born in China (independently of their nationality) and those born in Spain. As a result, the apparently simple descriptive label that makes the group recognisable actually shifts the discourse towards a very different kind of evaluation, which is not clearly stated. Beyond the moral order implied by the judgement inherent to the categorisation, which has been noted by several authors (see Vasiliachis de Gialdino, 2014), what is of interest to us is the relationship between the categorisation and the construction of populations and identities.

#### **4.2.- Aversion to the concept of “integration”?**

According to intercultural orthodoxy, the word “integration” is not very popular. It can even give rise to theoretical unease, taking with it the perception of interculturality, as one immigration specialist explains:

*“...But the thing is, in our everyday work, the word ‘integration’ is not used very much. I don’t like it at all, but I haven’t been able to find an alternative. Well, not for everyday usage, no, no way. I think, for example, as I said, that all this stuff about interculturality and all the rest, well I don’t think it’s real. It’s all very well to talk about, and we’ve come to this point, but the reality is that no... there’s no knowledge about cultures, there’s no consistency, and sometimes the theoretical discourse sounds very lovely, but the reality is something else.”*

Cat. 14b, pluralist enclave, 30-50 thousand residents, s. medium, Catalonia

Quite a lot of the interviewees reminded us that an individual’s integration cannot be measured by his or her belonging to a particular collective, whatever its cultural proximity

or distance may be and, since this is a two-way process, the viewpoint and characteristics of the local population must be included as well. In this dual process, integration, from the immigrant's point of view becomes a process of acceptance by the local population (Pennix and Martiniello, 2004) while, for the latter, it means shedding prejudices. Some interviewees (especially in the pilot interviews) accused us of asking a type of question that is, in itself, loaded, or at least misleading. This opinion is summed up in the following statement made by one of the immigration specialists:

*"It's not the origin but the living conditions of the individual that determine whether he or she will find it [integration] more or less easy. And then, there is the position of the host society with respect to the person because, if they're constantly reminding you that you're a foreigner and so on and so forth, well, hell, in the end it's going to be hard on that person [laughs]"*.

Cat. 6b, non-isolated host community, 50-100 thousand residents, s. low, Catalonia

"Integration", then, is no longer a group issue since it becomes a process that involves families or people as individuals and, in any case, there are other notable characteristics that might explain the more or less rapid adjustment of a person belonging to a particular group, for example the size of the group within the municipality (although there were different readings of this, with some people believing that a large group makes integration easier, and others believing the opposite), whether the immigrant is of rural origin, his or her educational level, whether he or she becomes a Spanish citizen, knowledge of the language, time of residence, type of job, residential segregation, and, as we have noted, the attitude of the local residents (towards a particular group, whether it is defined by culture or by phenotype) and the media discourse constructed around one or other community of origin. In brief, one interviewee admitted that:

*"There are cultures that do indeed... Perhaps they have a certain disposition, a way of behaving that makes it [their integration] easier, or they want it more, or are more open. Yes, yes, yes, that's what I think [laughs]"*.

Cat. 14b, pluralist enclave, 30-50 thousand residents, s. medium, Catalonia

## **5.- From Stereotype to Discrimination: The Geometric Variable of Interculturality**

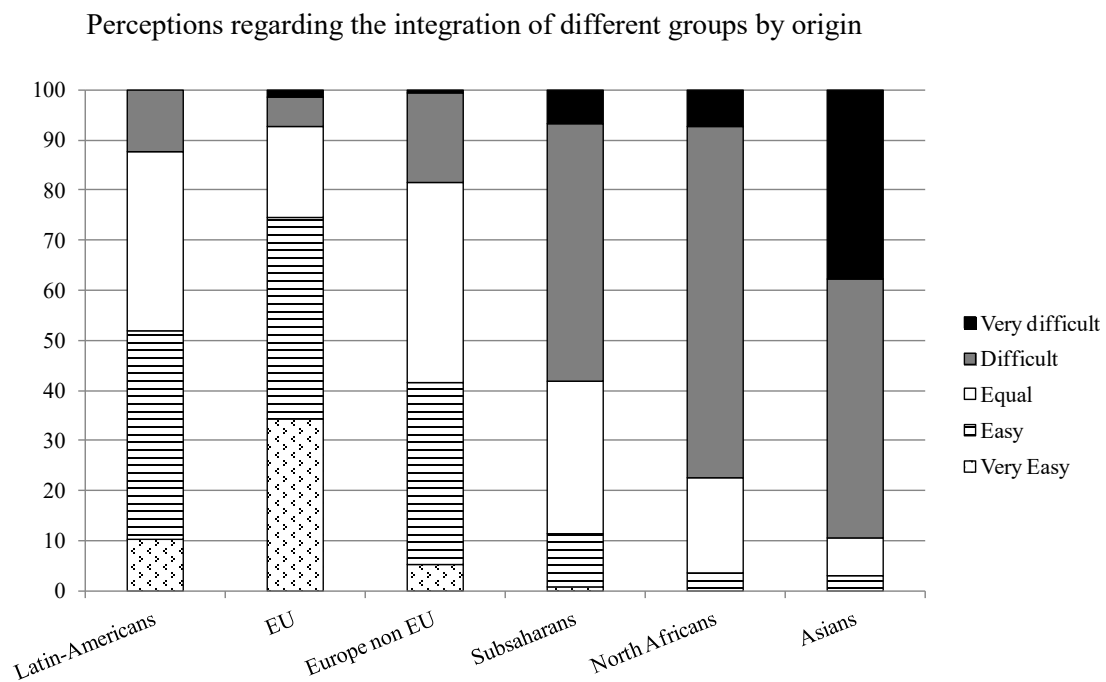
### **5.1.- Confirming difference**

Perceiving the integration of immigrants on the basis of the national or ethnic groups to which they belong, or the predisposition of the group as a whole, resorts in the end (as might be expected) to prejudices and stereotypes based on the way in which the majority group to which the immigration specialists belong views the situation. Here, we shall turn our attention to the times when they use such stereotypes and when this use becomes discriminatory. Recall that the function of the stereotype is hierarchical (moving from best to worst), normative (evaluative), and differentiating (Tajfel, 1981). Furthermore, this prejudice answers a need to strengthen the interests of the group that feels threatened (Wilson, 2001). The important point is that it ends up unconsciously imposing a normative framework on perceptions and relationships between the groups involved, this affecting individuals, the administration and, of course the immigration specialists working in (and at times representing) the administration. The construction of stereotypes regarding the different origins (cultures, ethnic groups, or religions) of people present in the municipalities significantly predates the immigration of people belonging to these same groups since they embrace historical prejudices that have contributed to the construction of national identity, or what some authors have called the “geography of affinities” (Le Bras, 2012), this being based on a meticulous variable geometry of constructed distances/differences, regardless of whether the stereotypes are actually confirmed by individual or group attitudes. Although prejudice is perpetuated and fuelled by the multiplicity of minority groups resulting from international immigration (Bobo and Hutchings, 1996), polarisation between “us” and “them” continue to be the matrix of technical discourse.

The variability of this geometry would seem to be proven by the fact that evidence of the cultural predisposition which is generally accepted in the end seems, nevertheless, to be contradicted occasionally when one compares answers regarding preferences and aversions of the immigration staff members (and politicians) from the different municipalities. Although prejudices and stereotypes are fixed (in both their negative and supposedly positive dimensions), we find that, when compared, people from all origins can come to be evaluated as more or less amenable to integration. One might say for a start that those who are “last” can come to be the first, including Moroccans (if we are referring to nationality)

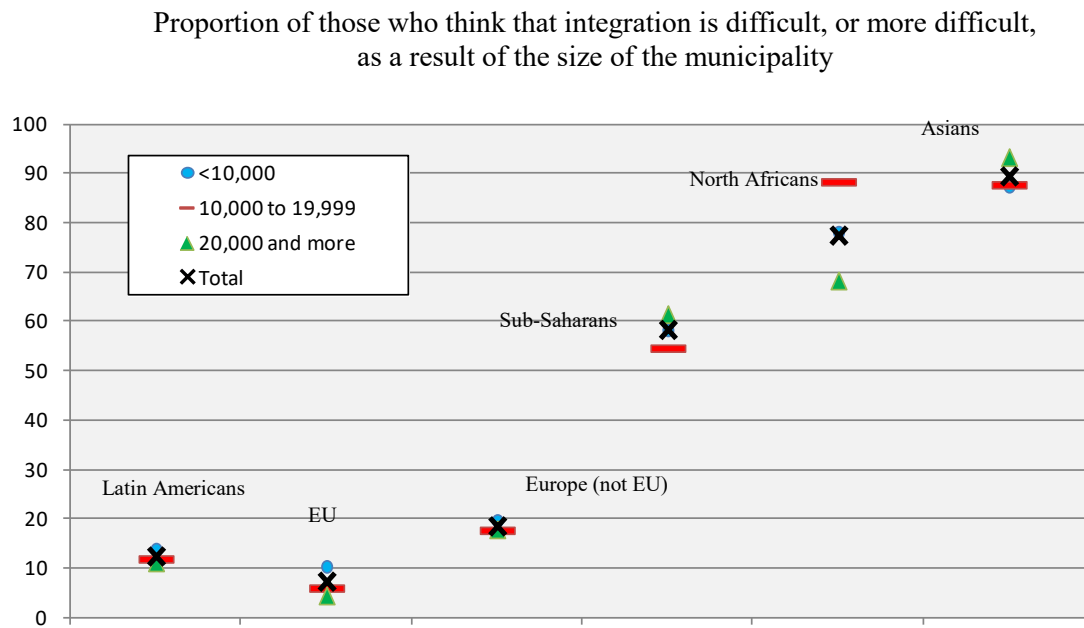
or Muslims (if we are referring to religion), who constitute one of the groups registering the most negative perceptions in opinion polls along with Asians (Díez Nicolás, 2005; Cea D’Ancona, 2013). This is backed up by the assessment made on the basis of the survey of immigration specialists from municipalities in Catalonia, Andalusia and the Autonomous Community of Madrid, which was carried out concurrently with our research as a part of the frame project (see Figure 1 and Figure 2). Conversely, nationalities such as the Senegalese or Latin Americans usually appear in a positive light because of their “desire for integration”, although some people see them as the most refractory or conflictive groups. The Gypsy population would be an exception. According to our survey results, the integration of Asian migrants is perceived as the most difficult. Interviewees explain this in terms of their relative invisibility, or in terms of cocooning.

**Figure 1- Do you believe that certain communities integrate more easily than others?**



Source: “Demographic Change and Management of Diversity” survey (GEDEM), 2013

**Figure 2.- Do you think that there are communities that integrate more easily than others?**



Source: "Demographic change and the management of diversity" survey (GEDEM), 2013

## 5.2.- Stereotypes attributed to different origins

Before discussing this clearly discriminatory discourse, we also need to note the positive and negative evaluations with regard to the larger continental groups or the specific nationalities therein. These evaluations are always expressed in comparative terms, with regard to both the local population and other groups. Stereotypical images are remarkably persistent and have been identified in previous studies (Jabazz and Moncusí, 2010). Hence, in the case of the Latin American population, there is almost total unanimity with respect to the shared language as a facilitator of communication and, consequently, a tool of integration. Their higher level of education is also highlighted, especially among immigrants from certain countries (for example, Argentina and Cuba), as well as their greater willingness to participate and join associations. Their phenotype is closer to that of the autochthonous population. On the other hand, we have also found complaints about occupation and use of public space, youth gangs, religious practices (whether Catholic or Protestant), antisocial behaviour (alcohol abuse), and male chauvinism.

At the opposite end of the spectrum, public opinion clearly tips down on the negative side of the balance in the case of the Maghrebi population (mostly Moroccans). Only in one town was the Moroccan population considered to be more amenable than the rest. Their

tendency towards endogamy, and even encapsulation, frequently related with the religious question, is seen as problematic. Also emphasised is their low level of education (although this is explained by their rural origins, specifically the Rif region). Also mentioned is their low level of participation (seen as linked with the dictatorial tradition of their country), use of violence (aimed at children), the subordinate role of the women (which explains their isolation), connections with delinquency (especially the drug trade), and their arrogant attitude while demanding goods and services from the Spanish administration. Although the Sub-Saharan population is said to share some these problems with the Moroccans, they also serve as a counterpoint and are sympathetically portrayed by most of the interviewees. This perception is, however, called into question when certain particular national or ethnic groups are considered. Ghanaians and Senegalese have the best reputation, whereas Gambians, the Serahule (or Soninke people) and Nigerians are not so highly regarded for various reasons. Nevertheless, the Sub-Saharans are widely praised for their willingness to participate and even for their efforts to mix with the local population, the solidarity within their group, and their establishment of networks of mutual support. Also recognised is the fact that the linguistic diversity of their countries of origin makes them more open to understanding the linguistic plurality of their municipality of residence. In contrast, other immigration specialists pointed out what they saw as negative elements, these including Islam (Ramadan), female genital mutilation, polygamy, violence towards children, and drug trafficking. One important point is that the most critical stance appeared in towns where the Sub-Saharan population is seen to be engaging in unfair disloyal competition *vis-à-vis* the local businesspeople.

The discourse referring to the Asiatic population is marked by a certain feeling of ignorance, basically focusing on two main groups, the Chinese, on the one hand, and Pakistanis and Punjabi Indians on the other. Both groups are said to have an entrepreneurial and commercial spirit characterised by self-owned businesses within a labour market based on tight networks of support which are apparently not affected by unemployment during times of crisis. Both groups are also noted for their expansion into new sectors of activity, from groceries to fresh products and phone shops among the Pakistanis and, among the Chinese, restaurants, cheap household goods, bars, and wholesale textile commerce. Their demands are limited to basic administrative or business-related procedures and they are practically non-existent in the sphere of social welfare. The closed nature of their communities is emphasised and explained by the significant cultural

distance and the language barrier, although the absence of conflict in these groups is also noted. In any case, the Chinese community is given more attention since its apparent (commercial) visibility contrasts with its social invisibility. Interviewees remark on their culture of hard work and effort, their business sense, the importance they give to family and mutual aid, and the high standards they expect when it comes to their children's education. Yet, they are seen as being cloaked in mystery with respect to their customs, ways of life, and business practices (not infrequently related to mafia groups and money laundering through "shell companies"). The Pakistanis, with their youthful profile, are believed to have a positive attitude regarding their migratory experience and also a desire to learn. Yet, questions are raised about their gender roles (though it is an eminently male community) and issues like the forced interruption of their daughters' studies after obligatory primary education and arranged marriages. The Sikh population, a special case, is usually viewed more sympathetically by the immigration specialists in the municipalities where they reside than by their fellow Spaniards.

Finally, with respect to the population of European origin, we find a perpetuation of the dichotomy between Eastern and Western Europeans, which we shall analyse separately. Among Eastern Europeans, one group stood out, namely the Romanians. The vast majority of comments refer to them, although there are references to Bulgarians, Ukrainians, and Russians as well. In general, this group is thought to be hardworking and close to the local population, while the significant number of mixed unions with women (but not men) from the East is considered to be significant. Religious affinities and conservatism are also emphasised. For many of the immigration specialists, the Communist past of these countries would explain the more reserved and self-contained behaviour (trying not to be noticed) of these people. In the cases of the Romanian group, finer distinctions are made since "urban" Romanians are considered to be very different from "rural" people, who are also lumped together with Romanian Gypsies or the "Roma" people. This distinction appears in practically all of the municipalities where the Romanian population comprises a significant percentage. The first members of this group to arrive, pioneer migrants who came as soon as Romania joined the EU, are considered to be good workers, "easy-going", willing to integrate, able to adapt to norms, good at learning the language(s), easy to get along with, and totally or almost undemanding in terms of resources. As for their appearance, it is said that they totally blend in with the local population. Although they do not cause problems, they are criticised for their lack of interest in associations and non-



participation as citizens. Romanian Gypsies or Roma people are rarely, if ever, seen in a positive light. They came later, in large numbers and in a very brief period of time. They are identified with “problems” and constantly compared with the Spanish Gypsy population. Their mostly rural origins have shaped ways of life and customs that are not well accepted in urban contexts. Their low level of education is stressed, together with many problems of coexistence in the community (associated with their high degree of concentration in the territory), begging (related with high levels of unemployment), their misuse of public space, constant stealing and petty theft, school absenteeism, lack of family planning, marked gender roles, little concern about hygiene and scruffy clothing. Apart from Romanians and Bulgarians, who are frequently lumped together (although ethnic differentiation is much less marked in the latter group), other groups are regularly mentioned by way of contrast. For instance, affluent Russians who come to invest in tourist areas are compared with Albanian Kosovars who are associated with mafia organisations and thieving in the same tourism zones.

When speaking of Western Europeans (EU-25), the interviewees mainly refer to the English, French, and Germans, in addition to Belgians, Dutch, and Scandinavians, although to a lesser extent. Their condition as members of the EU exempts them from being deemed immigrants, which means that they are usually labelled as “foreigners”. Their greater age as retired people also contributes to their labelling. In this regard, they tend to be viewed more negatively (although not as problematic) than positively. On the positive side, they are appreciated for their public spiritedness, their (presently) moderate political participation, their economic resources (which revitalise the economy), and their contributions to society by way of donations or showing solidarity on particular dates. On the negative side, their isolation and high degree of endogamy (using only their own restaurants and professional services), their ignorance and lack of interest in the language (especially the British), their excessive consumption of alcohol, and a growing demand for health services among the elderly (generally associated with single people or broken families) were emphasised.

Interestingly, certain subjects tend to concentrate opinions citing cultural distance with respect to people of all origins, although each in a different way. Use of violence, women’s autonomy, and forms of religious practice (more than the religion itself) are the three most outstanding examples. Before closing this section, we should also like to emphasise that these interpretations, although they include references to cultural categorisation, also seek

out other aspects of the matter. In some cases, among the problems that have been identified are those deemed to result from defective practice introduced by the administration itself. One interviewee explains:

*“I believe that the Moroccan population in this town... or in this region where they arrived for the first time, where they were used, where they were told their rights but in exchange for nothing because they were the first. Well, it’s a bit like your first child, right? It’s like the mistakes you make with your first one, and the advantages too, right?”*

Cat. 21 b, pluralist enclave, 100 thousand-1 million residents, s. high, Murcia

## **6.- Discriminatory Views**

With some exceptions, the immigration manager’s discourse tends, *a priori*, to avoid showing any trace of a racist or xenophobic position. If this comes out in the interview, as sometimes happens, the words are generally attributed to members of the local population. Part of the immigration specialist’s work would be to change this attitude by means of educational activities. In exceptional cases they also criticise attitudes, of political appointees in charge of diversity management (and their direct superiors), which totally contravene the intercultural framework, a complaint that extends to the whole of the municipal institution. These points of view, which are a product of the situation of economic crisis, are manifestations of simmering racism.

*“It’s in the villages where it’s most notable.... I’m not talking about racist discourse, not at all. I’m talking about perceptions of speech. The mayor comes along and he says to a councillor, ‘Look, why did you suggest this if there is no way to manage it... we don’t even have resources for our people from here...’ Then, when they tell you this.... that’s when you realise that it’s not about this [what is said] it’s about the person who says it. And if the person who says it thinks this way, and this person has to run things, then, you can imagine that there’s a local resident who... so this is because the resident talked to him as well... anyway, that’s what I think.... And I think that in the next few years, there will be signs of racism. At least, we have the raw material for that.”*

Cat. 25, polarised enclave, 30-50 thousand residents, s. high, Murcia

This distancing by the interviewee from “other people’s” opinions makes it difficult to discern whether any part of the discourse might be shared by the immigration specialist. Nevertheless, we have detected four large, recurrent areas of inconsistency in the discourse of some interviewees, revealing outright contradiction with the intercultural doctrine they say they uphold or take as their reference. These are a lack of the “impartiality” they claim; naturalising difference, even while asserting at first that this is a social construct; the tension that is established between a group’s “visibility” and “invisibility”; and, finally, what we call “inverting the argument with regard to integration”. These inconsistencies can be detected as generally intrinsic to the use of language although they are not exclusively circumscribed by this, since they can sometimes be ascribed to lack of logical rigour in the discourse itself.

### **6.1.- Loss of impartiality**

The main discriminatory assumption occurs, then, when the immigration specialist clearly abandons the role of arbitrator that is attributed to him or her and, as a result of this, the ability to take a distance when confronted with stereotypes. Then, his or her own statement ends up being confused with prejudices previously expressed by others. Awareness that this kind of inconsistency is frowned upon leads them to resort to what has been called “apparent negation” (Van Dijk, 1992; 2003). Conscious of what is implied by his or her words, the individual concerned tends to precede the unsavoury statement with disclaimer along the lines of, “*This might sound xenophobic but it’s not ...*” Although such provisos can be introduced ahead of any kind of stereotyped assertion, they tend to be used to a large extent when migrants are advised to return to their countries of origin as the best solution for escaping a situation of poverty or social exclusion. Along with this paradoxical type of statement, the second sign of loss of the arbiter’s role appears when the words “they” and “us” are clearly employed throughout the discourse, especially when it comes to explaining different kinds of behaviour that are judged negative. In the case of bilingual communities, as in Catalonia, this distance can be underscored by selective use of language, in which case Catalan is used when referring to “us”, since this is the language in which the interview is done, and Spanish when reference is made to “them”, or when one is given to understand that the interviewee is addressing any immigrant. This, of course, reflects normal practice in which Spanish is used when people speak to immigrants, either because it is the person’s language (as is the case with the Latin American population) or

because it is assumed that the person speaks it better than Catalan. Language is an element of both discrimination and inclusion and, still more, it might even be suggesting a subtle intrusion of political doctrine. In these circumstances, Spanish is used to repeat party slogans like a mantra (when the party is defined by its loyalties to Spain), while Catalan continues to be used for discourse in general. The switch of language, which is totally unconscious but also systematic, takes on an ideological load when normative ideas and value judgements are expressed in Spanish.

*“It’s the same old story, right? **“You have to know to understand, and integrate for order”**. It’s the desire... well, reading... I’ve seen how someone worries about **how are they’re feeling or suffering** and, because of what I said earlier, it’s ends up being a bit about the idea of knowing in order to understand, eh... I think the other thing is to **integrate for order** and this concerns us as administrators, or managers, however you want to put it. But the other part is knowing to understand, so later on, you can see a certain reciprocity. But to start with, it’s an act of generosity and that’s something that we all need...”*

Cat. 21, pluralist enclave, 100 thousand -1 million residents, s. high, Catalonia

Note: Spanish in **bold**, the rest in Catalan

## 6.2. Naturalising difference

Second, we find the phenomenon of naturalising difference in which, although most people assume that the sociodemographic context is determinant in settling immigrant population and perceptions about it, there are others who view behaviour that is decried as an obstacle to integration as an essence or second nature, a standpoint we would describe as clearly prejudicial. As the next interview fragment shows, an explanation that begins by saying that overcrowding is a key factor in a conflict, ends up by assigning blame because “that’s the way they are” (in this case, the Senegalese population).

*“The first immigrants to arrive here were Senegalese. Three or four of them used to wander around the town selling these little figures made of wood and so on and people even liked it. They said, “Look, how exotic!”, and since then, it [immigration] has been flooding in, right? (...). Here, there are at least three or four thousand [Senegalese] in the summer. Then, of course, there are those who aren’t... who aren’t registered, but they’re living in houses with 15, 20, 25 people, among other things, and then, they go out creating neighbourhood problems that are incredible sometimes, right? But that’s the way they are. They start*

*cooking at five in the morning when it's Ramadan, or before daylight, and of course the neighbours get very worked up about it ...."*

Cat. 11, pluralist enclave, 10-30 thousand residents, s - average, Catalonia

Naturalising difference occurs when a particular type of behaviour is identified with a specific population. Among the recurrent themes are gender relations and family structure.

*"They're very hardworking, but on the weekends, they really like to party and they drink a lot, so.... But it stays among them. I mean, it's not that they cause problems with their Spanish neighbours and so on. No, they keep it among themselves, because here... well, here, I don't know if it was last year but I think it was last year ... well, you know, they like to swing in couples.... Not exactly that kind of swapping, if you get what I mean .... Well, one guy goes with the other one's girlfriend, the other one's wife, but he doesn't want his own wife to go out.... The problem that the Latinos have is that, because they have children with one woman and then another and... I don't know, they get tired and don't divorce and they never settle anything: never. So when they want to do something and move on, they can't because they need the permits to leave for whatever it is they want, and of course to go back".*

Cat. 11, non-isolated host community, 10-30 thousand, s. medium, Murcia

### **6.3. Tension between “visibility” and “invisibility”**

Third, we should draw attention to what we have described as the tension between visibility and invisibility. If, at times, the social visibility of the immigrant is an attribute that makes diversity perceptible so that it is seen as something positive, there are also people who view this visibility as an obstacle to integration by comparison with people of other origins. This negative perception of visibility frequently refers to phenotype. Then skin colour becomes a metonymic reference for ethnic group or race, and a marker of the greatest possible distance.

*I think that the relationship between a local and a coloured person is different (...). No, I don't believe that there are many Romanian Gypsies although people say that the population is made up of Romanians, Poles, [and] Bulgarians. I believe that, basically, they are more acceptable than the rest of the immigrant population, and it's because of colour.... If you see a Black, then you say, 'Look, a black!'"*

Cat. 6d. Non-isolated host community, 100 thousand-1 million residents, s. medium, Madrid

By contrast, we could point out that sometimes the conviction of shared identity with Latin Americans, which is the underlying reason for their greater acceptance, means being blind to phenotypical difference so people frequently say, when referring to the Latin American population, as happens with some interviewees, that they are “just like us”.

Invisibility in itself is harshly criticised when it is understood as the result of the reclusiveness of a particular population. This has become a commonplace with regard to the Asian population in general, and especially the Chinese. The best known example is the “urban legend” about Chinese immortality.

*“And in fact... this is a joke that I’m going to tell you. Recently, they were talking about it on television... What do they do with the Chinese here when they die? The Chinese guy certainly got angry, yes he got really angry. Here, there are no ... well, I’ve never seen a Chinese funeral... and he said that it’s because when they see that someone is going to die – though perhaps someone will die without their predicting it – but when they can predict it, they take him to his country. But, really, I...”*

Cat. 11, pluralist enclave, 10-30 thousand residents, s - average, Catalonia

#### **6.4.- Inverting the argument: “they’re the ones who don’t want to be integrated”**

Finally, we find people defending the argument which inverts the question of “integration”: *they* are the ones who don’t want to be integrated. This assertion, which we find in references to the more numerous groups and especially when there are ethnic enclaves of a certain origin in the municipality (Maghrebis, Chinese or Romanian Gypsies), overlooks the orthodox definition of interculturality and holds the immigrant responsible for the desire for integration. It is particularly interesting to see that this view is linked, on the one hand, with security and, on the other, with the argument that rights entail duties, suggesting that groups resisting integration are refusing to fulfil them. On the basis of this interpretation, the interviewees then justify the reluctance of the administration to intervene when required.

*“I tell you, the Chinese come here wanting protection because it happens that they are robbing each other. And some go and kidnap each other, and heaven knows what else... ‘OK,*

*so you're telling me that there's a gang of... of Chinese and they're attacking you, but if we don't know what you're all doing, then how are we supposed to intervene? Private security is what you should be getting, don't you think?' They come to ask the public authorities for.... When I ask them who did it, they say, 'Well a man.' 'But, this man must have some description' ... 'Well...? So don't come to me looking for security if you're not going to play by the rules. Go and make a proper formal complaint, describe the car of the person who's extorting you and then we can do something, or not.' ... The Chinese don't want to be accepted. The Chinese do their own damn thing, and just want to live in the world they make for themselves. Integrate? Integrate how? The Chinese don't want it. Tough luck, no it's not because we have to be.... Well, we have to promise them what they want and then... Ah! It depends..."*

Cat. 21, pluralist enclave, 100 thousand-1 million residents, s - high, Catalonia

This incompatibility with the law over criminal activities which end up marking a whole group comes to a peak with the Romanian Gypsy population. Here, the image of an immigrant population that abuses the host society – which is to say, services provided by the municipality – becomes axiomatic.

*"The Romanians that we have here, well, what future is waiting for them in Romania if they are Gypsies? The first thing they do there is shoot them if they can because no one... Well anyway, they've got it easy here. They steal, they're on the dole, and if they get caught, we throw them in the street. We don't put them in jail because they only stole 200 euros. Even if they steal a thousand it doesn't matter. Over there, they get the shit beaten out of them. That's how it is. If I'm fine here and not fine there, then I'm staying here. That's how stupid it is, if you like, but that's the way it is...."*

Cat. 21, pluralist enclave, 100 thousand -1 million residents, s - high, Catalonia

## **7.- Discussion: Contradiction or Coherence?**

The idea of introducing an array of questions about the council's jurisdiction in different areas (territorial concentration, schooling, language, and health, for example) into the in-depth interviews was inspired by the taxonomy that Michel Alexander attempted to make when distinguishing between intercultural, multicultural and assimilationist policies in different European municipalities (Alexander, 2004). It was virtually impossible to make

the distinctions, either on the basis of the answers given in the survey or the opinions expressed about the same subjects in the in-depth interviews. The prevalence of interculturality as the hegemonic discourse is overwhelming. Yet, under this normative umbrella, we find inconsistencies and, indeed outright contradiction of the framework cited in the accounts of immigration specialists. Not only do they hint at assimilationist models of integration but one glimpses more or less subtle but undeniably discriminatory viewpoints. It should be emphasised that the cases where this contradiction clearly emerges are relatively few and that, in the more flagrant cases, the political line of the council the interviewee works for is overtly opposed to interculturality.

Before summing up these contradictions, we should also note that, in several cases, some “off the record” comments made once the interview was complete tended to be in open contradiction to the normative discourse. The “open contradiction” lay in both the interviewee’s own stance and in the depiction of the municipal government or the senior political appointee in the area of migration. The pressure of political correctness leads them to use duplicitous language in this regard. This draws attention to the limits of acknowledgement of the intercultural principle by the person whose actions are supposed to be guided by it. We are also aware that more thoroughgoing linguistic analysis needs to be done in order to bring out the structural nature of discrimination. Acceptance of a stereotype in both the negative and purportedly positive senses, or in any factual interpretation of the controversial term “integration”, is rarely openly displayed.

To return to stereotypes, the most interesting result is confirmation of what we call the “black mirror effect”. Basically, the stereotypes expressed (whether exclusively attributed to other social agents or accepted by the immigration specialist) become the benchmark applied when affirming the identity of the group to which the interviewee belongs, namely that of the host society. This explains the negative emphasis on cultural distance *vis-à-vis* what is perceived as the fundamental nucleus of the imaginary construction, first of what it means to be “European” or to be part of “western culture” and, second, at the national level. Hence women’s autonomy, the culture of violence and religious practices appear as the most problematic subjects since they clash with the mainstays of identity in a society such as that of Spain which is defined by its swift (and recent) adaptation to lifestyles that regard gender equality, secularisation and individualisation as banners of modernity. Neither can we overlook the fact that most immigration specialists are female. This means that their reading of discrimination against women can end up as a fundamental component



of negative judgements of an immigrant group and this, at times, leads to confrontation between the local government staff member and a male claimant. This filter of one's own construction of identity explains higher or lower levels of perception of difference, in which the opposite poles would be, first, the Latin American group through discourse on Spanishness and being European by means of upholding one's own Europeanness and, second, the extreme opposite pole of the African (and especially the Moroccan) and Asian. This is why Latin Americans are lumped together with the Spanish, which means overlooking the great phenotypical variety among people born in different parts of the continent of Latin America. The discourse of Spanishness, part and parcel of Spanish nationalism (García-Sebastiani and Marcihany, 2013), requires homogenisation of individuals, not only linguistically but also in the ethnic sense. In contrast, one sees an exaggeration of ethnic-cultural differences in the case of the Maghrebi population, with whom Spanish people share some history and phenotypical features. Yet the construction of identity is done in opposition to the group (Stallaert, 1998). The Asian population is also measured against the Spanish people's "European" membership but, this time, such clichés as exoticism, or secrecy and wiliness are brandished together with comments about "parallel" societies that are impermeable to acculturation and that therefore cannot be assimilated. To conclude this section and returning to the "positive" side of the stereotype, we must also note that a favourable judgement of the character attributed to some immigrant groups (expressed in terms like "tranquillity", "humbleness" and "respect") barely conceals a disciplinary position that is really referring to submission or docility, as is noticeable when interviewees are speaking about the sub-Saharan population and, at times, the Eastern European people, always in comparison with the Moroccans.

More detailed analysis of the four discriminatory attitudes that emerged in the study shows clear profiles of contradictions, which now no longer reside in the immigration specialist as the mouthpiece of the discourse, but in the official model of interculturality and political action aimed at managing diversity at the local level. First, the discourse is polarised and the "us versus them" assumption brings out the fallacy of the impartial\_perspective of immigration specialists – all of whom were born in Spain – when it comes to defining groups. This fallacy tends to appear with a simplistic interpretation of interculturality as a kind of egalitarian relationship in which any process of acculturation is denied, as if it were seen as undermining respect for the cultures of immigrant groups. Second, naturalising cultural features and activities that clash with the concept of integration betrays, in turn, a

naturalising of the political regime and the rules of coexistence in the host society. Third and even more interesting, is to see how the tension between visibility and invisibility underlies the concept of interculturality in the sense that, while social visibility is championed as part of diversity (a positive and necessary attribute of society), invisibility is required as the final product of the process. Yet this invisibility can also be perceived from the outset as evidence of non-integration (understood in some cases as openness). This contradiction between visibility and invisibility is inherent in the political treatment of the migrant. The immigrant in an irregular situation is expected to remain invisible but, in order to rectify this, is required to be socially visible, a status which is measured in terms of participation. Fourth and finally, the accusation of lack of interest in integration, which usually seems to be linked to security-related discourse, should come under the more general heading of the rights/duties dialectic. In this case, the supposition that obtaining rights is subject to a person's demonstrating that he or she has earned them by fulfilling the duties demanded for social integration not only contradicts the spirit of the new citizenship in keeping with the intercultural principle (and definition of the concept of integration as a process that involves both local residents and immigrants) but now, in the twenty-first century, it also threatens to become the overriding principle of governance. This would be applied to all individuals and not only to members of certain groups of the population resulting from international immigration.

### **Acknowledgments**

This study is part of the research project titled "From Complementarity to Exclusion? Sociodemographic Analysis of the Impact of the Economic crisis on the Immigrant Population", funded by the 2011 National R&D&I Plan. It is also part of the "Demographic Change and Management of Diversity" project (2012-2014), funded by the Research Programme of the "La Caixa" Foundation and the Catalan Association of Public Universities (ACUP).

## References

- ALEMÁN BRACHO, C.; SORIANO MIRAS, R.M. (2012). "Servicios sociales e Inmigración en tiempos de crisis económica", in AJA, E.; ARANGO, J.; OLIVER ALONSO, J. (ed.): *Inmigración y crisis: entre la continuidad y el cambio. Anuario de Inmigración en España* (2012 edition), co-published by CIDOB, Diputació de Barcelona, the Ortega-Marañón Foundation, and the ACSAR Foundation, May 2013.
- ALEXANDER, M. (2004). "Comparing Local Policies toward Migrants: An Analytical Framework, a Typology and Preliminary Survey Results". PENNIX, R., KRAAL, K., MARTINIELLO, M., and VERTOVEC, S. (eds.), *Citizenship in European Cities. Immigrants, Local Politics and Integration Policies*, Surrey, Ashgate: 57-84.
- ARANGO, J. (2013). *Exceptional in Europe? Spain's Experience with Immigration and Integration*. Migration Policy Institute, 22 pp.
- AYSA, M.; CACHÓN, L. (2013). "Movilidad ocupacional segmentada: el caso de los inmigrantes no comunitarios en España". *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 144: 23-47.
- BAJTÍN, M. (2011). *Las fronteras del discurso*, Buenos Aires, La Cuarentena.
- BISRL, U.; SOLÉ, C. (Eds.) 2004. *Migración e interculturalidad en Gran Bretaña, España y Alemania*, Barcelona, Anthropos.
- BOBO, L.; HUTCHINGS, V. L. (1996). "Perceptions of Racial Group Competition: Extending Bumer's Theory of Group Position to a Multiracial Society Context". *American Sociological Review*, 61: 951-972.
- BOSNIAK, L. (2007). "Being Here: Ethical Territoriality and the Rights of Immigrants", *Theoretical Inquiries in Law*, 8 (1): 389-410.
- CAPONIO, T. (2010). "Conclusions: Making Sense of Local Policy Arenas", in CAPONIO, T.; BORKERT, M. (Eds.) *The Local Dimension of Migration Policymaking*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press.
- CEA D'ANCONA, M.Á.; VALLES, M. S.; ESEVERRI, C. (2013). *Inmigración: filias y fobias en tiempos de crisis*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva.
- CHOVANEC, J. (2013). "How Come You're not a Criminal?: Immigrant Stereotyping and Ethnic Profiling in the Press", in MARTÍNEZ LIROLA, M. (ed.) *Discourses on immigration in times of economic crisis: a critical perspective*, Cambridge, Cambridge Scholars Publishing: 238-259.
- DÍEZ NICOLÁS, J. (2005). *Las dos caras de la inmigración*, Madrid, Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración, 3.
- FAIST, T. (2009). "Diversity - a New Mode of Incorporation?", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 32 (1): 171-190.
- GARCÍA SEBASTIANI, M.; MARCILHANY, D. (2013). "América y la Fiesta del 12 De Octubre", in MORENO LUZON, J.; NÚÑEZ SEIXAS, X.M. (Eds.) *Ser españoles. Imaginarios nacionalistas en el siglo XXI*, Barcelona, RBA: 364-398.
- GIMÉNEZ, C. (2012). *Convivencia social e intercultural en territorios de alta diversidad. Encuesta 2010 sobre convivencia intercultural en el ámbito local. Primer informe*, Barcelona, Obra Social "la Caixa".

GIMÉNEZ, C.; LOBERA, J. (2014). *Convivencia social e interculturalidad en territorios de alta diversidad. Encuesta 2012 sobre convivencia intercultural en el ámbito local. Segundo informe*, Barcelona, Obra Social “la Caixa”.

JABAZZ, M.; MONCUSÍ FERRÉ, A. (2010). “Natural” Intercultural Mediation: Reflections from Experience in Orriols (Valencia) / Mediación intercultural «natural»: reflexiones a partir de una experiencia en Orriols (Valencia). *Migraciones*, 27: 171-198.

JOHNSTON, R.; FORREST, J.; POULSEN, M. (2002). “Are There Ethnic Enclaves/Guettoes in English Cities?”. *Urban Studies*, 39 (4): 591-618.

KYMLIKA, W. (2012). *Multiculturalism: Success, Failure, and the Future*, Washington, Migration Policy Institute.

LE BRAS, H. (2012). *L'invention de l'immigré*, Paris, Éditions de l'aube.

LENTIN, A.; TITLEY, G. (2011). *The crisis of Multiculturalism: Racism in a Neoliberal Age*. London/New York, Zed Books.

MASSEY, D. S.; DENTON, N. A. (1988). “The dimensions of residential segregation”. *Social forces*, 67 (2): 281-315.

ORTEGA PÉREZ, N. (2011). “Crisis económica y política de inmigración en España: ¿qué reformulación de agenda y política?”, in GARCÍA CASTAÑO, F. J. and KRESSOVA, N. (eds.). *Actas del I Congreso Internacional sobre Migraciones en Andalucía*, Granada, Instituto de Migraciones: 1381-1397.

PATTON, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*. (Thousand Oaks, California, Sage).

PENNIX, R.; MARTINIELLO, M. (2004). “Integration Process and Policies: State of the Art and Lessons”. PENNIX, R., KRAAL, K., MARTINIELLO, M., and VERTOVEC, S. (Eds.) *Citizenship in European Cities. Immigrants, Local Politics and Integration Policies*. Surrey, Ashgate: 139-163.

POULSEN, M.; JOHNSTON, R.; FORREST, J. (2001). “Intraurban Ethnic Enclaves: Introducing a Knowledge-Based Classification Method”, *Environment and Planning*, 33: 2071-2082.

PRIETO RAMOS, F. (2004). *Media & Migrants. A Critical Analysis of Spanish and Irish Discourses on Immigration*, Oxford, Lang.

REISIGL, M.; WODAK, R. (2001). *Discourse and Discrimination. Rhetorics of Racism and Antisemitism*, London, Routledge.

RUBIO CARBONERO, G. (2013). “Spanish Political Discourse on Immigration in Times of Economic Crisis”, in MARTÍNEZ LIROLA, M. (ed.) *Discourses on Immigration in Times of Economic Crisis: A Critical Perspective*, Cambridge, Cambridge Scholars Publishing: 260-286.

STALLAERT, Ch. (1998). *Etnogénesis y etnicidad en España. Una aproximación histórico-antropológica al casticismo*, Barcelona, Anthropos/ProyectoA.

TAJFEL, H. (1981). “Social Stereotypes and Social Groups”, Turner, John C., and Giles, H. (Eds.) *Intergroup Behaviour*. London, Blackwell: 144-167.

TRINADAFILLYDOU, A. (2000). “The Political Discourse on Immigration in Southern Europe: A Critical Analysis”. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 10: 373-389.

- VAN DIJK, T.A. (1992). "Discourse and the Denial of Racism". *Discourse & Society*. 3 (1): 87-118.
- (2003). *Ideología y discurso*, Barcelona, Ariel.
- (2009). *Discurso y poder*, Barcelona, Gedisa.
- VASILIACHIS DE GIALDINO, I. (2014). *Discurso científico, político, jurídico y de resistencia. Análisis lingüístico e investigación cualitativa*, Barcelona, Gedisa.
- VERTOVEC, S. (2012). "Diversity" and Social Imagery". *European Journal of Sociology*, 53: 287-312.
- VERTOVEC, S.; WESSENDORF, S. (eds.) (2012). *The Multiculturalism Backlash. European Discourses, Policies and Practices*, London/New York, Routledge.
- WILSON, T. C. (2001). "'Americans' Views on Immigration Policy: Testing the Role of Threatened Group Interests". *Sociological Perspectives*, 44: 485-501.
- ZAPATA, R. (2012). "Catalan Autonomy-Building Process in Immigration Policy: Conceptual, Institutional and Normative Dimensions", GAGNON, A. G.; KEATING, M. (Ed.) *Political Autonomy and Divided Societies. Imagining Democratic Alternatives in Complex Settings*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, MacMillan: 220-235.
- ZAPATA BARRERO, R. (2013). "The Three Strands of Intercultural Policies: A Comprehensive View; A Critical Review of Bouchard and Cantle Recent Books on Interculturalism". *GRITIM Working paper series*, 17, Summer 2013.
- ZAPATA-BARRERO, R.; VAN EWIJK, A. R. (Eds) (2011). *Spheres of Diversities: from Concept to Policy*, Barcelona, Fundació CIDOB.