THE CAUSES AND DYNAMICS OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION AMONG IMMIGRANTS IN EUROPE

Analysis of three cases: Denmark, Italy and Spain

Co-financed by the European Commission
DG for Employment and Social Affairs
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INTRODUCTION
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INTRODUCTION

Mattia Vitiello

This research was financed by the European Commission, Directorate General for Employment and Social Affairs, under the Call for proposals VP/2001/014 for preparatory actions to combat and prevent social exclusion (under 2001 Budget Line B3 – 4105). The objective of this work is to understand and explain the reasons for and the forms of social exclusion of immigrants, and how they are brought into economic and social marginalisation, in three European countries: Denmark, Italy and Spain. We have also attempted to define the factors of social exclusion of immigrants common to the three countries analysed here, and those peculiar to each single context. Finally, we have outlined proposals for social policies more attuned to the needs of immigrants, in order to support the process of integration within the European Union and within each national context.

Therefore, we have not attempted in this work to obtain a quantitative estimate of the area of poverty and social exclusion among the immigrant population in Europe, or to establish a causal relationship between poverty and unemployment and/or social policies and other variables. Rather, we have attempted to single out critical passages in the path to exclusion, and the issues and unsatisfied needs that may contribute to the onset of a vicious cycle and prevent successful intervention towards social inclusion. The primary reason for this work is the comprehension of the crucial issues in the social exclusion of immigrants in Europe. The importance of such comprehension is not only scientific, but also – and mainly – lies in the fact that it represents a first step towards building a successful methodology of action against the marginalisation of immigrants, and for
their social inclusion, through the establishment of a European network dealing permanently with the issue. Reaching this goal is a necessary condition for bolstering the cohesion of the European Union and the ability of social workers to deal with the problem in its entirety.

The research aims to define a number of poverty and social marginalisation indicators allowing to better evaluate these issues in an European perspective, while taking into account the immigrants’ income and consumption levels, their placement in the labour market, their social conditions, cultural and psychological features, and their migratory project. This is a necessary premise to establishing a framework that can define and explain poverty and exclusion as resulting from a multidimensional process.

Generally, in the specialised literature, poverty is described in purely economic terms, as a separate phenomenon from social exclusion intended as the lack of relationships and ties.\textsuperscript{2} This approach, separating poverty from social exclusion, is scarcely useful in our analysis of the immigrant population. Considering poverty as an essentially economic phenomenon, one risks counting among the poor the recent immigrants who are trying to pursue social mobility strategies to leave poverty behind, or those who plan to reside temporarily in the host country, basing their migratory project on a savings maximisation strategy. When measuring poverty purely in terms of income or consumption, as defined by the international standard of poverty line, immigrants are evidently much poorer than the citizens of the host country. But a lack of income and material benefits does not imply, per se, social exclusion. Some studies note that

“The subjects’ living conditions are marked by economic scarcity, but mostly this is the product of a strategy of reduction of consumption and maximisation of savings. In such cases the reduction of consumption cannot be intended as an indicator of poverty but reflects a choice made by the individual as part of their migratory project”\textsuperscript{3}.

The risk is not only over-representing immigrants within the poverty area but most of all defining as poor individuals who actually do not live in economic
poverty or social exclusion, but have completely different needs and problems. A recent approach to defining poverty is based on “deprivation indicators”, which allow the evaluation of aspects beyond income and consumption. These indicators are based on the analysis of three areas:

- The amount of products, goods, services and resources owned;
- The ability to access certain activities/services;
- Stress conditions related to various economic causes.

This approach, while defining poverty in relative terms, can account for complexity of the phenomenon, as it recognises its various dimensions. However it does present two important problems: how to select the deprivation indicators, and define an economic deprivation threshold below which lies poverty. First it must be defined whether the choice of a certain indicator should be objective or subjective and take into account the feelings and values of the individual living in poverty. On the second problem, choosing a deprivation threshold leads to the same issues regarding the international standard of poverty line. Enrica Morlicchio notes that “under-consumption by immigrants does not necessarily reflect extreme poverty"⁵ and warns against the risk of falsely “superimposing the areas of extreme poverty and immigration”⁶.

The very definition of relative poverty means that it should be considered in relation to other social and economic variables, and that individuals be considered relatively to the social environment they are immersed in. According to Peter Townsend, those in poverty are

“... persons, families, population groups lacking resources to attain the food, activities and living conditions typical of, or at least encouraged or approved by, the society they belong to”⁷.

In this definition, though, poverty comes to mean a generic inequality, not a phenomenon specifically different from other forms of inequality.
According to Amartya Sen, poverty and inequality are correlated but neither implies the other. A hypothetical and entirely proportional decrease in income would leave the level of inequality unchanged, but people at the bottom income level would see their living conditions worsen significantly. According to Giovanni Sarpellon “poverty is the lower extreme of the inequality scale” but this quantitative inequality leads to a qualitative difference, as “being poor means still depending on a structure of inequality while somehow being removed from it”. This exclusion and loss of rights within society refers to situations where poverty is not simply economic but is linked to marginalisation and social unease. But focusing exclusively on poverty as a relational phenomenon leads to the risk of confusing social marginalisation with the immigrant status, particularly in the first stages of immigration, when immigrants have very limited economic and relational resources and scarce or no access to social services. However, the models devised to describe forms of social exclusion and severe marginalisation are somehow partial; they are useful in understanding the situation of a part of the immigrant population, but exclude from analysis a significant portion of it. Such limits suggest a more in-depth approach, as several studies point out.

All the above approaches paint a static picture of poverty and say nothing of the dynamic leading to it. Several researchers have focused instead on new methodologies that take into account the dynamic process leading to poverty. Understanding this process can underline the differences between the poor and allow a differentiation of social policies. Still other authors are similarly not interested in the mere quantification of poverty, but attempt to link general scenarios and personal biographies. Using the biographical method, they aim to describe the process by focusing on the factors, events and behaviours that produce the shift of a population segment from one status to another. Based on the above approaches, the risk of being trapped in the false alternative between poverty and social exclusion can be avoided by considering them as phenomena common in their nature, two of the possible forms of the same process.
This approach avoids limiting the analysis to extreme poverty and brings to light a number of individuals with different needs, a necessary step in building policies for the social integration of immigrants. It also overcomes the limit of national studies and permits the study of inclusion and exclusion patterns in the larger supra-national context of the European Union. The added value of the research lies in the possibility of evaluating social exclusion based on the impact of economic and migration policies and welfare models on the formation, stabilisation and evolution of migratory flows, and on the related inclusion and exclusion patterns.

The research has studied and compared a nation with a long-established tradition of immigration, Denmark, and nations that have become only recently the target of migratory flows, Italy and Spain. The differences extend to the institutional structure: a strong intervention of the state as regulator in the access to jobs and social benefits in the former country, a larger role of the informal economy and less state intervention in the latter two. In Italy, a sub-national analysis is warranted, as immigration in the North of the country has features resembling continental European countries (immigrants enjoy more stable living conditions and jobs and have more access to the welfare system), while in Southern Italy it is closer to Mediterranean European countries (irregular jobs and migration flows, difficulty in accessing social services, poorer housing).

The international research network was made up of university institutes and associations with a long, established field experience and strong theoretical elaboration skills. In Italy, the study and social research cooperative El Sur analysed the Italian case and particularly the city of Naples; punto.sud Association and the Non Governmental Organisation (NGO) Cooperazione Internazionale (COOPI) researched the city of Milan. In Denmark, the Federico Caffè Centre – Dept. Of Social Science at Roskilde University and the non profit organisation Training, Education & Development Association (TED) studied the Danish case and the city of Copenhagen. In Spain, the research was carried out by the NGO Centre d’Estudis Africans (CEA), in Barcelona.
The existence of an international research network has been a distinctive feature of the research. Given the increasing commonality of European immigration policies and growing internationalisation of the job market, a supra-national analysis becomes necessary. The research not only contains a comparative analysis of social exclusion as it relates to immigrants, but considers exclusion and social marginalisation in relation to immigration as a larger phenomenon.

The research was carried out in three phases. The first phase identified the categories of immigrants at a higher risk of social exclusion in the three nations. The immigrant presence in each nation was analysed thoroughly. The number and breakdown by nationality of immigrants, their placement in the labour market and the institutional framework were evaluated for each national context. The analysis of the institutional context was directed mainly towards immigration policies, which have been found to have a strong impact, both direct and indirect, on the living conditions of immigrants.

The second phase retraced the paths of impoverishment of immigrants at risk of social exclusion, in order to explain its causes and factors. By comparing the results of the field research in each country, we attempted to identify the common factors for exclusion and those that are peculiar to each national context. The research was carried out in four cities: Barcelona, Copenhagen, Milan and Naples. As previously noted, two cities were chosen in Italy, as the immigration model is deeply different in the Northern and Southern parts of the country.

In the third phase we mapped the services available to immigrants both at the city and national levels, and verified how they respond to the needs of immigrants living in conditions of poverty and social exclusion as determined in phase two. We considered services provided by state organisations as well as by associations and voluntary organisations. The results of the research are presented in the second part of this volume, where each national case is described. The first and third part of this volume are the result of a common reflection by all the research network partners.
NOTES

1 This report has been financed by the European Commission. The comments contained therein reflect the opinion of the researchers only.
6 Ibidem, p. 38.
9 G. Sarpellon, Methodological Problems in the Study of Poverty, in G. Sarpellon (ed.), cit, p. 37
10 Ibidem, p. 38.
PART ONE

The social exclusion of immigrants: theoretical and methodological premise

Rafael Crespo, Lola López, Mattia Vitiello
1.1. On the concept of exclusion

“One should enter the city crossing through its outskirts. The expression of the outskirts is the complaint: we live in no part, neither in, nor out”

Jean François Lyotard

Given the nature of the study, carried out by six centres from different countries of the European Union, it is necessary to ensure an epistemological harmonisation of the concepts and methodological tools to be employed. A consensus on a theoretical level will facilitate the identification of the common and divergent aspects of each one of the territories in which the investigation has been undertaken. Likewise, contrasting the initial hypotheses with the data gathered will enable us to verify or disprove these premises, thus also enriching the theoretical framework. The first step should be a reflection on the concept of exclusion. In the initial project we established that the “essence of poverty is rooted in the whole process by which living conditions are transformed, and not just in one of the ways in which this process is carried out”, which explains why the notion of exclusion, very near to that of poverty, must also take into account the complexity and dynamics of the phenomenon. There is agreement on the fact that the processes of exclusion are increasing on a world level, affecting both peripheral and central areas. The phenomenon of international migrations is erected on economic relations as well as cultural, historical and other types of bonds that exist among the migration-emitting areas, the receiving areas, and those of transit. These links are continually updated and reinforced. For example, the work conditions in the clandestine textile workshops in Barcelona and its metropolitan area are similar to those of Tangier or Shanghai; moreover, these three cities are key zones for transcontinental immigration networks. As a result of the aforesaid, it is necessary to reach a consensus on a definition of exclusion which takes into account the two parameters which delimit the investigation:
• The sector of the population under study, in this case the immigrated population from without the European Community;
• The geographical setting, in this case the urban spaces of Copenhagen, Milan, Naples and Barcelona.

We nevertheless consider that the basic elements which make up the concept of exclusion presented here can also be applied to the situation of other groups, such as that of senior citizens, drug dependents, and others, although in each case there are individualised manifestations of this exclusion. To facilitate debate, we propose the definition developed by Giménez and Malgesini:

“We understand exclusion to be the social process in which a person or social group does not develop in an integrated manner within a given society, generally due to compulsory reasons which have so determined it. The lack of political, economic, social and cultural participation is one of the visible symptoms of this exclusion. In contrast to marginalisation, which reflects a marked discrimination in the process of integration, exclusion refers to a structural process of separation, and it is therefore very difficult to revert unless programs of integration are undertaken to attack the roots of the problem” 3.

And we would add that structural changes in the political and economic systems of the societies of residence are also necessary with regard to the rights of the non-European community population, including their incorporation as citizens with full rights. From the aforementioned, it becomes clear that one must differentiate between marginalisation and exclusion. According to San Román (1996), those who are marginalised or outcasts are those groups or individuals who are acknowledged as members of the community, but whom it does not need for its functioning, survival and reproduction; the most evident example is that of the gypsy people. Instead, when we speak of exclusion we are referring to groups which the political-economic system depends on, but only as long as they subsist under precarious socio-economic conditions. That would explain why non-EU immigrants are only considered according to their work
identity, as cheap labour force (Lumpen-proletariat), as demographical figures and as taxpayers, whereas all the other dimensions of their identity as individuals are excluded (family, religion, gender, etc.). In fact, some of the non-labour elements of personal identity are viewed as problematic by the host society (Islam, polygamy, community dynamics, occupation of public spaces, etc.). With regard to the analysis of the causes and dynamics of exclusion of the non-EU population, we consider that the perspective best suited for the present-day situation is the systemic approach, which is based on the inter-relation of all the factors at work. This holistic vision is more necessary than ever before because the tendency of the current system is to fragment and widen the gap among socio-economic sectors, thereby increasing the risk of social rupture.

Public declarations in favour of the social integration of immigrant communities come across well-defined limits in the process of fragmentation of labour markets and the structural development of ample segments of the population in a precarious situation. In this context, different modalities of social insertion are possible, and not only with respect to the living conditions of the sectors included (stable job, access to education, housing, social services, etc.), but also with respect to the living conditions which characterise the more precarious groups (the unemployed, sub-employed, clandestine workers, etc.). What in fact occurs is that diverse sectors tend to insert themselves within a situation of precariousness or exclusion, and this may be the fate of a great part of the population coming from transnational migration? Evidently the epistemological reflection on exclusion leads to that on integration because it is the concept that lies at the core of the immense majority of academic investigations and programs of both public administrations and the associations involved in immigration affairs. It is therefore necessary to clarify the meaning which will be ascribed to the term of integration within the present work. Given that our approach is based on a holistic conception of the society in which immigration from beyond the European Community is one more element, an element which
nevertheless is acquiring increasing political, social and economic relevance with each passing day, it is not possible to analyse it separated or isolated from the rest of the dynamics which characterise European society at the beginning of the 21st century. A clear example of this is the interrelationship between informal (not registered) economy and formal economy, and the immigrated population, as well as the aging of the European population and the role played by non-communitarian immigration both in rejuvenating the population and in taking on tasks which were previously carried out by the family, such as taking care of senior citizens, of children, and of ill and infirm people. In other words, the dependent members of the host society are in their turn taken care of and accompanied by individuals of non-EU origin.

1.2. Integration of immigrants or integrated society
In our opinion, when speaking of integration, one should go beyond the identification established between integration and assimilation that is registered in the majority of public administration documents, broadcast by mass media, and finally adopted by the immigrant-receiving population as the only explanatory approach that reaches it; in fact, we could affirm that the assimilationist option is the only way of thinking about integration. It is nevertheless possible to come up with a more constructive approach, based on the idea that integration affects and involves the whole of society and not just those individuals who have immigrated. It is essential that all members of a society integrate into the new situation implied by cultural diversity, since the majority of Spaniards, Italians and Danes are not accustomed to living in a multicultural environment. Integration is a mutual learning process, of those from other lands coming into the new place of residence and of those already there, many of whom had also been immigrants in the past. As De Rudder has remarked, in philosophy or in natural science integration means the establishing of interdependencies among the parts of a whole
as well as the intellectual process of assembling under the same conception or construction, elements which at first may seem separate and distinct (theories, phenomena, facts, etc.)\(^5\). Salt has declared along the same lines that a successful process of integration must be made up by three elements:

- The adaptation of immigrants to the society that receives them;
- The adaptation of the host society to the immigrants;
- The generation of adequate communications between the two populations and between each one of them and the governments\(^6\).

This proposition has the advantage of drawing us away from a perception of immigration as a social problem and of drawing us closer to a holistic vision of a joint analysis of society’s problems, because “The analysis of immigration cannot be undertaken independently of the analysis of the societies of arrival parting from the globality of social relationships that characterise them\(^7\)”. Thus, integration is approached as a process of construction of new relationships among the communities, as Perrotti has proposed:

“\(\text{The concept of integration rejects the notion of assimilation and indicates the ability to confront and exchange – from a position of equality and participation – values, norms, and behaviour patterns, both on the immigrant’s part and on the host society’s part. Integration is the gradual process whereby new residents become active participants in the economic, civic, cultural and spiritual life of the country of immigration}^{\text{\textsuperscript{8}}}\)”.}

### 1.3. Factors of exclusion

The connection between socio-economic exclusion and integration first arose from social initiatives. It was at the beginning of the 1980s, when the assimilationist approach was the most generalised option, that a new current which spoke of social integration and civil society came to the fore. We can trace back to this option certain solidarity movements in support
of the immigrated population as well as initiatives by public administrations with a certain amount of experience in this field, which is especially true of town councils.

In the spheres of NGOs and labour unions, the expression social integration means “equal rights and obligations”. This is the position held both by left-wing labour unions and Christian organisations, for example Caritas\textsuperscript{9}. By way of clarification and without wishing to exhaust reflections on this issue, we would like to propose the following factors which we consider should be included when speaking of integration:

- The immigrants’ capability for autonomous development in the host society;
- Participation on a footing of equal rights and obligations in all spheres of social and civil life;
- Acknowledgement of all individuals and groups as speakers and correspondents in the construction of a society within everybody’s reach.

Since then, the main objective of integration has been to fight against economic and political exclusion. The new orientation follows the postulates of Alain Touraine (1991), who defends that the concept of integration go together with that of social inclusion, as a rebuttal of social exclusion “defined as the accumulation of deprivations (resources, social relationships, means of participation), evictions (from work, from school, from the city…) further aggravated by social and/or ethnic segregation\textsuperscript{10}”. Exclusion is thus viewed as a “key term” with a strong multidimensional character. In the same line of thought, Williams has argued that apart from trying to overcome the difficulties regarding access to goods and services faced by those excluded (concept of poverty), integration is also the exercising of basic rights, of justice, and of social and civil rights\textsuperscript{11}.

Based on this new paradigm, we can begin to pinpoint certain factors which play a role in the exclusion of the non-EU population.
• **Legislation.** The legislative and juridical systems of each country establish differences between individuals from a European Union nation and non-communitarian foreigners. The distinction between “regular” and “irregular”, “with papers” and “without papers”, establishes an initial classification of the immigrated population. The “irregulars” are directly cast into exclusion, because they are invisible to the administration, and are only given assistance by some public resources of social welfare.

• **Economy.** A process of ethno-stratification of the labour market is taking shape. Depending on the cultural origin or phenotype (skin colour, physical traits, etc.) the access to certain professional sectors and levels is restricted. Everything seems to indicate that the non-EU population is undergoing difficulties in entering the job market, and even more so in achieving a certain economic stability.

• **Active policies to welcome and accommodate immigrant population.** One of the great gaps in the public policies of accommodation is the reception and offering of shelter to the individuals who have immigrated. The public resources available fall short of what is needed to receive, inform, orient, and teach the languages of the host country to the newly arrived.

• **Information and access to public resources.** The mechanisms and systems of information aimed at newcomers to help them become familiar with the host society have shortcomings. The immigrant population, both that which is newly arrived as well as that settled in since years ago, scarcely have any knowledge concerning their rights and obligations as new neighbours of European urban society. The immigrant-receiving society has made little effort to “explain itself” to immigrants and to facilitate their access to all the resources available, not only to those related to social welfare (health, education, assistance or introduction to the work force) but also to those that are cultural and political.

• **Social Welfare System.** The growth and establishment of the population that has immigrated leads to a growing impact on public services, basically in education, health, and social services. The arrival of foreign users, who are for the most part poor, is perceived as a problem because professionals have little experience assisting and dealing with a multicultural population, and also because public services have not set up the necessary human and material resources to be able to adapt to the changes which have been taking place around them. This reflects the situation of the resources of both NGOs and the public administration.

• **Housing.** All studies highlight the fact that the non-European community population faces serious difficulties in having access to adequate housing. This
situation is aggravated by the rise of prices in the real estate market and the low percentage of social housing available.

- **Public safety.** The opinion polls increasingly reflect the host population’s concern regarding immigration. On national and municipal levels, immigration is always ranked very close to public safety and many European governments have recently started to associate the growing insecurity felt by citizens to a rise in non-communitarian immigration.

- **Structuring of the community.** Foreign population groups establish community networks on the basis of their cultural origin. Thus, depending on the group and how long it has been residing in European countries, these networks will be more or less consolidated. The lesser the cohesion of a community, the greater its possibility of exclusion, because its members will be more vulnerable, and they will be in a position of inferiority in their dealings both with the host society and with the rest of the immigrant communities. One of the basic indicators of the level of integration of an individual is his/her belonging, access and ability to use these networks of relationships. An immigrant person with few family-based, cultural or neighbourhood network contacts will find it very difficult to overcome the obstacles encountered by many non-communitarian foreigners when looking for work, housing, identification papers, etc.

- **Presence in public spaces and civil participation.** The settling-in process of the immigrant population leads to their greater presence in public spaces (schools, squares, streets, shops, etc.) and brings the need to participate like the rest of neighbours. Behind any action against exclusion there is a premise of citizenship. However, mutual distrust due to very little knowledge about each other, jointly with lack of communication and interaction between immigrants and natives leads to intercultural conflicts, difficult to overcome because the spaces for communication and mediation are also scarce. For multicultural neighbourhoods, harmonious intercultural coexistence seems to loom as the great challenge of the near future. However, the development of this coexistence comes up against certain obstacles such as the lack of urbanistic remodelling plans or socio-economic revitalisation plans to check the degradation of these neighbourhoods.

- **Xenophilia and xenophobia.** Each host society establishes a hierarchisation of the other cultures, prizing some more than others. Thus Islam is generally perceived as a negative condition in the assessment of the culture of a non-European Union foreigner. Historical relationships between the place of departure and that of arrival undoubtedly condition this evaluation. Moreover,
most Europeans have no experience living in a multicultural setting, so their reactions tend to be guided by stereotypes and prejudices.

- **Mass media.** The mass media participate in the construction and transmission of the image which the immigrant-receiving society has of immigration groups and their societies of origin.

- **Political rights.** Within the framework of the development of a new European citizenry determined by the new projects for the expansion of the European Union and for the elaboration of its Constitution, the participation of the non-European Union population reflects different situations depending on the state. In Denmark the non-European Union residents may participate in municipal elections, whereas in Spain and Italy it is not allowed. Based on the principle that the political participation of society as a whole is a basic element of social cohesion and an essential factor to maintain an integrated society, the ability to exercise these recognised political democratic rights is one of the main indicators of inclusion/exclusion.

Summarising the aforementioned reflections, we can conclude that the term exclusion refers to a process that obstructs the improvement of material, social and cultural living conditions, or that even brings about a worsening of these conditions (impoverishment). To be able to analyse the process of socio-economic exclusion of the non-European Union population we must first look at the living conditions in their different countries of origin. The educational/vocational level in the country of origin is increasingly higher, with a significant percentage of immigrants with higher education degrees[^13]. It is also true that new immigrants have greater work experience in urban jobs because they come from cities. With these factors in mind it will be possible to assess in what measure immigration has meant a professional or social decline, or on the contrary an advance. Likewise, it is important to evaluate within the setting under study the influence which the different elements at work have on the process of exclusion. The investigation we are working on is located in four urban settings in which we will test the saying of the School of Chicago which affirmed that cities are built by immigrants, and are therefore a symbol of diversity because urban life is nourished by the pluralism of immigration.
1.4. Born poor? Poverty as a process

The research geared towards a quantitative estimate of the area of poverty defines it as a particular state of existence, a condition marked by the privation of certain goods and resources.

Brian Abel-Smith says that “measuring poverty is photographing the bottom of society¹⁴”. The definition of poverty in this case refers to the poor at a moment in their existence, says little of their living conditions, and nothing of their past and history, as if they had been born poor. Such a definition is certainly useful in measuring poverty but has two limits when applied to analysing the social exclusion of immigrants. First, it does not take into account the unique features and needs related to the immigrants’ living conditions; thus one risks studying the poverty of an individual who is not poor. Moreover, if poverty is conceived only as a static situation, it is impossible to know the strategies that the immigrant might employ to overcome crises that may be due to external events. If the immigrant is denied the dignity of subject, the relation between the macro-level scenario – the social and economic environment – and the subjective dimension of the immigrant is completely ignored. Thus, it is impossible to understand whether the immigrants who are initially in a situation of social and economic marginality have the ability to undertake – or have already started – a strategy of incorporation within the host society, or are headed towards unsustainable social exclusion. This can be overcome by conceiving poverty as a syndrome deteriorating over time, a process of successive crises originated by the structure of social relationships and resulting in a variety of living conditions. Poverty is intended here as a living condition resulting from the individual’s inability to carry out certain primary functions, or to satisfy certain primary needs, because of the reduced possibility of obtaining adequate resources (either income or goods), in accordance with A. K. Sen¹⁵.

Poverty thus defined is caused by reduced access to certain goods and resources, not by the lack thereof. The possibility of accessing such goods and resources is given by «exchange entitlements», or all the goods that a
subject may acquire by exchanging what he owns. The labour market, the state, and the family and ethnic context, in the case of immigrants, are the environments from which they mainly derive their “exchange entitlements”. Thus the subjects’ position on the job market, the welfare services they can access, their family and ethnic context and social networks play a fundamental role in influencing impoverishment, by reducing or enhancing their “exchange entitlements”.

According to this approach, when an immigrant enters a host country he is affected by deep economic privation, which may constitute the first stage of an exclusion process, as it could deprive him of certain resources. This could also lead to a limited possibility of carrying out such primary functions as obtaining education, work, participation in the social and cultural life of the host country, etc.

These limitations may prove to be physically or psychologically unsustainable and lead the subject to seek external help, for instance from the family, ethnic network or welfare agencies (both public and private). The individual might then retrace the exclusion process backwards and be able again to satisfy his needs. But if he cannot activate his networks and is not able to obtain help or a job, he is increasingly unable to fulfil the primary functions until he reaches a stage where survival itself is compromised. This is the extreme result of a process leading to what Nicola Negri calls “unsustainable social exclusion”\(^{16}\). It is evident how in this process the environment presents various resources and constraints that change over time, as do the subject’s needs. These resources and constraints produce, at different points in time, different forms of poverty, from economic poverty to social exclusion and unsustainable social exclusion. The essence of the phenomena of poverty and exclusion lies in the dynamic process affecting living conditions, not in any one of the forms produced by such process, which does not necessarily lead to unsustainable exclusion. An individual might reach a certain balance between needs and resources and stop the exclusion process, even for a long period, or retrace the process and abandon the condition of poverty.
This approach allows the identification of the strategies that an individual might devise to cope with crises induced by external change. Thus the macro aspect of the exclusion process can be linked to the subjective, everyday dimension of the individual. The processes of social exclusion of immigrants, following and expanding a study conducted in Italy on the same subject\textsuperscript{17}, have been evaluated along four dimensions: a) work; b) housing; c) access to social services; d) social networks.

1.5. A methodology for the reconstruction and study of exclusion processes: Life Course Analysis

Defining social exclusion as a process in which subjects react to external changes in their environment implies the use of a methodology that can account for both the individual and social dimensions of this process. This methodology must account for the external changes; how the resulting constraints affect the immigrant; how he employs strategies and resources to meet these constraints; and finally it must allow to retrace the immigrant’s exclusion process. The elements to be explained are the conditions of economic privation and the course leading to those conditions. The biographical approach\textsuperscript{18} provides a number of useful tools. A life story – a biography – is its main object of analysis; the method can also be employed to describe other objects not directly related to the life story of subjects. In the latter case a biography can function as the source of information on the object of study or a tool for describing a social process, by studying how it intertwines with, and affects, the lives of physical individuals. Life course, defined by Helder as “the set of life models graduated by age, inserted in social institutions and subject to historical change”\textsuperscript{19}, is derived from the interaction between institutions – providing the rules and timeframe wherein a normal life course develops through continuous passages – and the individual, who attempts to synchronise, co-ordinate and possibly alter the order, timing and consequences
of those passages. Change is reflected mainly in the different ways in which individuals organise, time, and provide a sense to their life course. Life course analysis verifies how social change affects the lives of individuals, altering their goals and expectations, and integrates into a single perspective the macro and microanalyses of the phenomenon. It employs an analytical category linking the changes in the social structure and the changes in the life experiences of individual; the notion of “cohort”, defined by Chiara Saraceno as the set of “those born within the same time period, thus encountering historical and social events at a similar age”. Individuals within the same cohort acting within a set of similar constraints and resources – that is, in the same socio-economic context – will have similar life courses. Changes in this context lead to life course changes not only for the individual but indeed for the entire cohort. Thus the stories collected for this research describe the life of individuals but could belong to other individuals living in the same context, at the same time and under the same conditions. Manuela Olagnero and Chiara Saraceno note that

"The notion of cohort is useful for placing the individuals whose life course is being studied in a specific historical period, and for understanding the relation between social change and life models. The impact of an historical event on the life course of a cohort depends on the age, or the life stage, at which that change was experienced.

Social change can be defined also by changes in the life course of a cohort relative to another cohort. For this, two more notions used by life course analysis must be introduced: Trajectory and Transition. Life course is defined as a set of inter-related trajectories, each one comprising a number of transitions. A trajectory is the course followed as the subject ages. Transitions are changes of status, more or less sudden or radical, within a trajectory. A life course is produced by the interaction of trajectories and transitions over time; studying it means reconstructing all the trajectories and transitions and analysing them coherently as a unit.
This approach also allows to compare the life courses of several individuals and identify the relations between social change and individual behaviour. As this research aims to identify models of trajectories leading to exclusion, it is not necessary to retrace an entire life course, focusing instead on a part of it. This is better described as an analytical interview focusing on a specific object of interest.

1.6. Choice of subjects, structure and method of interview

The choice of subjects to be interviewed was dictated by two criteria: first, whether the conditions of poverty were met; secondly, whether the immigrant was legally or illegally (i.e. as a clandestine) in the country. Poverty was intended as defined in this research: a living condition marked by the inability to satisfy certain needs due to the lack of an adequate set of resources (income or goods). What counts in this definition is not simply the level of available resources but the degree to which certain needs are satisfied; to identify a subject as poor it is important to know what living conditions result from the given set of resources, rather than merely the available income. Thus the income criterion was complemented by the use of deprivation indicators referring to the availability of goods needed for daily activity and leisure; the quality of housing and nutrition; recurring consumption patterns; clothing, etc. These criteria were integrated by the individuals’ subjective evaluation of their living condition and minimum needs.

Regarding the number of people to interview, Daniel Bertaux – whose approach we followed – suggests that the number of biographies to be collected cannot be defined a priori, but should be determined during the research itself. An interview will thus be ended if it does not add significantly to those already collected. Before collecting biographies we have specified only the characteristics the subjects should have: living in an economically deprived situation and having been in the host country for two or more years. This group was subsequently divided into two sub-
groups: those who held a residence permit, and those who were living as irregular (illegal) immigrants. Within these groups, the number of people to interview was determined according to the principle of saturation proposed by Bertaux\textsuperscript{24}. The life course stories collected for this research focus on the reconstruction of the path leading to exclusion; thus, the questions referred mostly to the period from the time the immigrant arrived in the host country to the time of the interview.

Interviews were based on a seven-section outline. The first section groups the interviewees’ name, age, place of birth and residence with their family history. The second section features questions on the immigrants’ life in their country of origin and their education. The third section focuses on the migration course and project. Work experience is treated in the fourth section while the fifth deals with where the person has lived and lives. The sixth contains a series of questions on the immigrants’ goals, the strategies they have devised to reach them, their social networks and degree of access to social services. The last section refers to the use of spare time and to the immigrants’ general living conditions and their subjective evaluation. The interviewer simply steered the conversation within these standards, to ensure both a level of consistency and maximum freedom of expression, acting as “researcher – director”\textsuperscript{25}.

A final consideration should be made regarding the interpretation and presentation of the material collected. This phase presents difficulties that have been the object of a lively debate\textsuperscript{26}. The first problem is encountered in transferring to a written form a text collected in oral form; the researcher might select certain aspects, while overlooking others that might be equally useful. The material should undoubtedly be subject to a filtering, but the selection criteria should be explicit, and explained. Transferring from oral to written form entails the inability to account for elements such as pauses, gestures, exclamations and other unique features of a conversation. Some authors use technical conventions to transfer into writing the full range of elements of an oral conversation. In this research, such problems have been encountered mostly when some of
the interviewees spoke in barely comprehensible dialects; since most used Italian, those dialects have been translated to standard Italian, sacrificing some colour and richness for the sake of comprehensibility and comparability with other interviews.

The researcher must have a very active role in solving the problems encountered in retracing and analysing life courses. This necessarily leads to an alternative. A researcher may simply collect and present the interview integrally, with no intervention whatsoever\textsuperscript{27}, or may decide to act as co-author and thus translate and interpret the text, even to the point of rewriting entirely the initial version\textsuperscript{28}. We have attempted to take an intermediate position between these two extremes. We have retraced the courses to poverty, presented and interpreted them trying to preserve the depth and richness of the tale while reserving a central role for the researcher and his intervention, which cannot be overlooked\textsuperscript{29}. The immigrants’ words have been rendered as faithfully as possible while singling out the elements deemed useful for a more specific understanding of the problem. Not every single story has been reported integrally. The different aspects of the impoverishment process have been analysed using the interviewees’ life experiences.
NOTES


2 As a first element of debate, we propose putting aside the geographically stereotyped description of North–South, because in countries of the North there are groups and territories which are being excluded, whereas in some countries of the South there are areas which function as economic, political, technological, and commercial centers. We propose adopting the scheme of centers and peripheries proposed by Gunder Frank and Wallerstein, and developed by M. Cahen, La nationalisation du monde: Europe, Afrique. L'identité dans la démocratie, L'Harmattan, Paris, 1999.


7 E. Herrera, Reflexiones en torno al concepto de integración en la sociología de la inmigración in «Papers, revista de sociología», Universitat Autónoma de Barcelona, 1994, n. 43, pages 71-76.


12 A recent study by Joan Subirats and Joaquín Comín of the Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona (Autonomous University of Barcelona) for the Civil Rights Department of the Barcelona Town Council indicated that non-European Union immigrants are one of the groups with the greatest difficulties in obtaining access to housing, along with mentally and physically handicapped individuals, drug addicts, ex-convicts, and the heads of single-mother households.

13 The foreign population shows a higher level of education than that of national population. According to the CIS (Centre of Sociological Investigations), in the year 2000 16.8 % of the foreigners with residence permits had post-secondary education, whereas the average of the Spanish state is 11%; moreover, 42.3% had finished their high school studies, in comparison with 41.9% of the Spanish state. Of those who have requested residence permits after the aforementioned date, the percentage of university students with completed undergraduate studies rises up to 31.7%.

Source: Antonio Izquierdo, La educación errante, in Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, La sociedad, teoría e investigación empírica, Madrid, 2002.


17 E. Pugliese et al., Immigrazione e povertà, in E. Mingione (eds.), Le sfide


PART TWO

National cases
2.1. The Italian case

2.1.1. The size and features of the immigrant population in Italy

Mattia Vitiello

2.1.1.1. The statistical sources and the number of immigrants in Italy

The extent of poverty and social exclusion among the immigrant population cannot be understood and interpreted without studying the features of immigration in the Italian context; before studying poverty one must understand immigration and how it has changed over time. The analysis of Italian migration policies is also fundamental, as they structure the legal and social context. So is understanding the immigrant’s degree of inclusion in, and placement within, the Italian labour market. In this chapter, these issues are described considering specifically the demographic and social features of the immigrant presence in Italy, and the position of immigrants in the job market.

An important premise is that, to read correctly the statistics, it is necessary to distinguish between immigrants and foreign nationals. A useful tool is provided by the United Nations, in the first revision of its Recommendations on Statistics of International Migration\(^1\). The UN insist that a clear definition of migrant must refer to residence (also introducing the time variable) and to the reasons for expatriating. Thus immigrants are defined as people who have changed their country of habitual residence for reasons of work, study or other non-occasional reasons, either for a short period (more than three months but less than a year) in which case they are defined as short term migrants, or for a longer period (more than twelve months), in which case they are defined as long term migrants.

ISTAT, the Italian National Statistics Institute, has adopted the UN guidelines in the 2001 census in order to obtain information on the immigrant population in Italy, as the census does not account for
immigrants, but for foreign nationals living in the country\textsuperscript{2}. Foreign nationals living in Italy are those who do not hold an Italian citizenship, and stateless persons. Immigrants are citizens of foreign countries who have been living in Italy for more than three months for reasons of work or political reasons or for family reunification purposes, and who come from developing countries. The statistical sources in this work are ISTAT surveys regarding residence permits – issued by police in each city – and the presence of foreign nationals in city registries. A residence permit is a document legalising a foreign national’s stay in the country. It records a person’s identification data and the reason it was issued. Regarding city registries, ISTAT gathers yearly from each city the data on population changes and on the resident foreign population, broken down by sex and country of citizenship. Table 1 presents the number of foreign nationals holding a residence permit and the number of foreign nationals in city registries. The two figures, while not directly comparable, should be used jointly to describe the size of the immigrant population in Italy.

\textbf{Table 1:} Residence permits and foreign nationals residing in Italy, by sex. Years 1995 – 2000.

\begin{tabular}{lrrrrrr}
\hline
\textit{Total residence permits} & 677,791 & 729,159 & 986,020 & 1,022,896 & 1,090,820 & 1,340,655 \\
Of which: Women & 314,967 & 344,539 & 431,702 & 458,613 & 508,252 & 607,986 \\
Of which: From countries with heavy emigration & 487,218 & 528,430 & 779,738 & 809,289 & 867,684 & 1,112,173 \\
\textit{Total residing foreign nationals} & 685,469 & 737,793 & 884,555 & 991,678 & 1,116,394 & 1,464,589 \\
Of which: Women & 301,102 & 331,484 & 388,264 & 437,623 & 507,198 & 671,998 \\
Of which: From countries with heavy emigration & 512,522 & 561,274 & 702,914 & 805,664 & 924,346 & 1,277,138 \\
Of which: Women & 205,267 & 232,874 & 286,947 & 332,964 & 398,930 & 565,724 \\
\end{tabular}

The number of residing foreign nationals – who are enrolled in a city registry besides being authorised to stay in Italy – is useful in determining how stable the foreign and immigrant presence is. A residence permit does not however mean mandatory enrolment in a city registry, for instance in the case of a short-term stay. Thus the number of people enrolled in city registries (residing foreign nationals) should be lower than the number of people holding residence permits. The former total is in fact higher. This is due to the fact that minors are included in city registries, but only in some cases hold residence permits, as they are exempt from the need of an individual permit and appear on the permit of a parent. The increase of this particular population segment is not reflected in the number of residence permits. As Table 1 highlights, the growing number of women is a key feature of the immigrant presence. During the 1990s it has grown both in absolute and relative terms, from 181,236 regularly registered woman immigrants in 1993 (38 percent of registered immigrants) to 469,664 in 2000, or more than 42 percent. The geographical distribution in Table 2 shows that the majority of the immigrant population is in Northern Italy. Only slightly more than 15 percent lives in the South. Within each larger area, metropolitan areas are especially strong attractors, namely Milan in the North, Rome in Central Italy, and Naples in the South. The main reason for this distribution pattern lies in the different conditions of local labour markets and in the economic and social dualism typical of Italy. Immigrants gravitate toward Northern regions where the job market offers a greater level of stability.

**Table 2**: Presence of immigrants by geographical area and sex. Year 2000.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geographical area</th>
<th>Males AND females</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>608,232</td>
<td>249,040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>54.7</td>
<td>53.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centre</td>
<td>331,685</td>
<td>154,597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>33.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>172,256</td>
<td>65,997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,112,173</strong></td>
<td><strong>469,664</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.1.2. Demographical profile and most common nationalities of immigrants in Italy

Considering the age range distribution of the immigrant population (graph 1) one notes that about 5 percent of registered immigrants is younger than 18, versus 17.8 for the Italian population. Certainly this is lower than the actual percentage, since not all minors hold residence permits, as mentioned before. Only 4.5 percent of registered immigrants are over 55 versus 29.6 for Italians.

**Graph 1:** Immigrant and Italian population by age range. Year 2000 (percentages)

![Graph 1](image)


The immigrant population is overwhelmingly composed of the most productive age ranges: more than 80 percent of regularly registered immigrants are between 18 and 44 years old, versus only 38 percent for Italians. The migratory flows are still too recent to have produced a balanced age range structure. The differing demographical profiles and the age ranges of the immigrant population show that the two populations
have different needs, or at least different priorities, but also hints that the analysis of exclusion among immigrants cannot be conducted with the same tools and notions that would be used for the Italian population. A further factor of complexity regarding the immigrant population is its national composition, as in the following table:

### Table 3: First 20 nationalities present in Italy, by sex. Years 1993 – 2000.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>M+F</th>
<th>% F</th>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>M+F</th>
<th>% F</th>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>M+F</th>
<th>% F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>66,526</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>81,247</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>155,864</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.Yugosl.</td>
<td>34,954</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>F.Yugosl.</td>
<td>73,538</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>133,018</td>
<td>34.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philipp.</td>
<td>30,220</td>
<td>68.8</td>
<td>Philipp.</td>
<td>36,007</td>
<td>69.9</td>
<td>F. Yugosl.</td>
<td>92,791</td>
<td>39.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>27,356</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>30,666</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>Philipp.</td>
<td>67,386</td>
<td>66.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>22,474</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>30,183</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>61,212</td>
<td>48.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>19,235</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>20,816</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>56,660</td>
<td>45.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>14,647</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>16,200</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>46,773</td>
<td>22.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>12,166</td>
<td>41.1</td>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>16,010</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>40,890</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>11,401</td>
<td>38.3</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>15,530</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>34,042</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>10,881</td>
<td>61.9</td>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>14,212</td>
<td>69.3</td>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>31,991</td>
<td>42.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>10,518</td>
<td>69.9</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>13,955</td>
<td>64.9</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>29,478</td>
<td>70.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>10,490</td>
<td>59.6</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>12,985</td>
<td>73.7</td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>29,074</td>
<td>68.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>9,363</td>
<td>49.9</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>11,984</td>
<td>52.5</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>27,568</td>
<td>36.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>8,790</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>10,010</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>20,056</td>
<td>57.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>8,419</td>
<td>65.4</td>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>9,047</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>19,972</td>
<td>34.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>7,473</td>
<td>55.2</td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>8,001</td>
<td>72.0</td>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>18,980</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>6,278</td>
<td>69.3</td>
<td>Dom. Rep.</td>
<td>6,398</td>
<td>88.4</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>18,888</td>
<td>73.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>5,840</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>5,908</td>
<td>72.8</td>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>17,237</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>5,022</td>
<td>67.5</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>5,873</td>
<td>56.4</td>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>13,413</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.USSR</td>
<td>4,675</td>
<td>72.2</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>5,802</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>13,399</td>
<td>75.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** 412,681 37.8  Total 528,430 42.3 Total 1,112,173 42.2


Over this period the Mediterranean migration pole – the countries on the Southern and Eastern shores of the Mediterranean basin – has maintained first place, but immigration flows from Asian nations have been rising constantly. Over the 1990s some nationalities have seen a true leap in numbers. This is the case with Romanians and Peruvians, for instance. Other nations such as Senegal saw only a small rise. Overall, the national composition is extremely fragmented and its nature can be described as
strongly “globalised”. This globalisation and relative fragmentation of migratory flows has been defined by Castles and Miller as one of the typical trends in modern migratory movements, involving both the origin and destination countries\(^3\). The percentage of women is minimal among African communities such as the Senegalese (7.1 percent) and the Algerians (11.8) and is still very low among the Tunisians (22.1) and Moroccans (27.7). The percentage of women among Albanians is similarly low at 34 percent. On the contrary women are dominant among Russians (75.7 percent), Poles (70.5) and nationals of the Philippines (66.2). The gender composition within nationalities has remained more or less constant over the past decade, even as the immigrant female presence in Italy as a whole grew in percentage from 37.8 percent in 1992 to 42.2 in 2000. Female presence is an important feature of the migratory model of a particular nationality, and its widely varying distribution proves the diversity of migration projects and degree of stabilisation among the immigrant communities in Italy.

2.1.1.3. Duration and reasons of the immigrant presence in Italy
Other elements that allow a detailed grasp of how immigration in Italy has developed over time, and the fundamental features of migratory models, can be obtained considering the reasons for the issuance of residence permits, and the duration of presence in Italy based on the entry date on the permit. The duration of a permit can be used to identify the nationalities that have been in Italy the longest, and also as a possible indicator of an inclusion process within Italian society on the part of those nationalities. A 1998 law allows immigrants who have been in Italy for at least 5 years, provided they meet certain conditions, to obtain an unlimited residence permit, extendible to family members living with them.

Table 4 shows the percentage of residence permits holders who have been residing in Italy for at least 5 and 10 years on the total of permits existing in the year 2000. It also shows their distribution for the first 20
nationalities, in the same year. The percentage of women on the holders of residence permits for at least 5 and 10 years is also shown. For some nationalities there is a dominant presence of women among holders of residence permits for more than 5 years; here women have taken the role of promoting the migration flows, a pattern differing significantly from those where women have come only at a later stage, joining their family members.

Table 4 Residence permits by issuance date and sex of the holder. First 20 nationalities. Year 2000.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>M+F</th>
<th>At least 5 yrs</th>
<th>At least 10 yrs</th>
<th>F 5 yrs,</th>
<th>10 yrs,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Total %</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>155,864</td>
<td>97,036</td>
<td>62.3</td>
<td>5,737</td>
<td>35.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>133,018</td>
<td>37,149</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.Yugosl.</td>
<td>92,791</td>
<td>51,571</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>1,231</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippin.</td>
<td>67,386</td>
<td>49,388</td>
<td>73.3</td>
<td>26,562</td>
<td>39.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>61,212</td>
<td>21,819</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>10,222</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>56,660</td>
<td>33,381</td>
<td>58.9</td>
<td>22,202</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>46,773</td>
<td>12,216</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>1,138</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>40,890</td>
<td>27,122</td>
<td>66.3</td>
<td>18,360</td>
<td>44.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>34,042</td>
<td>17,632</td>
<td>51.8</td>
<td>7,079</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>31,991</td>
<td>18,938</td>
<td>59.2</td>
<td>10,929</td>
<td>34.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>29,478</td>
<td>15,123</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>2,442</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>29,074</td>
<td>11,257</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>4,940</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>27,568</td>
<td>12,075</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>6,055</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>20,056</td>
<td>8,714</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td>4,054</td>
<td>20.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>19,972</td>
<td>13,064</td>
<td>65.4</td>
<td>7,784</td>
<td>39.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>18,980</td>
<td>10,070</td>
<td>53.1</td>
<td>3,394</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>18,888</td>
<td>7,103</td>
<td>37.6</td>
<td>3,400</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>17,237</td>
<td>9,026</td>
<td>52.4</td>
<td>1,521</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>13,413</td>
<td>5,338</td>
<td>39.8</td>
<td>3,923</td>
<td>29.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>13,399</td>
<td>2,542</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,112,173</td>
<td>550,292</td>
<td>49.5</td>
<td>252,257</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Nearly 50 percent of residence permit holders on January 1st, 2000 had been in Italy for at least 5 years and more than 22 percent for 10 years or more. First, this means that immigration in Italy is a recent phenomenon. More than half of the regularly registered immigrants have obtained
regular status only through two blanket laws in 1990 (Law 39) and 1995 (Law 489). Also, a significant percentage of immigrants can take advantage of a 1998 regulation (Law 40/1998) and be issued a “residence paper” (carta di soggiorno), an unlimited permit that provides far more rights and benefits to those who have held a residence permit (permesso di soggiorno) for five years and have a demonstrable income. The permit can be extended to a spouse and minor children living together.

The nationalities with a longer presence in Italy are the Philippines, Senegal, Ghana, Morocco, Tunisia, India and Egypt. More recent migratory flows come from Central and East European countries. Women hold the vast majority of earlier (1990 or before) residence permits issued to nationals of countries such as the Philippines, Peru and Russia; in other cases such as Romania, India and Poland women hold a lower but still high percentage. Women from these countries are the first link in the migratory chain. They are the first to arrive and, through active participation in the job market and understanding of employment opportunities for their family members, they are the ones who decide where to reside and in what sort of housing, and how and when to reunite the family, as has been pointed out from the earliest research in Italy⁴.

A breakdown of residence permits by reason for their issuance (Table 5) highlights that work is by far the primary reason for residence in Italy, accounting for more than two thirds of permits issued by the year 2000. Family reunion accounts for slightly under a quarter. Permits issued for reasons of work are the vast majority for nearly all nationalities and reach a peak for Senegalese (94 percent) and Algerian (87 percent) nationals. The two exceptions are Brazil, with a mere 30 percent, and Russia (37 percent). India has a percentage of permits issued for religious reasons of around 20 percent, an anomaly, as does Brazil although to a slightly lesser degree. This is likely due to permits being issued to members of the clergy.
Table 5: Residence permits by reason for residence. First 20 nationalities. Year 2000.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>N° of resid. permits</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>155,864</td>
<td>114,027</td>
<td>73.2</td>
<td>40,536</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1,299</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>133,018</td>
<td>86,651</td>
<td>65.1</td>
<td>37,576</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>8,645</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.Yugosl.</td>
<td>92,791</td>
<td>58,713</td>
<td>63.3</td>
<td>21,332</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>3,799</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>9,938</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippin.</td>
<td>67,386</td>
<td>55,960</td>
<td>83.0</td>
<td>7,108</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>519</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>61,212</td>
<td>41,485</td>
<td>67.8</td>
<td>14,437</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>842</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>4,448</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>56,660</td>
<td>40,885</td>
<td>72.2</td>
<td>15,014</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>669</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>46,773</td>
<td>35,533</td>
<td>76.0</td>
<td>10,855</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>40,890</td>
<td>35,533</td>
<td>94.4</td>
<td>2,131</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>34,042</td>
<td>26,883</td>
<td>79.0</td>
<td>6,637</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SriLanka</td>
<td>31,991</td>
<td>22,561</td>
<td>70.5</td>
<td>8,957</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>29,478</td>
<td>16,642</td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>8,245</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>2,692</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>1,899</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>29,074</td>
<td>22,137</td>
<td>76.1</td>
<td>5,770</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>665</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>27,568</td>
<td>14,783</td>
<td>53.6</td>
<td>6,222</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>5,410</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>1,153</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>20,056</td>
<td>16,714</td>
<td>83.3</td>
<td>2,223</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>19,972</td>
<td>16,533</td>
<td>82.8</td>
<td>3,230</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banglad.</td>
<td>18,980</td>
<td>16,016</td>
<td>84.4</td>
<td>2,662</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>18,888</td>
<td>5,840</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>8,479</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td>2,563</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>2,006</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>17,237</td>
<td>14,224</td>
<td>82.5</td>
<td>2,767</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>13,413</td>
<td>11,674</td>
<td>87.0</td>
<td>1,456</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>13,399</td>
<td>4,943</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>5,172</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>3,192</td>
<td>23.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 1,112,173 750,647 67.5 264,358 23.8 33,386 3.0 63,782 5.7


Over 45 percent of women holding residence permits have obtained them for work, a percentage underlining the relevant contribution of women to the immigrant workforce.

This contribution is even larger for some nationalities such as Russia, Brazil, the Philippines, Peru and Poland, where more than two thirds of the permits issued for reasons of work have gone to women. The preponderance of women and their role as primary agents in the migratory process from these countries ensures that migratory models for these nationalities enjoy a stability that, among other unique features, has been shown by research.

The growing role of women within migratory trends in the past thirty years is the second new feature to contemporary migrations; the novelty is not so much that the percentage of women immigrants is growing, but their role as the main agents of immigration, as the Italian case shows.
2.1.1.4. The inclusion of immigrants in the Italian labour market

The strong prevalence of residence permits for reasons of work means that immigration to Italy is mainly of the kind identified in the specialised literature as Labour migrations\(^7\). The most recent research has shown how present-day labour migrations are completely different from the migration flows typical of the post-war period, also known as the “thirty glorious years”\(^8\). The growing globalisation and specialisation of the labour market has changed the face of international migration movements, no longer driven by the simple play of attraction factors and salary differences\(^9\). In the present phase, the placement of immigrants in the labour market depends on many variables: the specific features of the economic development of the host countries, the political, economic and cultural relations between the countries of origin and destination, the world economic system and its changes and finally the immigration policies adopted by each destination country.

Immigration to Italy is a typical case, from this point of view. The attraction factors in the Italian case are determined by a demand for work reflecting not only the general economic picture but also the features of local society. Immigrant workers move to Italian regions with low unemployment rates and a dynamic demand for work, as well as to regions with high unemployment and a structurally weak economy. The analysis of this unique case goes beyond the traditional dichotomy between demand-driven and offer-driven immigration, and requires understanding of the fragmentation of the Italian labour market and of the differences between the North and South of the country.

Enrico Pugliese has explained how the fragmentation of the labour market is the key to understanding the apparent Italian paradox, where immigration and unemployment coexist\(^10\). The wages, in real terms, offered are often less than half of contract wages, for jobs in extremely precarious safety conditions, and with no employment security. As a consequence local unemployed people, mostly urban youths, do not take those jobs, while immigrants usually find that the wages and working
conditions are vastly superior to what they would be offered in their home countries. But other factors influence migratory flows, besides labour market fragmentation, especially in the more developed Northern regions (the North-East mostly). Demand for jobs in manufacturing is high especially at smaller firms, and local offer cannot even remotely keep up, for demographical reasons. In summary, immigration in the Southern regions is best explained through the fragmentation of the labour market while in the North demand plays a role that must not be underestimated\textsuperscript{11}.

\textbf{Table 6:} Residence permits for reasons of work, by type of work and geographical area. Year 2000.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resid. permits for reasons of work</th>
<th>% Employee work</th>
<th>% Self-employed work</th>
<th>% Job seekers</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North 461,745</td>
<td>55.8</td>
<td>375,386</td>
<td>58.2</td>
<td>47,516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centre 239,135</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>187,612</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>22,725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South 126,738</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>81,949</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>13,028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total 827,618</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>644,947</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>83,269</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Residence permits issued for employee work make up almost 90 percent of the total permits issued in the year 2000. The geographical distribution follows closely the pattern of overall immigrant presence as discussed above. Almost 60 percent of immigrant employees are concentrated in Northern regions, confirming that the inclusion of immigrant workers in the labour system is strongly influenced by Italy’s marked economic dichotomy, as Ambrosini has documented\textsuperscript{12}. Finally, the geographical distribution of residence permits issued to job-seeking immigrants is rather uniform compared to permits issued for existing work. Enrico Pugliese has defined two different models for the placement of immigrants within the labour market in Italy. The first model is typical of Northern Italy, based on occupation in the manufacturing industry especially in small and medium-sized companies. Jobs tend to be stable and based on formal contracts\textsuperscript{13}. On the other hand, immigrant workers in the South
are concentrated mainly in agriculture, services (mostly as household help) and building. Job instability is high, with many working in the “black” or, more precisely, informal economy\textsuperscript{14}.

The role of immigrants in the Italian economy is extremely varied, reflecting the deep rift between North and South, and tends to concentrate in areas and activities where demand of labour exceeds offer. Another extremely relevant element is the marked rise in legal immigration, signalling a strong consolidation of the immigrant presence in Italy.

2.1.1.5. Laws regulating the immigrant presence in Italy

The rise in regularly registered immigration in the 1990s has been favoured by legalisation laws throughout the decade, especially the laws of 1996 and 1998. Migration policy, of which legalisation laws are a part, can have a large influence on the living conditions of immigrants and on models of migration. We analyse Italian migration policies under the hypothesis, formulated by Portes and Borocz\textsuperscript{15}, that they influence both in terms of quantity and quality the processes of inclusion and exclusion of immigrants.

What is usually meant by “migration policies” is the set of laws regulating the access of foreign nationals and varying depending on their nationality and on the reason for and length of their stay. After entry into the country, these laws regulate the conditions for residence and the type and duration of permits that may be issued, as well as access to work and the conditions for being granted citizen status. Migration policy also regulates how immigrants may access welfare services. Thus migration policies operate in three areas: entry policies, policies for the stabilisation of the immigrant population, and social policy regarding immigrants. The first two areas are grouped under the definition of immigration policy while the third area, essentially defining the rights granted to immigrants, is defined as immigrant policy\textsuperscript{16}. According to Brochmann, the goal of such policies is increasingly “the attempt to control migratory flows and their stabilisation,
favouring the so-called ‘welcome immigration’ and reducing unwanted flows to a minimum”\(^{17}\). Brochmann points out that new laws tend to concentrate in the area of immigration policy, also influencing immigrant policy, which is becoming increasingly restrictive\(^{18}\). In the Italian case these two policy areas are clearly distinguished, as evidenced by law 40/1998 and a related decree (286/1998) titled “Regulations on immigration and on the condition of foreigners”\(^{19}\). The first part deals with entry, residence and expulsion from Italy, introducing strongly restrictive regulations which have reduced the ability to enter Italy legally, and also setting restrictive criteria for obtaining and renewing residence permits. This has proved to be a serious obstacle to the stabilisation of the immigrant population and has sparked accusations of discrimination. For instance, the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia has called article 7 of the 1998 law – stating that all foreigners who have been legally in the country for five years and meet certain conditions can be issued a “residence paper” granting wider rights than a simple residence permit – “an expression of indirect discrimination hurting many legally resident migrants”\(^{20}\).

The second part of the 1998 law contains regulations regarding health, education, housing, participation in public life, social integration and two articles promoting action against discrimination on racial, ethnic, national or religious grounds. Foreigners are guaranteed several protections and rights, a big step towards equality of treatment and full equality of rights and obligations with Italian citizens. But as the first part of the law distinguishes between those who have entered and reside in Italy legally and those who have entered and reside illegally, such rights are guaranteed only to the former. The European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance has called this another form of indirect discrimination\(^ {21}\). The law calls upon the state, regions and local authorities to implement measures for the social integration of foreigners, also co-operating with foreign citizens’ associations and voluntary organisations. To this end the law establishes the Council for Foreigners (\textit{Consulta per gli Stranieri}) both
at the national and regional levels, the Territorial Councils for Immigration, in each province, and a National Fund for Migration Policies. 80 percent of the Fund is earmarked for use by the regions while the remaining 20 percent finances state intervention. The regions are clearly assigned the larger role in social integration policies, and also act as co-ordinators for the various local policies. Therefore the analysis of the exclusion processes and of the role played by migration policies must be conducted mainly at the city level.
2.1.2. The reconstruction and analysis of the exclusion paths of immigrants in Naples

2.1.2.1. Profiles of immigrants interviewed
As noted previously, during the 1990s the immigrant population in Italy has stabilised considerably. The integration process into Italian society is not easy and is still marked by economic and political difficulties, but it has undoubtedly started. We have also observed, though, that some sectors of the immigrant population have more trouble in integrating into Italian society. This is largely due to difficulty in obtaining work and to a severe lack of social policies, as noted in the latest report by the Italian Commission for Immigrant Integration Policies. In recent years such processes of stabilisation have become apparent in Naples as elsewhere, although to a more limited extent than in large cities in Northern and Central Italy. At the same time, the immigrant presence in Naples has grown considerably and become more diverse. No studies are available as yet on the overall number and breakdown by nationality of immigrants in Naples and on their distribution within the city. The official statistical sources used most often in regard to immigration issues (the Ministry of Interior and ISTAT) do not go beyond the city level, or in some cases – such as with residence permit data – the provincial level. Thus to calculate the numbers of each nationality in Naples one must base an estimate on city registry data. This only allows to account for the more stable part of the immigrant population, and certainly results in a lower estimate than the actual number, as it does not include legal immigrants without their own address (for instance those living with relatives or living in shelters) and illegal immigrants.

* Mattia Vitiello wrote chapter 2.1.2, except for paragraph 2.1.2.4 written by Dario Tuorto; Catello Formisano wrote chapter 2.1.3.
Table 1: Immigrants residing in Naples by sex and nationality. Updated to December 31, 2000.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>1,672</td>
<td>1,434</td>
<td>3,106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>693</td>
<td>1,090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Verde</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>685</td>
<td>878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican Republic</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>443</td>
<td>592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Yugoslavia</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other nationalities</td>
<td>913</td>
<td>961</td>
<td>1,874</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total**               | 5,243 | 6,185  | 11,428|

*Source: Elaboration of ISTAT data (ISTAT 2001).*

Table 1 presents the number of immigrants officially residing in the city of Naples, broken down by sex and nationality. At the end of 2000, the number of immigrants residing in Naples was 11,448 or slightly more than 1 percent of the city population. A majority (54 percent) were women, a typical, consistent feature of the city’s immigrant population, as they have been the first link in the migratory chain for several nationalities, which turn out to be the most common, and among the first to arrive, in Naples (Sri Lanka, the Philippines, Cape Verde, the Dominican Republic and
Families from these nationalities have been among the first to reunite in Naples; their migratory models have become as a consequence more stable, also providing a higher chance of success for the immigrants’ integration.

In the same year, 27,021 immigrants were officially residing in the whole of the province of Naples, while the number of residence permit holders in the province was 36,229. Therefore, nearly one third of all immigrants who hold a residence permit in the province have an officially registered address in Naples, and this can be considered an indication of an ongoing process of integration.

The choice of subjects to interview was directed towards two main types: immigrants holding a residence permit and illegal immigrants. Subjects in the first group were contacted through traditional channels: the Immigration department of CGIL – Italy’s largest trade union – in Naples, the immigrant’s office at Caritas in Naples, and the associations working on immigration issues in the city. As for the second group, given the particular nature of the subjects’ legal status, they have been approached directly, in the street. However the most marginal part – immigrants who have fallen prey to alcoholism, for instance, or those reduced to begging in the street – was not included in the interviews; although the problem is undoubtedly worthy of scientific and political attention, it was not considered to be significant for the purpose of this research.

Two elements are common to the subjects we interviewed: most of them have been in Italy for three or more years, and for most of them Naples was their first destination in Italy, and also where they settled. In other words Naples has been both a point of arrival and a centre of attraction for the migratory flows from several nations. Some of our subjects saw Naples as a first destination, where they intended to go through a sort of “cultural acclimatisation” before moving on to better paying jobs further North. Subsequently, however, many of them realised they would not be able to go elsewhere to work and decided forcibly to stay, an event often seen as
the failure of their migratory project. All the individuals in our sample also hold a high school or university degree, a feature common to many early immigrants in Italy, especially in the South. They also tend to come mainly from generally cosmopolitan capital cities, and none hails from a background of social exclusion or cultural or economic disadvantage; they can all be described as coming from the “middle class” in their home countries. As for family composition, they can be divided into three groups: individuals living with their family, thanks to family reunion laws (cases 1, 7, 10, 12); singles who do not have a spouse in their home countries (cases 3, 5, 8, 9, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27) and individuals with families in their home countries (cases 2, 4, 6, 11, 13, 17, 18, 21, 26).

A family is composed on average of 4 members, with two pre-school children, while the average age of the parents is 35. Our intention in differentiating the sample based on family composition was determining the effect of the presence of a family on possible exclusion trajectories, and also determining whether different family situations called for different social policies.

The immigrants in our sample based their migratory projects on economic goals, which appear to be much stronger than other goals that may be part of their project. A vast majority of them invested greatly – both economically and psychologically – in their decision to emigrate, which they took after a long deliberation. The initial goal is always to find work for a certain amount of time and then return to the country of origin; the latter however becomes a more and more distant objective with time. This is due to their difficult economic position in Italy, which does not allow them to return.

(Male, Senegal, 45)

"I was expecting easier integration, economic and human. But I found lots of problems. I wanted to work abroad three of four years and then go back to Senegal and start a business.” (case 2)
(Male, Ukraine, 36) “Before coming to Italy I thought I’d work three or four years and go back. But now I see it’s not so easy to make enough money to go back, so I’d like to bring my family here.” (case 4);

(Male, Ivory Coast, 26) “The main reason I emigrated is that I wanted to go on studying and work at the same time then go back home once I was through with school. I thought it was easy to work and study in Italy, but I found a completely different situation. I couldn’t get a residence permit, so I couldn’t study.” (case 9);

(Female, Russia, 44) “I was working [in Russia] but it wasn’t enough to send my kids to school and university. The last salary I got before leaving was [the equivalent of] 40 Euros. A friend of mine told me she’d find work for me in Italy so I said yes. It wasn’t like I had a choice. Thought I’d work a couple of years, then go back, but things didn’t get better so I brought my kids here too. I was so scared of coming to Italy, I never thought in my life I’d be forced to emigrate. I thought it was going to be easier, living in Italy. Well, in the end, I found some people who helped me, anyway.” (case 10).

2.1.2.2. The living conditions of the immigrants

In Naples, social policies for immigrants are especially lacking; their living conditions depend almost exclusively on their ability to find work and on the resources – such as income or various services – they can find through networks, either ethnic-based or made up of friends and relatives. Economic poverty is a common denominator in all the cases we interviewed. The immigrants in our sample try to devise strategies for adaptation, tailoring their needs to the resources they have available. Essentially these strategies are based on reducing one’s needs to the bare minimum, spending only for food and shelter, and on adopting patterns based on the only goal of saving money. The overwhelming majority of income is destined for food and shelter; 60 percent goes for shelter, on average in our sample, while the remaining part has to provide for food – the larger part – clothing and transport.
(Female, Sri Lanka, 42)
“What I make is barely enough for the rent and feeding the family. I don’t have a
good job, I’m a house cleaner. They pay me by the hour, sometimes I make more,
sometimes less, but never more than 500 Euros a month. That has to pay for
everything, so we have to watch what we spend.” (case 1);

(Male, Ivory Coast, 26)
“I work in a shirt factory and I make just 100 Euros a week. But I’m in luck, I live in
an occupied building, so I pay no rent. So I can put away some money. I’d love to
live in a place of my own. But there’s no way I could pay rent.” (case 9).

The same holds true for those who have their families in their original
countries. They can only send little money home, and on a very irregular
basis.

(Male, Senegal, 45)
“I don’t make much money, I can’t send it home. What I got isn’t enough for them to
come to Italy. Now I’d like the Italian State to help me make my family come here.”
(case 2);

(Male, Burkina Faso, 30)
“When you got no job your biggest problem is you can’t send money home and that
really makes me feel bad. I haven’t seen my wife and kid since I came here and
having no money to send home makes this useless.” (case 17);

(Male, Burkina Faso, 29)
“When I don’t work, that’s real bad, cause I can’t send no money home to my family.
And if I can’t, what am I doing in this shit?” (case 18);

(Female, Colombia, 37)
“Never sent money home. I bring them things when I go there, is all. There have
been good times like when I bought a mandolin for my brother. But that’s really
rare.” (case 26).

The lack of money to send home to the families is considered a sign of
failure of one’s migratory project. Most times, the realisation of such
failure is the necessary condition for prolonged economic poverty to become a drift towards social exclusion.

Another strategy for containing poverty is based on the help of ethnic networks, or networks of friends.

(Male, Burkina Faso, 30)
"A friend of mine I share a room with is from the Ivory Coast. He’s a real friend, always helped me, even when I had no money and wasn’t working. I got an Italian friend too, he’s a bricklayer. Met him on the job. Sundays I go to lunch to his home, with his family. He’s really nice. People who helped me with money were always friends, you always help each other, it can happen that one day you’ve got a job and the next day you don’t. And when you’re sick, too, friends help you, since you can’t work. There’s a lot of solidarity with the people you live with, they tell you to hold on, because that’s how it goes. So when you don’t have money to eat or call your family everybody pays for me, and that’s what I do for them too if they aren’t working. People who live like you do understand what it means to be without rights. They tell you that’s the way it is.” (case 17);

(Male, Ukraine, 21)
"When I got no money my mother sends me something, she’s always helped. Sometimes my friends in Naples help me, too.” (case 24).

This kind of survival strategy has been adopted, in the early stage of their migratory project, by all the immigrants in our sample, who used it mainly for work contacts and for housing.

(Female, Sri Lanka, 42)
"I got help from my sister who was in Italy already, for things like housing and work. When I arrived here I went to live at my sister’s place, then I moved to a three room apartment with nine other people, all from Sri Lanka.” (case 1);

(Female, Bosnia, 26)
"My roommates helped me. They didn’t make me pay rent on my room immediately.” (case 3);

(Male, Ivory Coast, 22)
"Many people helped me, especially at first, when I was worse off. I only made it to here because of them.” (case 19).
Over time, this strategy is adopted only in extreme cases. In the early stages of a migratory project, using the resources provided by networks is perceived as part of a larger strategy of integration into a host society; that is, as a temporary measure, while looking for a job and a place to stay. Going forward, however, calling upon networks is seen increasingly as merely a strategy for the containment of economic poverty, or for coping with job insecurity. Pride or the fear of not being able to reciprocate are only a part of the reasons for the reluctance to call upon the resources of a network; the subjects in our sample appear to be aware that such networks are based on a very precarious balance between needs and available resources. Moreover, the help of a network is seen as simply a means of arresting an exclusion process, but certainly not as a strategy for full integration.

Another basic element in the evaluation of the living conditions of immigrants is housing. Interviews show that it is seen as a crucial factor not only for life in general, but also as one of the main elements influencing exclusion.

(Female, Sri Lanka, 42)
"I live in the old part of downtown. We have just one room with a small kitchen in a corner, and the toilet right in the middle. I don’t have a room for myself. My husband, my son and I live in the same room. It’s not good. It’s very small, damp and dark. There’s only one window and it’s no good for my family. I pay 200 Euros a month.” (case 1);

(Male, Senegal, 45)
"I live in a single room with five friends. It’s really bad, it’s too small and damp, and the landlord’s not okay. He never wants to fix broken things and he never minds his own business.” (case 2);

(Male, Ukraine, 36)
"I pay 85 Euros, with no contract, for a two room apartment with the toilet in the kitchen. It’s three of us in there, it’s really small and damp. When it rains a lot it
rains inside too. I don’t like it and I want to change, but with the money I make it’s the only place I can afford.” (case 4);

(Male, Pakistan, 26)
“I pay 50 Euros a month and I don’t have a room of my own. I share with twelve others from Pakistan. And we also don’t have telephone, that’s another problem.” (case 16);

(Male, Burkina Faso, 30)
“It’s out of the city, it’s ugly, you see it yourself. It’s all abandoned houses, no water and no power. We got one bathroom for fifty people. You can’t live here, it rains inside. And they want to send us away! People here think we’re used to living in this shit. That’s not true. Back home I had a nice big place with a living room.” (case 17).

The average number of people per room in our sample is four. Such cramped and precarious housing conditions are due to the need to share (mainly with fellow nationals) to save on housing expenses, which indeed become affordable only thanks to sharing. The small, unhygienic apartments in which immigrants live also constitute a strong limiting factor – material as well as psychological – in the success of a migration project, perceived as preventing integration and contributing to the causes of an exclusion process.

Like the support of networks, shared housing has a dual purpose. On the one hand it is a strategy for the optimisation of resources, while waiting for better-paying jobs that could finance better housing; and on the other hand, it is a strategy for the maximisation of savings, in order to be able to send money home. All the immigrants interviewed initially considered sharing a temporary solution, but as time goes by it becomes less and less so, and also loses its function, until it is perceived negatively. It is in such cases that poor housing can be seen as the sign of difficulties in the integration process, besides indicating the existence of conditions of poverty and exclusion. This process is clearly illustrated by some of the subjects:
(Male, Algeria, 26)  
"I moved two or three times. First I lived in Aversa with a friend in an abandoned house, then in Pozzuoli with two other friends, in another house that had been abandoned because of the earthquake. Then I went to Forcella with a friend, we paid 250 Euros a month. Now I live in this place I really don’t like, with two other people. It’s right on the street, it’s got one room and the bathroom, and it’s 100 Euros a month with no contract. It’s a temporary thing.” (case 21);

(Male, Ukraine, 21)  
"When I arrived I went to live with my sister and her boyfriend. Well it wasn’t really a house, it was a gas station where my sister’s boyfriend was working. Been there two months and then I went to live, still with my sister, in a nice apartment on the fourth floor. We were paying 700 Euros a month. Then my sister went back to Ukraine and I went to live with a friend in an abandoned house by the sea. It was good and we stayed there all summer. Then I got to Naples, in a very bad apartment. Ten, eleven people in one room. It was a dump with rats and I paid 50 Euros a month. I didn’t stay long because there was no way you could live there. Then it was another one room place, four people, a hundred Euros. Then my sister came back and I moved in with her. Now I’m again in an ugly apartment, on the ground floor, there’s always noise and you can’t sleep. It’s 86 Euros a month and not even a legal contract.” (case 24).

Almost all the immigrants we interviewed have not signed a lease agreement or a contract and thus live in a formally illegal situation; this for both legal and illegal immigrants. The lack of a regular contract seems to be more a consequence of poverty rather than of one’s legal or illegal or status. Secondly, all the interviews describe situations with very frequent moves, not only because of the search for a better place but also due to job instability as well as the continuously changing roommates. Losing an apartment may be due to the loss of a job as well as to the unemployment of one or more roommates. In other cases one or more roommates move out when they are able to afford better housing. But poor, precarious housing seems to remain the norm, as in the following case:

(Male, Ivory Coast, 22)  
"I moved so many times. First place I had was damp and ugly and with eleven other people. Then when I was working as a bricklayer I lived with two other people in a
room, with the bathroom outside. And then when I was living out in the country, as a watchman and milking cows, it was like a stable. Then a room with another guy. And then the best I’ve had so far, a one room apartment where I’m alone, and it doesn’t face on the street. I pay 200 Euros a month, the contract is in someone else’s name.” (case 19).

The immigrants’ occupations in Naples are, for males, mostly in agriculture and construction, while a smaller percentage is employed in the informal micro-industry in the city. Women all work in the services industry, especially employed by families to care for older persons or children. A number of immigrants (cases 1, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16) work every day but not under a formal contract; another group work irregularly, two or three days a week (cases 3, 8, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21). A third group had not been working for more than three months at the time of the interview (cases 6, 7, 24, 26, 27). Cases 14 and 25 have a regular job while 2, 22 and 23 are self-employed as street vendors; case 2 has a residence permit, the other two are illegal.

The first group – people working irregularly with no contract – works in poor conditions, with hard hours set arbitrarily by whatever employer they are working for. There is no fixed duration of the working day, thus no extra time can be calculated. Wages are paid irregularly, for instance weekly or monthly according to what the employer decides. A typical case is number 4, a Ukrainian man who holds a degree in electrical engineering and works as an assistant to an electrician.

(Male, Ukraine, 36)
"I’ve been working as an electrician since I arrived in Naples almost three years ago. My friends told me a man was looking for a helper and that I was good for that job, so I went. I didn’t ask anything. When you have no papers and you need to work you can’t ask things like, How much are you paying or how much do I work a day. You just go and work. The boss pays me Saturdays, sometimes he pays two weeks because the previous Saturdays he had no money. No, I can’t tell you how much I earn. I think it’s too little and I’m ashamed of saying.” (case 4);
(Male, Ivory Coast, 26)
“I was working at a carwash, even 14 hours a day, it was real tough and I had to use those detergents that are bad for your health, I had just gloves. I got 100 Euros a week for working every day, Saturdays and Sundays too. With the job I have now I make the same money but in a jeans factory, it’s a lot better and not so hard. Just have to unload things and do what the boss says”. (case 9);

(Female, Russia, 44)
“Since I’ve been in Italy I’ve been a house cleaner. Now I like it much better because I work with many families and can organise my days as I like. I only get 6 Euros per hour. Before I worked for just one family, I was there at all hours, whenever they wanted. I had to work fourteen-hour days and only made 400 Euros.” (case 10).

This situation of uncertainty and exploitation becomes even worse for subjects in the second group, who work only occasionally, and for the group of three street vendors. They work any precarious job they can find, always for a minimal pay and for a short period, often going for long periods without work. Their situation can be described as “intermittent unemployment”. None of the jobs they find can evolve into a professional occupation that could offer better economic conditions.

(Female, Bosnia, 26)
“I’ve always been a waitress in bars and restaurants. I don’t work every day, in the summer I work more often and in the winter much less. I’ve been without work for up to two months, and when that happens I go look for any job, even for one day. It ends either because the boss sends you away because there’s no money for everybody, or because the place shuts down. Or sometimes I walked out because I couldn’t take it anymore. They usually pay me by the day, twenty Euros. Or when you work several days you get paid on the last day. It’s not a nice job, sometimes you have to be standing up ten hours a day, and often the boss and the other workers are hateful.” (case 3);

(Male, Burkina Faso, 30)
“The first three months I was in Italy I only worked a week, I made do with the money I had. I couldn’t find a job because I didn’t speak Italian so I couldn’t
understand orders. Then I got to speaking Italian a little better, and finding jobs was easier. But I never had a stable job anyway. Mornings we go down to the square, and wait for someone to give us work. If nobody shows up we just go home. We immigrants, most of all the illegal ones, get the worst jobs. Like digging or picking tomatoes. And when you get a construction job it’s just for the tougher things like unloading stones. For tomato picking, you get three Euros per box, and each box takes twelve smaller boxes... It makes you dead tired, you can do it only two months a year, and if it rains you can’t work... I like much better working construction, I can learn a trade that way. All these jobs, you get them the same way: you go down to the town square at six in the morning, and wait for someone to pick you up. People are racists, they treat us like slaves. We have no rights and they insult us too, they say “Hey nigger!” (case 17);

(Male, Ivory Coast, 22)
"My first job in Italy immediately after I arrived was loading and unloading at a mattress factory, for 15 Euros a day, but they only called me when they needed me. Then I was milking cows out in the country for 25 Euros a day, for two months, then I pumped gas for 105 Euros a week, for three months. It was seven days a week from six in the morning to seven at night, it was exhausting. I asked the boss for a day off and he told me that he wanted me to go work just Saturdays. So I walked away. Now I do whatever I can find. Bricklayer, painting, that stuff. Most of the time I get 25 Euros a day.” (case 19);

(Male, Algeria, 26)
"I’ve worked a lot of different jobs in Italy. First construction, I earned 15 Euros a day and I’ve done it for some months. Then I went out to work as a farm hand with some friends, still for 15 Euros a day. Farm hand and construction worker, I don’t like that. You work a lot, you get exploited, so now I’m trying start this thing where I buy clothes wholesale and try to sell them. Or else I go buy things like shirts and pants, things that people commission me to buy. What I’d like to be is a decorator, though. That’s my trade.” (case 21);

(Male, Cameroon, 31)
"My first job was cleaning at a factory, for 150 Euros a week. And then I did the same thing at a car dealer, same money. I cleaned the cars too. Then I worked in a dried fruit plant for 20 Euros a day. Now in the summer I pick tomatoes and if there’s work in construction I do that too.” (case 23).
For both groups, the low-skilled nature of the jobs, the meager pay and the lack of any legal status whatsoever associated to the job prevent carrying out one’s migratory project, even if subjects in the first group enjoy slightly better conditions. Unemployment brings severe problems to immigrants, economically and in terms of self-esteem and lack of trust in the success of one’s migratory project.

(Male, Burkina Faso, 30)
"Unemployment is terrible. You don’t have money to live on and you can’t send any home, and they too need that money to get food. You feel useless and think all your sacrifices are for nothing and don’t make life better for your family. When I work, I save some money and use it when I’m not working." (case 17);

(Male, Ivory Coast, 22)
"Sometimes when I was unemployed I asked a friend for some money to get me over the next couple of days. But you get lots of bad thoughts when you’re unemployed. You feel lonely, anxious, it’s bad. And there’s racism in it too. All the jobs I had were immigrant jobs, heavy and underpaid. Racism means underestimating people.” (case 19);

(Male, Ukraine, 21)
"When there’s no work I get bored because I do nothing, I get depressed, I don’t like anything and have too much time to think. I’ve been unemployed often because jobs for immigrants change all the time. Now I don’t work because I was fired from the bar where I was working, because I was sick and didn’t go to work for some days, and when I went back the boss said not to go anymore. We don’t even have the right to be sick! When I’m unemployed I go do the cleaning at some friends’ house just to make some money to get food. When you’re unemployed first of all you’ve got money trouble, and psychological problems too, you don’t know what to do and money becomes your only thought.” (case 24);

(Female, Colombia, 37)
"I’ve been unemployed for one and half years, I do some things here and there. But I’m really mad. You feel such pain. You feel like there’s no floor, you’re sick, you’re stressed. Then maybe you get paid and put the money away and don’t spend because who knows when you’ll find another job. And doing a lot of different things is
a stress, it costs you a lot of energy. Now you’re doing one thing and then you’ll have to do another.” (case 26).

Work is undoubtedly the most important factor influencing the immigrants’ living conditions and their possibility of slipping into a trajectory leading to social exclusion. It appears clearly from the interviews that the time an immigrant spends in the state we have defined as “intermittent unemployment”, and most of all without a residence permit, as an illegal immigrant, determines to a large extent the conditions in which he or she lives. If this situation protracts over time, the delicate balance between resources and needs tends to shatter. A prolonged permanence in a status of “intermittent unemployment” causes a deep strain on the resources of the friend / ethnic networks, both in terms of economic sustenance and help in job seeking; if the immigrant cannot find the support of other networks, impoverishment progressively becomes worse. If this situation is compounded by illegal immigrant status, the subject is denied access to needed social services, and cannot start an ascending course.

(Male, Burkina Faso, 30)

“… if you’re alone and without a residence permit everything is tough, nobody helps you. I wanted a better life, a job and a home. But here I haven’t found half of what I was looking for, and going back is not possible. There’s no work, even here, and without a residence permit you can do nothing.” (case 17);

(Male, Burkina Faso, 29)

"Working construction is better because you can learn a trade. So in time you can have a legal contract too, but only up North, because in the South they treat you like a slave. When you don’t have a residence permit you’re often unemployed. I only work two or three days a week. It’s tough going, and I don’t have the money to buy food.” (case 18);

(Male, Ivory Coast, 22)

“After I arrived, I understood that a residence permit was my soul... in Italy an immigrant without residence permit has no right to exist.” (case 19);
"I'm expecting a residence permit for work reasons, then I'll move North to Verona with my wife. I go to the police headquarters every day, since six months [to check on the status of his residence permit]" (case 21).

Illegal immigrants in need of work will accept any job, at any condition. But these jobs never represent a way to leave poverty, rather they are simply a means of making ends meet by attempting to rebuild a balance between needs and resources. Remaining in an illegal status makes such odd jobs even harder to come by, and the immigrant’s material and psychological situation worsens considerably because of it. Social networks become frayed. The result is a process where the subject feels more and more excluded from society.

In conclusion we must recall that economic poverty is not in itself, for the purposes of this research, a form of social exclusion. It may be relieved in a social context where many of the immigrants in Naples live in the same condition; or it may be the product of a specific strategy of savings maximisation. Exclusion tends to derive instead from the prolonged lack of a job, the compression of one’s needs, or an illegal immigration status. These are the main factors of exclusion, causing a sense of failure of a migratory project, loss of self-confidence and finally isolation.

When evaluating the living conditions of immigrants based on work, housing and use of friend / family networks, three groups can be defined along a continuum. At one end of the continuum is a group not featuring any of the conditions for integration into a host society, while the group at the other end features adequate conditions for integration. For subjects in the third group, one of these three conditions – work, housing and use of friend / family networks – has a positive role, but as it is not supported by the other two, it does not prove to be enough to start a process of integration into the host society.

The first group, comprising the excluded, (cases 3, 6, 8, 17, 18, 24, 26, 27) is made up of subjects whose living conditions are markedly distinguished by economic poverty due to unemployment or “intermittent
unemployment”, who spend more time jobless than they do working. They live as a consequence in the most squalid conditions among the immigrants we interviewed. Some of them live in occupied buildings (cases 8, 17, 18, 26, 27) or live with friends in overcrowded apartments (cases 3, 6, 24).

The opposite is represented by a group we could call semi-citizens, or denizens according to the definition of denizenship, proposed by Hammar, describing the status of immigrants who have not reached full integration into a host society and full recognition of their rights, even though they are economically integrated\textsuperscript{25}. For this group (cases 1, 7, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 25), full integration is made difficult by the fact that their jobs, while stable, are all confined to the informal economy, and this prevents them from being fully recognised as citizens, accessing social services and moving into housing better suited to their needs and income. In other words, the only thing that stands between them and recognition as full citizens is a “black” job.

The characteristic that the third group (cases 2, 4, 5, 9, 11, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23) shares is economic poverty, low-paying and/or precarious jobs, and extremely poor housing. Unlike the first group – the excluded – they have not started a process of drifting towards social exclusion and have not lost hope that they can succeed in their migratory project. This because of the presence of strong ethnic / friend networks and also because of the jobs they hold, jobs which however are not enough to start a process of integration and leave their status of persistent economic poverty. Their social, economical and juridical status resembles closely that of a part of the immigrant population in Germany and the USA, defined by Faist as dienship, or the status of clandestine / illegal immigrants with a marginal position in the labour market, to whom a number of elementary rights are granted and who are not completely excluded from the social and economic life of the host country\textsuperscript{26}.

It should be noted that the borders between the three groups defined above are very thin. Assigning a particular case to a specific group can
sometimes be decided on the basis of the migratory project and how it is
carried out (the migratory model), and also on the basis of the perception
of, and the judgement on, their living conditions by the immigrants
themselves.

2.1.2.3. Trajectories of impoverishment and exclusion among the
immigrants
From our interviews it emerges, as was stated in the theoretical premise
to this research, that the living conditions of immigrants result from a
process in which the subjects, using their resources, act within the
constraints and possibilities provided by their environment. In other
words, such conditions are the product of an impoverishment process
where the subject is forced to employ strategies to adapt to the lack of job
opportunities, of guarantees provided by social services and the state and
other actors, and to the subsequent lack of income. The interaction
between such strategies and the external environment shapes these life
courses, producing different living conditions, all marked however by
material deprivation. In this chapter we reconstruct the typical traits
shared by these life courses, showing how such patterns of deprivation
develop over time.
The classic literature on the processes of integration into a host society
refers to the great migration waves at the beginning of the 20th century
and after World War II, and defines integration as a phenomenon
developing in stages along a straight line. Gordon has defined the steps in
the whole process of integration into North American society, and
described a model that can be applied to other countries on the receiving
end of immigration. The first step is economic integration, obtained
through full participation in the labour market, and subsequent social
integration, with a legal status, stable residence, full access to public
services and recognition of the immigrant’s rights. The final step is
complete political and cultural assimilation and the granting of
In earlier migrations, the immigrant was faced with a single linear course leading to assimilation, and exclusion was perceived as the complete failure of that project. In the current phase of migratory flows this linear course is increasingly less significant, while other possible courses, not necessarily intended as leading to full integration, have appeared. Integration today is closer to a process of cultural and economic adaptation within a stratified society, made up of unequal and segregated segments.

According to Zhou, integration within a host society can occur according to three different models of multidirectional processes. The first model of “upward integration” is based on both the cultural and economic integration of immigrants into the middle class; a second “downward” model goes in the opposite direction, towards integration into the lower social classes; and in the third model, while there is an economic integration into the middle class, immigrants adhere only to a limited extent to the culture of the host society, deliberately conserving the cultural values of, and solidarity ties with, the original community.

The factors influencing the kind of integration process followed by an immigrant are the starting conditions, the labour market in the host society, the migratory policies and the attitude of the citizens of the host country towards immigration. The complexity and interaction of these factors means that processes of integration today are more complex than in the past. If the living conditions and the integration of immigrants were analysed through the parameters employed for earlier migration flows, many of them would appear to be completely excluded, because of their poor economic conditions and scarce adherence to the cultural models of the host society.

An earlier research conducted in Italy had concluded that an immigrant is faced with three possible courses in relation to social exclusion. We have defined three typical courses of social exclusion, similar to those. The first trajectory, leading to complete social exclusion, corresponds with the group defined above as that of the excluded (cases 3, 6, 8, 17, 18,
The dynamics of this particular trajectory are determined by job status and immigration (legal or illegal) status. In these cases, “intermittent unemployment” or an extremely unstable occupation history are the starting point of a course that ultimately leads to social exclusion. Job instability generates economic poverty, but is not in itself a sufficient condition for exclusion: two other factors play a crucial role, one related to the context of friend / ethnic networks and another to the duration of unemployment or job instability. Relying on the assistance of networks could reduce the impact of the trajectory towards exclusion, through a reduction of economic poverty or support in the search for a job, but subjects in this group have very little access to such networks and cannot rely on the additional resources they can provide. Economic impoverishment is, then, only the first step in the exclusion process. Moreover, prolonged unemployment further depletes the immigrant’s ability – material as well as psychological – to cope with difficulty, and augments a situation of need. Immigrants in this situation go through a series of steps and events that destroy their stability and the context of ethnic community and friends in which they live, creating a set of chronically unfulfilled needs. Deprivation is increasingly likely to lead to more deprivation, in a chain of events that adds to the initial set of disadvantages. It is therefore evident that social exclusion, in our sample, is the result of a process, not an initially, and permanently, given status. In the words of Nicola Negri, it can be defined as

“A regressive life course, a drift from a more or less complex initial status of deprivation, leading to the accumulation of more deprivation until the subject’s physical and/or moral resilience is irretrievably compromised” 30.

The juridical status of the immigrant (legal or illegal) is the other determining factor that produces the onset of, or accelerates, a trajectory towards exclusion. The distinction was adopted early in this work, between legal immigrants and illegal ones without a residence permit. It appears
clearly that the impossibility to renew one’s residence permit due to the lack of a stable occupation and/or housing, or the impossibility for the same reasons to obtain one, prevent immigrants from accessing certain resources needed for integration, such as certain basic rights granted to citizens and the possibility of entering the labour market. This trajectory follows certain recurring steps: arrival in Italy; illegal status, for some; help from networks, mainly ethnic ones; job search; unemployment/irregular and underpaid jobs; reduction of available income; impossibility of acquiring or maintaining legal status; impossibility of obtaining adequate income; break-up of support networks; isolation; failure of migratory project; social exclusion. When factors of disadvantage are piled together, several areas of life are affected by deprivation processes. The scarcity of jobs and the insufficient wages earned from whatever jobs might be available do not allow the subjects to leave economic poverty, and thrust them into a vicious cycle of “intermittent unemployment”. The subjects, in order to reduce their humiliating economic poverty and dependence on ethnic networks, accept even the lowest occupations in an attempt to integrate the support of networks and better their living conditions. It is interesting to note that for all the subjects interviewed work remains the one main goal, and the only way to leave such crisis situations.

The second trajectory we can describe is one of persistence of poor occupational or housing situations to which the subjects adapts, without actually falling into exclusion. Some subjects (cases 2, 4, 5, 9, 11, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23) are able to reach a new balance between resources and needs, adapting to conditions of material deprivation. This adaptation stops the trajectory of social exclusion and fixes a situation of economic poverty, that the immigrants could however easily leave through a stable job and a suitable income. Prolonged unemployment and / or the persistence of very poor housing conditions could break this new, “adapted” balance and add social deprivation to the economic one, thus setting in motion again a trajectory of exclusion.
The third trajectory is represented by the virtuous courses of the subjects defined above as *denizens* or *semi-citizens* (cases 1, 7, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 25) with very stable migratory and work courses compared with the other two groups, and a legal immigration status. Full integration (as defined by Zhou) is prevented solely by the fact that their occupations and residence status are not legally recognised.

What proves difficult to define is the moment when a trajectory stops and takes a certain shape, and what are the factors governing this event. Cases such 13, 14 and 15, while being part of the group of *denizens*, still feature a severe limitation of consumption, the sharing of living quarters either with friends (case 13) or families employing them (cases 14,15); but such features are the product of a savings maximisation strategy. Some subjects in the *alienship* group (cases 2, 11, 19, 22 and 23) are on the border of social exclusion because of incomes close to zero; while they all adopt emergency strategies to cope with the situation, such as living in an occupied building for case 11 or resorting to network help in all cases, they are still perceived as able to start on an integration path. This because of the presence of networks, a perception of their status as temporary and the strong will to find an occupation that will allow them to reach their goals.

Movement from one group to another and the onset of a virtuous cycle towards integration, as opposed to a trajectory of exclusion, is influenced by factors such as work, housing and juridical status. Two American researchers, Avery and Stamm, note in conclusion to their *Paths of Community Integration* that “the priority for most immigrants is finding a job and a home”31. A stable job and a residence permit are the fundamental starting points for any course towards social integration of immigrants. Their lack makes such a course extremely more impervious and complicated.
2.1.2.4. Social networks and forms of assistance.

Shifting the focus of analysis from the economic sphere to social relationships, the areas to consider are the width of the network of relations that the immigrants have built or inherited, the role of relatives as opposed to friends in terms of support, and who are the figures that immigrants turn to for support. We have seen previously how the support of social networks functions more as a strategy for poverty containment than as an active instrument of economic integration. The analysis of income composition reveals that the market (i.e. the possibility of obtaining any work) is the only place where immigrants can find their means of subsistence; the support of friends and relatives can only be occasional, and cannot be counted on as part of the overall monthly budget.

The immigrants in our sample, rather than simply being on the receiving end of public assistance or passive elements of a network, provide active economic support – within the constraints of their available incomes – to fellow nationals in Italy, or even in their countries of origin. Immigrant networks are generally distinguished from indigenous ones by being specifically ethnic and family- or clan-based, and various relationship contexts (work, family, friends, neighbours) tend to overlap. The networks described in our interviews are not especially extended in terms of the number of contacts that can be activated, even though none of the subjects appear to be in a situation of extreme social marginalisation, typical of those who are completely alone.

The subjects in our sample had been in Italy for a fairly long amount of time; they have been contacted through associations dealing with immigration affairs, and thus were part of a network that can put them in contact with associations and other organisations. 17 out of 27 cases could count on relatives residing in Italy while the remaining 10 had none. 10 out of the 17 with family in Italy had relatives in or around Naples, whom they frequented often. In 7 cases these were
members of the same family nucleus (brothers, sisters, children, parents) while the other cases were cousins. Overall just one third of the sample had relatives in Naples, a figure influenced obviously by the fact that most immigrants we interviewed were single and had an individual migratory project centered on work, in which the role of family is much smaller than in other situations, where the goal is to a large extent to reunite with the family and/or transfer resources to family members in the country of origin.

The picture is more complex regarding networks of friends, and it appears that there is a widespread ability to activate relationships within different social contexts. In our interviews, immigrants indicated 69 people perceived as important friends (people “you can count on”), giving an average of 2.5 friends each. A little over 40 percent of those friends are Italian; the rest are fellow nationals or non-Italians residing in Naples or in its province. One third of the sample named friends they had met in their country of origin, while the remaining immigrants had met their friends after arriving in Italy. Friendships originate on the job, in the street, through relatives, in meeting places frequented by immigrants, or when sharing housing. Single immigrants tended to have wider networks of friends, while married ones, both those with families in Italy and those without, tended to keep to their network of relatives.

Job stability, knowledge of the city and a longer permanence in Italy are the conditions that make possible the widening of friend networks, from purely ethnic to mixed (comprising Italian and non-Italian friends). The ability to entertain relationships outside of close family and the ethnic group is an important factor of stabilisation of the migratory experience.

(Male, Burkina Faso, 30)

"I have many friends in Naples. There’s a guy from Burkina Faso, whom I knew from before and met again here, and I’ve been seeing him since because we live in the same town [Pianura]. We’re the same age and do the same job [they go every morning to the town square waiting to be hired for manual labour]. Another is a guy from Ivory Coast who shares a room with me. He’s a real friend, always helped me
even when I had no money and didn’t work. I have an Italian friend too, he’s a bricklayer and lives in Pianura too. I met him on the job. On Sundays I go and have lunch with his family. He’s really nice.” (case 17);

(Male, Cameroon, 31)
“I have many friends here in Italy, I met many at the university. We go to class together, we meet on campus, with some we go out together, to the movies for example. Then there are the people I met at work, and my African friends. I have many.” (case 23);

(Female, Colombia, 37)
“...let’s say that there have been two periods. The people you meet early on aren’t friendships that last. Then when you really begin having a life of your own, when you have experience, you start making friends that last longer, people you choose because they’re similar to you, because of things in common...” (case 26).

The support of social networks is concentrated in two areas: economic and psychological support. In the former case networks of relatives play a larger role, while in the latter friends appear to be much more important. In three cases, a relation of friendship is established with the employer.
Such established social relationships are fundamental in times of need (job loss, inability to pay housing expenses, psychological malaise or loneliness.) Solidarity and resource sharing between immigrants remain an efficient strategy in the absence of an institutionalised system of assistance for immigrants.

(Male, Burkina Faso, 30)
“People who helped me with money were always friends, you always help each other, it can happen that one day you’ve got a job and the next day you don’t. And when you’re sick, too, friends help you, since you can’t work. There’s a lot of solidarity with the people you live with, they tell you to hold on, because that’s how it goes. So when I don’t have money to eat or call my family everybody pays for me, and that’s what I do for them too if they aren’t working. People who live like you understand what it means to be without rights. They tell you that’s the way it is.” (case 17);
Access to public services, and related problems

Access to public services for immigrants in Italy has been regulated only recently by inclusive policies that should ensure, on paper, equality of treatment with Italian citizens (Law 40/1998 on immigration, and parts of the National Health Plan). Increased attention to this problem reflects a change under way in the migratory process, where families are increasingly present, which has accelerated the need for integration policies. The issue remains however a very complex one as it is determined by a number of economic, environmental and socio-cultural factors, related to several aspects of the lives of immigrants (the problems of poor housing, job instability, language)\(^3\). The services most often used by immigrants are health facilities, mainly hospitals and emergency rooms rather than general practitioners, local health units (the basic public health services) or assistance centres. Other services used were kindergartens (two cases) and Social Security (one case). Seven out of 27 cases have used private services; five of them were health services, for therapy or medical visits, and two were private kindergartens.

Two types of problems related to accessing public services emerged from the interviews: difficulty in obtaining information (9 cases) and discrimination (4 cases). Lack of information and communication means that the location and the kind of services available are not clearly indicated, and that there are no translators, making it often very difficult to understand what can be obtained – such as medicines or other treatment – and how to use it. Four cases encountered a problem with discrimination: services were not provided to irregular immigrants, or
provided only to those who could present identification papers or a residence permit, or clandestine immigrants were threatened with being reported to the authorities. Some legal immigrants said that services were provided with standards perceived as inferior to those reserved for Italians. Information on accessing services (such as location or contact names) was provided mainly by friends, in 10 cases, but a relevant role was also played by associations and organisations (7 cases). Such associations and organisations – either voluntary or institutional – are extremely important in this respect, as they allow immigrants to extend their area of contacts and opportunities beyond the sphere of relatives and friends, and be able to access services on a city-wide basis.

Overall, 11 cases out of 27 have sought the assistance of trade unions or associations, considered the most important entities that could provide support. Trade unions were contacted mainly for legal assistance (regarding residence permits and family reunification) and associations for a wider array of problems, from legal assistance to teaching the Italian language. Both also provided information on how to reach such public services as schools, hospitals and city offices, filling an information void that is perceived as a major problem for immigrants.

2.1.3. Effects of policies on exclusion trajectories in Naples

Understanding migration in relation to social policies, or to interventions more or less erroneously grouped under that label, is a particularly daunting task in a city such as Naples, with its peculiar features. Policy-making in this area is made difficult by continuous changes in the migratory phenomenon and in the issues and needs this change produces in the subjects of migration. Bohning’s distinction\textsuperscript{34}, in which social policies for immigrants were separated into successive phases based on the maturity of the migratory process, appears increasingly unable to describe the changing reality of migration. Bohning’s approach can be simplified as follows:
• The first phase is distinguished by the presence of mainly young male workers, employed in occupations that the indigenous population finds unattractive or degrading. Their demand for public services is low, because of their physical fitness and lack of information on their rights. As a consequence immigrants in this phase do not seek public social services of any kind.

• In the second phase the family is reunited, from the country of origin. The presence of females and minors brings new needs, but this does not translate completely into a demand for services, because of the incomplete stabilisation of families.

• In the third phase new children appear (either because of family reunification or new births). New needs also appear, related to schooling, health, social integration and the desire for more stable and lasting relationships between families and outside of the ethnic community.

• In the fourth phase the entire family nucleus (three generations) is present. Demand for services increases on all fronts: health, education, social services, social integration. The evolution of demand is directly related to an increased number of inactive components of the family and also to the progressive assimilation by the immigrant family of models and lifestyles typical of the indigenous population.

Local authorities can have a more or less important role in the elaboration and implementation of policies directed towards immigrants. The differences between the local contexts and labour markets also have a relevant effect on the modeling of social policies; welfare policies, moreover, are the result of a complex process of elaboration and compromise, whose goal is to guarantee fundamental rights and to avoid potential social conflicts. Moreover, local policies – besides not always being in tune with national policies – often end up providing simply a stop-gap solution and do not have a decisive effect on the causes generating trajectories of social exclusion. In recent years, however, the trend has
been for institutions to develop more consistent and efficient welfare policies. But at the same time, we can certainly assume that the lack of an efficient *local* approach to the issue of hosting and integrating immigrants has been a contributing factor in the rise and permanence of exclusion among them.

While the state has traditionally regulated issues such as residence permits, work, and asylum rights, the problem of hosting and integration has always been referred to local authorities, a fact that has hurt the consistency and efficiency of policies. Local institutions have not always been able to read the phenomenon of immigration in its entirety and therefore to devise and implement policies to support it; this has been largely due to ignorance of the issues involved, not resulting from lack of competence but from the inability to read, interpret and keep up with a constantly changing phenomenon. In Naples, one sees at play the full range of contradictions resulting from what we could call the “incomplete implementation” of welfare policies directed towards immigrants.

2.1.3.1. The implementation of policies regarding immigrants in Naples
All through the 1980s, the city government of Naples and other local authorities did not intervene at all in the field of immigration, not least because the immigrant population in the city never presented a particular problem, especially compared to the immigrant population in the province; there never was any situation that could be defined as social emergency. The first regional law on the subject was passed in 1984 (Law 10/84 on *Regional intervention for immigration*) but it essentially provided for the return of indigenous people who had emigrated from the region.

The goal of the early policies in the region and in Naples was merely assistance of the traditional kind. Much was delegated to the Catholic church, which played a fundamental role as the only organisation providing, throughout the 1980s, essential services such as canteens, outpatient centres and shelters. The Naples branch of Caritas appointed in
1988 a regional immigration director, and opened the City Listening Centre for immigrants the following year. Also in 1989 the Comunità di S. Egidio, another Catholic organisation, offered the first Italian language course for immigrants, which goes on to this day and provides a legally valid diploma to those who pass the final exam. In 1986, after one of the early blanket laws for the legalisation of clandestine immigrants, CGIL – Italy’s largest trade union – opened an Immigrants Office, the first in the country, providing assistance to those who wanted to be legalised. It was soon followed by CISL and UIL, the other major unions, providing services that expanded beyond legal advice. CGIL also tried unsuccessfully between 1990 and 1991 to organise immigrants into a regional coordination department.

During the ‘80s, however, immigrants in Naples had no real access to public welfare services, which in Italy would in any case have been few and reserved for the very poorest. And while public funds for the construction of shelters for the newly arrived immigrants were available, they were unused. Without an emergency, the city administration did not feel a need to intervene, also because Catholic organisations were already providing a number of services. In short, the combination of a migratory flow that did not present special problems, a city government without the funds and the knowledge to provide efficient policies, and the presence of the Catholic network meant that immigration remained a low-priority issue.

Things changed radically in 1995 when the city’s Department for Social Policies was renamed Department for Dignity, signaling a radical departure from decades of welfare policies conceived as pure assistance. This shifted the focus to the need to create a wide network of locally available welfare and social services, based on the integration between city government, other public entities (schools, hospitals) and private voluntary organisations. The new strategy translated into a three-phase approach to immigration affairs: 1) A survey of the problems and available resources; 2) planning and testing of new projects; 3) the creation of new public
institutions. In the first two phases the Department plays the dominant role, while the plan for the third phase was largely the product of an external consultant, which resulted in the “Plan for Social Services and Interventions” approved by the city council in January 2000. The city government’s offices contributed little, if anything, to this process: the city apparatus was still attached to a dated social policy model, unable to cope with the politically-driven renewal process. The first phase opens with a series of meetings between the institutions and the Catholic and voluntary organisations; the goal is to define a clear understanding of the issues and the resources available. The Department for Dignity also pushed for the creation in 1996 of a Permanent City Committee Against Social Exclusion, where many of the actors involved in the immigration meetings also sat. During the second phase the “policy experimentation” is largely carried out by voluntary organisations, which de facto are in charge of the implementation of all the projects approved. The first practical result was the creation in 1996 of three information and social assistance offices in three immigration-heavy areas of Naples (Materdei, Ponticelli and Pianura). The new offices’ task is to provide information on the whole range of services provided by private organisations (how to obtain and exercise civil and political rights and other legal advice, pharmacy, outpatient care and specialised medical assistance, canteens, shelters, language and culture courses.) In 1997 the offices became part of the Integrated Immigration Project, providing more services: pre-school activities for children, assistance in enrolling immigrant and Rom children in school, a specific orientation service for women, health education and inter-cultural training. The project was renewed in 1998 and financed with small contributions, between 2,500 and 5,000 Euros, by the private associations participating in it. In 1999 a bidding system was introduced, and contracts to manage the information offices were awarded to the winners. The city itself allocated only token sums to the project – from the equivalent of only 25,000 Euros in 1995 to 125,000 in 2000 – but proved successful in using funds provided by the
European Union and the national and regional governments. One such case was Project Casba, financed by the Social Affairs Department of the national government as part of a nationwide program. The program produced, in June 2000, the first 15 certified cultural mediators.

Funds provided by Law 40 / 1998 (one of the laws that regulate immigration in general at the national level) were used by the city for a project against prostitution, common especially among some African and East European nationalities, which ranged from a telephone help line for exploited women to the construction of a shelter, also with regional funds. In December 2000, city resolution 4066 on immigration provided 150,000 Euros for a Social Citizenship Centre, whose purpose is co-ordinating the whole network of services provided by private associations and the new projects.

Many social workers we interviewed note however that social policies in Naples and in Campania, its region, are being reshaped or cut back, drastically in some cases. In 2000, Law 328 reformed the whole of the welfare and health services in the region; the aim of the reform was to integrate all services through a common programming phase in which all the actors involved take part. The problem is the scarcity of funds, especially when emergencies occur that were not foreseen during the policy planning stage. On the other hand, a small amount of public funding – not falling under the larger Fund for Social Policy – allows to test certain innovative projects. Many social workers and actors warn that such experimental projects should eventually turn into stable and recognisable institutions dealing with actual, pressing issues, otherwise there is a risk of confusing the potential users without attacking their real problems.

2.1.3.2. A survey of services for immigrants in Naples

Since June 2002 the Social Citizenship Centre (created as said above in December 2000 by the city government) has acted as a de facto main office for immigrants in Naples. Its role is to co-ordinate all the projects
and services for immigrants; in practice, the Centre “intercepts” immigrants in the city and explains what is available to them, to prevent their social exclusion. The Centre also has two other areas of activity, one carried out by its Support department, the other by a number of task-oriented work groups. The Support department gathers and updates data from local offices, from each work group, and from specific projects. The data is then processed in the form of policy recommendations.

The workgroups cover programming and rationalising of the Centre’s intervention in five specific areas:

- **Legal**: Civil rights, obtaining citizenship, promoting the participation of ethnic communities in public life.
- **Job training and labour conditions**: Analyses the immigrants’ working conditions to promote a better working environment, also providing job training and development of the immigrants’ skills.
- **Housing**: Analyses the housing market and the network of shelters for immigrants and studies policies to relieve the problem of poor housing.
- **Culture**: Supports a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural environment, aims to enhance knowledge and tolerance of different cultures and promotes cultural encounters between immigrants and the indigenous population.
- **Education**: Supports the enrolment of immigrant children in elementary, middle, high schools and universities, assists in the recognition of foreign degrees, acts as a liaison with education institutions.

The Social Citizenship Centre is complemented by other projects:

- **Information offices**: Four offices covering the whole city territory, offering orientation and support for the social, economic, and cultural integration of immigrants. They also provide assistance in dealing with
bureaucracy and paperwork and assist in identifying and locating the appropriate social and welfare services.

- **Social emergency intervention**: Provides a variety of services, from a free phone line for denouncing cases of exploitation to a mobile unit providing health information and help in leaving prostitution. Other projects are based on providing long-term shelter or temporary housing to socially marginalised / excluded persons.
- **Education and cultural activities**: Publishes a multilingual magazine, holds Italian language and inter-cultural training courses, provides information on culture and education projects and opportunities for immigrants, including minors.

Other services are not funded by the city but by EU financement or local institutions. The *Fondazione Banco di Napoli* – a foundation linked to the city’s largest bank – has funded two projects, namely:

- **Project EL BAB**: Provides assistance to immigrant unaccompanied minors, with the goal of fighting poverty and ultimately creating the possibility of obtaining citizenship; and
- **Project AR RAFIQ**: Has funded the construction of an inter-cultural centre for immigrant and Italian children. Centre operators pick children up after school and engage them in entertainment and education activities, with the goal of supporting inter-cultural integration.

**Regional policies for immigrants**
The goal of regional policy interventions towards the immigrant inhabitants of Campania is creating stable conditions for coexistence, democracy and social justice. A fundamental step will be the creation of a *Permanent observatory on immigrated labour*, grouping representatives of the regional government (from regional departments and regional council commissions), of the provincial governments, of employers’ and trade
associations, trade unions, private voluntary organisations and ethnic communities. The observatory’s job will be to analyse and monitor the labour market, co-ordinate projects throughout the region, and take charge of the planning phase, putting together the central and peripheral levels. The intervention areas will be many, from the housing of newly arrived immigrants to acting against the shortage of decent accommodation, from integrating immigrants into the labour market to ensuring they have access to health and welfare services. Also among the areas of intervention are supporting the education of minors, devising cultural and education policies for adult immigrants, and organising “civic information” courses. Two pilot projects, sponsored and carried out jointly by the regional government with local actors and ethnic communities, are under way in the province of Salerno and the city of Eboli. The areas of intervention are:

- Opening two offices to inform and educate immigrants on integration into the labour market, and also supporting the legalisation of informal (i.e. not legally registered) economic activities. The offices were able to:
  - Create a computer database of the demand for jobs;
  - Create another database of labour law, particularly of the laws concerning immigrant workers;
  - Assist immigrants in actively searching for employment, from writing CVs to finding prospective employers, preparing interviews and contacting temporary employment agencies and local job centres;
  - Provide individual assistance in determining personal skills, in order to define a coherently structured work and/or education project;
  - Organise stages and apprenticeship periods;
  - Support the creation of self-owned businesses, also linked to traditional skills of the countries of origin; and
  - Raise awareness of the projects and initiatives for immigrants.
• Opening two multi-purpose centres providing day and night shelter, but also information on accessing local welfare services;
• Providing support for immigrant families;
• Increase local public transport to allow easier movement of immigrant workers to and from workplaces, social services and cultural/social locations.

The regional government also finances a number of other projects, funded either through its own funds (provided by law 33/1994) or national government funds (provided by law 40/1998).

2.1.3.3. The immigrants’ evaluation of the services in Naples
It appears clearly from interviews that immigrants still are not well aware of what services they can use locally. In a typical case, an immigrant uses only “primary care” services and only when there is an emergency; the sole public institutions used by immigrants are, most often, hospitals and emergency rooms.

(Male, Burkina Faso, 29)
“(Have you ever used services provided by public authorities? What public institutions did you come into contact with?) Only the hospital. I had a scooter accident once and I got a concussion. They brought me first to the Cardarelli central hospital then to another one in the suburbs. I have an STP card” [a card allowing free emergency treatment in public hospitals to an STP – “straniero temporaneamente presente”, or “temporarily residing foreigner”]. (Case 18);

(Male, Ivory Coast, 22)
“Went to the emergency room once. I cut a finger at work.” (Case 19);

(Male, Pakistan, 27)
“The hospital, sometimes, to be visited by doctors there. And the police headquarters, for the residence permit.” (Case 20).
Accessing these institutions is not always easy and straightforward. An immigrant often has to deal with prejudice, unwillingness to help or authorities asserting legal problems. Given this fact, associations prove to be extremely useful:

(Male, Burkina Faso, 30)  
"I used only the hospital. But I was able to get in only thanks to Caritas, because if you’re alone and with no residence permit, everything is hard, nobody helps you. If you don’t have a serious problem hospitals just send you back and forth. Public services aren’t good for immigrants." (case 17).

(Male, Burkina Faso, 29)  
"(How did you get the information you needed to access assistance services provided by public authorities?) From an association called ES [an association fighting the social exclusion of immigrants] and from immigrants who got here before us and fight for our rights." (case 18).

Help can also be obtained from trade unions. In these cases immigrants are often able to access much more specific services:

(Female, Somalia, 37)  
"I went to the police headquarters for my residence permit. I also had an unemployment check once, when I wasn’t working. I went to the Social Security office with my application, signed by the person I was working for, and then I got my unemployment check." (case 25).

Associations and trade unions are able to solve immediate problems, but the larger problems remain. Immigrants themselves note that figures like cultural mediators are necessary when dealing with public institutions.

(Male, Pakistan, 27)  
"That’s why cultural mediators are important. Immigrants who need assistance don’t know where to go and nobody tells them." (case 20);  

(Male, Cameroon, 31)  
"Now I can manage well, but I think there should be a lot more cultural mediators, because immigrants who come to Italy don’t know who to ask, don’t know their
rights, don’t know the language. They’re scared. There should be legal assistance.” (case 23).

The problem is not only a lack of information or the inability to deal with institutions, but also a more general inadequacy of public services for immigrants:

(Male, Ivory Coast, 22)
“In Italy public services aren’t for immigrants. We’re another, lower class.” (case 19);

(Male, Algeria, 26)
“I had a problem [biliary calculus] and in Naples they didn’t help me. Hospitals don’t work here. Then I went to Paris because my sister knows a doctor there and I had surgery there.” (case 21);

(Male, Czech Republic, 30)
“They didn’t want to treat me because I had no papers. They brought me to police headquarters and took my fingerprints.” (case 8).

As a consequence of the state of public services, many prefer private health care and education:

(Female, Sri Lanka, 42)
“We went to a private school for our son. He was too young for public school. He could also study English and Sinhala.” (case 1).

Exclusion factors are numerous, and do not follow a linear course. The fact that immigrants tend to use only a limited number of services and contact only certain subjects makes the implementation of new services difficult, while creating problems in managing the existing ones. Besides the lack of communication between services and their potential users, some immigrants have very little contact with the city, also during their leisure time:
“Sometimes I go around town in Naples, but often we stay here, we try to make things comfortable, we organise dinners and try to forget the problems we have in this country and back home.” (case 17).

Others report more contact with social life in Naples:

(Male, Ivory Coast, 22) “I’m always with friends, we go out, have dinners together, go see concerts. I like going to the beach at night. And I love being with my friends, going out.” (case 19);

(Male, Pakistan, 27) “I go out with my friends, go to their places, have dinners there, go dancing. And we organise meetings on the problems of immigrants. We try to help people who need it.” (case 20).

The problems reported by our sample reflect a wide array of issues regarding social and welfare services for immigrants. As we have noted previously, the main challenge is to implement projects that can reach all their potential users, who include largely immigrants with the same needs as the ones we interviewed. Attention should be focused on creating commonly usable structures, based on efficient projects. Social marginalisation and exclusion can be prevented only if there is the real will to bring the immigration issue to the front, and manage the changes of a phenomenon that is constantly evolving.
2.1.4. The reconstruction and analysis of the exclusion paths of immigrants in Milan

2.1.4.1. Profiles of immigrants interviewed

Given the goals of our research, we have ruled out interviewing immigrants with strongly marginal experiences (cases of deviant behaviour or psychological malaise) assuming that this part of the immigrant population has very specific needs and problems, which require a different method of analysis. We have concentrated on subjects not currently holding a residence permit, either because they entered Italy illegally or because, after entering with a permit, they could not maintain legal status. Three very specific cases were included even if they held legal status (cases 13, 14, 20). Case 13 in particular holds a permit for health reasons that does not allow to work. We have interviewed people with a relatively long migration history, who had been in Italy for at least two years, to ensure their life courses would be sufficiently complex. Because of the specific features of their migration experience, three people (cases 11, 16, 17) have been interviewed even though they had been in Italy for a little over one year. Given their legal and socio-economic status, finding contacts to interview proved to be difficult: people have been contacted sometimes through associations and institutions providing services to immigrants; other times personal contacts were involved; still others were directly approached in the street. In more than one case, the person contacted postponed the interview, or sometimes just did not show up and then gave up the interview. During some interviews the fear of revealing information became apparent. In other cases it was necessary to clarify that no material benefits would follow from the interview.
The final sample was composed by 20 people of which 11 were men and 9 women. 3 come from Eastern Europe, 4 from sub-Saharan Africa, 2 from Maghreb, 8 from Latin America and 3 from Asia. 13 are between 25 and 45 years old and the others between 18 and 25, except for one man over 45. As for family status, the sample can be divided into three groups. The first was composed of individuals who were single or without a family nucleus of their own (cases 1, 4, 5, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19); the second by individuals with family in Italy, either because it was brought to the country with a permit for family reunion purposes (cases 9, 20) or because it was formed in Italy (cases 2, 3); and the third by individuals whose families live in the country of origin (cases 6, 7, 8, 11). In three out of four cases the family is composed by two parents and a pre-school child. The two families that were formed in Italy are made up of young adults (average age 24) of the same nationality. We have chosen to differentiate the sample on the basis of family composition, to find out possible differences between the life courses of immigrants with a family in Italy, those with a family in the country of origin and those who were single and determine whether different family situations mean different needs and expectations.

Two points must be made regarding living conditions in the countries of origin. First, most immigrants interviewed (cases 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20) come from urban and industrial areas, and among them a majority is from the country’s capital city. The remaining cases (4, 11, 12, 15) come from rural areas, generally isolated and very far from urban centres.

More than half of the sample holds at least a high school degree, and three hold university degrees (cases 1, 6, 10). The remaining cases (2, 12, 13, 17, 19, 20) have completed the equivalent of junior high school while case 15, from a very isolated mountain zone, has only minimum schooling.

The motivation for emigrating is, for all subjects interviewed, based on economic factors. Initially there is the need to find a job, linked to an
expectation of easier earnings and economic success in Italy, almost always stemming from information obtained from fellow countrymen who have emigrated previously. In some cases the central goal is helping the family, whether one’s spouse and children or the original family nucleus (parents/brothers). In other cases an individual push to better one’s living conditions appears dominant, often through a project of medium-term savings, to invest in other activities at home (such as building/purchasing a home, commercial enterprises, marriage).

(Female, Ecuador, 23)
"My father, you know, he works Sundays too... but I say he works too much, he’s getting older, I want to provide for the house... so I come here with this idea, do something for him so he stop working, but he still work...” (case 3);

(Male, Albania, 42)
"Because I needed work, to support my family” (case 7);

(Female, Ecuador, 35)
"Me, I was working, but there, the pay is low... so with just one salary, it is hard to support your family... I come from a poor family, still I had to help my parents, my kids too, they’re growing up...” (case 9);

(Male, Ecuador, 18)
"With the money we’re saving, we want to start doing again what we were doing before: clothing stores“ (case 17);

(Male, Ecuador, 28)
"I decided to come here because there’s some more work here. There’s work in Ecuador too, but you don’t make much money... I mean you can live on it but not comfortably, you can’t earn money to save and be able to raise a family, one day.” (case 18);

Three cases appear to not share such strictly economic motivations. Case 11 is an asylum seeker who left the country of origin because of persecution. Case 13 came to Italy for treatment of the consequences of
poliomyelitis, and after therapy decided to stay, hoping to find a job. Case 8 states that migration was determined by a generic desire for a new life, without a specific project or destination country; once in Italy, she found a job and saw a chance. In almost all cases though the decision to emigrate is not immediately realised, but requires a period of preparation essentially due to economic problems.

(Female, Ecuador, 21)
(How much time passed from when you decided to go to Italy until you actually left?) Eh... one year gone by [...] Because... first no had money, had to borrow, we have small house, mortgage it with the bank [...] and also other people lend me money to come here” (case 4).

Almost everybody initially aspires to return to their country of origin, some after a few years, others after a longer period. But for all, in varying degrees depending on the course they have chosen, the impact with the reality of life in Italy means a certain disillusionment, and a re-definition of the migratory project.

(Female, Peru, 23)
"They tell you that here you earn a thousand dollars or more, and that is not true, because you come here and make less but everybody says that’s what you make... but that’s crap, that’s not true because you don’t find work just like that, you have to be real lucky to find it immediately”. (case 2);

(Female, Ecuador, 23)
"Look, what I expected is not what I found. How can I say? 'Maybe I go there, find a job, make some money and come back", I go back to my country, but I saw it was different here”. (case 3);

(Female, Romania, 33)
"Well, jobs in our country stopped, you would find nothing [...] I had an idea of a country where I could work. (To save some money?) No, just to have a job, to have the right to work, and they haven’t given me that, not even now”. (case 1);
"My dream was work for two years and then go back to my country. Everybody said you make money in Italy, I thought I’d earn a lot and then go back to Lima. (And have your expectations changed since you have been in Italy?) “A lot. Sometimes I ask myself why I came [...] It’s not like I pictured it”. (case 16);

(What do you want to do with the money you earn in Italy?) “I don’t know … because I have a lot of ideas. For example earn some money and buy my own house in Ecuador. […]” (Can you save some money?) “Well, no, not now. Now I’m broke.” (case 18).

All individuals who are in Italy illegally perceive the limits imposed by their illegal status as a major factor, sometimes the leading factor, in the failure of their migration project.

"So, like, if they give me the residence permit, I stay few more years…” (You seem undecided. You don’t know what to do exactly?) “No, no, not now, because you see, I don’t have no job, and going back to Ecuador with no money…” (case 3);

"Yes, been here easy with the residence permit, you do what you like, buy house, do many nice things… with no residence permit, you do nothing here”. (case 5);

"We talk a lot about the residence permit, we expect a legalisation law. So that’s why I’m holding out, I’m still waiting to see if there’s a law for us or not. And if there isn’t […] Since I’ve been here I never went back. But I can’t be so many years without seeing my wife, so if things keep going this way, I’m going back to Senegal”. (case 6);

"My sister had warned me: ‘You’re not going to have the residence permit before two years, it’s the laws”. (So you were prepared?) I was prepared for two years but not more, two and a half have passed and I’m still waiting… [...] after two years I began to get tired”. (case 1).
2.1.4.2. The living conditions of the immigrants

The sample can be divided into three groups. One (cases 1; 5; 6, 7, 10; 14) is composed of individuals living in decent economic conditions, who can pay relatively easily for their housing and food and can even spare a certain sum to send home to their families. The ability to spend beyond mere survival hints at the perception of the relative success of a migration project, as economic factors are what prompt most migrants to leave. All the members of this group can rely on solid networks, often constituted by family members who have been in Italy for quite some time and hold residence permits. In one case (case 1) the interviewee’s sister is married to an Italian and eligible for Italian citizenship, in another (case 5) a brother holds a residence permit, is regularly employed and has even been able to arrange a loan from a bank to purchase a home.

(Male, Egypt, 29)
(So you’ve never been unemployed?) “No, there’s many with no job, but I lucky, I got brother and cousin” [both holders of a residence permit and solidly integrated] (case 5).

A second group (cases 2, 3, 8, 9, 11, 13, 16, 17, 18, 20) is made up of individuals living in precarious conditions, marked by economic poverty. They can still afford, though in some cases just barely, housing and food, but they can no longer send money to their families or save with a view to bettering their economic conditions. They can only afford poor housing, often in overcrowded rooms (four people to a room on average) and in some cases without basic services (cases 3, 16, 20). Some live with family members (extended families), others with immigrants from similar geographic areas. Cohabitation can surely reduce housing expenses, but is a choice forced by the illegal status and is often seen as a severe privation, limiting the natural need for a private space.

(Male, Ecuador, 28)
(What did you think when you saw that 13 people lived in the house?) “I didn’t like it because when you are home you want to do what you please, listen to music, watch tv”. (case 18);
(Female, Peru, 23)

"Nobody can bring friends in that house. Once a guy had invited some friends and cooked for everybody, the lady and her husband came back unexpectedly, insulted everybody, kicked everybody out. But I don’t care, I just don’t want trouble. Now I hope they’ll give me a residence permit, so I’ll look for a place just for me and my sister. I’m sick of not having privacy". (case 16).

These individuals work irregular and very insecure jobs. Even if they hold a job for some time, salary is low and hours are extremely hard. Often they swing between having some faith in things getting better and times of disappointment and resignation. The reason for this alternating perception seems to be the possibility, or not, of using strategies for the containment of poverty, whose central element appears to be the activation of networks. Work is the main goal of this group of individuals, and often it can be obtained through networks providing information on job opportunities. Such networks can also provide support in coping with potentially crisis-inducing events (loss of a job, housing problems, illness) and diminish the feeling of helplessness and the possibility of drifting towards social exclusion. These networks are often made up of immigrants who may be in unstable situations themselves, and their support cannot last too long: one the one hand the network’s resources can be drained, and on the other hand the individual might lose trust in their ability to improve their situation autonomously.

Within this group there are cases of unemployment (cases 3, 8, 13), in two cases because of acute social vulnerability. Case 3 is a woman who became unemployed during her pregnancy and remains unemployed as she needs to care for her child. Case 13 is a person coming out of a long, disabling illness. In case 8, unemployment is a voluntary choice: the person left a job because of problems. In all three cases the negative factor of unemployment is however mitigated by the presence of networks and services reducing the possibility of slipping into social exclusion. It is interesting to note how in some cases living conditions do not depend on occupation, but on the presence of social and family networks to aid in coping with unemployment.
The third group (cases 4, 12, 15, 19) is made up of individuals in extremely disadvantaged conditions and can barely manage to survive. One is unemployed, two have a monthly income between 350 and 400 Euros and highly unstable jobs. They work only occasionally and appear to encounter extreme difficulty in getting stable jobs. The common element is the absence of significant networks: although they do evidently have social relationships – they have been in Italy for at least two and a half years – these are, by their own admission, unstable relationships, not considered as a resource in times of need. All three say they have no friends, nor people they feel close to, whom they could ask for help. This also appears connected to the impossibility of finding pastimes or leisure time to relieve, at least temporarily, their sense of dissatisfaction and defeat.

(Female, Peru, 21)
"When you work, when you got money, they’re friends. When you got none, no way. [People she asks for help say] yeah, sure, if I get word of something I’ll tell you, but nothing [referring to obtaining information on possible jobs]. (case 4);

(Male, Romania, 25)
(Do you have people you hang out with, or do things with, maybe go dancing...) "No...and no dancing. I don’t feel like going dancing, you know? I feel too much a nobody ... What, you’re nobody, you got nothing, and you go dancing? No...” (case 15).

This precarious and lonely life is compounded in cases 4 and 15 by a lack of faith in the future, expressed by resignation and a strong sense of defeat. Loneliness and the lack of networks providing even simple moral support appear to be factors accelerating the perception of failure.

(Male, Romania, 25)
(How long do you think you can hold out in this situation, as a homeless? Do you feel hopeful?) "Till I’m healthy, I’m going to press on and take a chance on this fucking life. But one of these days, I’m going to say something bad about it, what a shit life, there’s nothing... I don’t know, see. I risk my life, this way and that way, and I can’t find no job, they keep hitting you". (case 15).
It should be added that cases 15 and 19 live or have lived in severely precarious housing. Case 15 has no fixed abode and finds hospitality when he can, otherwise sleeps in public dormitories or in the street. Case 19 has been living in a shelter for some months, but has spent more than two years in the streets and in dormitories. This has caused health problems for both and in case 19 has severely worsened a previous alcoholism problem.

(Male, Sri Lanka, 47)

“When I was a sailor [when he was younger, before coming to Italy] I didn’t drink much, then I came here, it became a major problem. (Has something aggravated the problem?) “No, you see […] when you sleep in the cold, I’ve slept on benches in the cold […] first thing you look for something to drink because you’re cold, you sleep two or three hours and you can’t sleep anymore, and if you work you’re all tired […] that’s how it is in the street. I would not even drink a cappuccino.” (case 19);

(Male, Romania, 25)

“I got a problem with my liver, because you don’t eat when you should, or you eat too much or nothing…” (Is it because you eat depending on how much money you have?) “You don’t have it. Maybe you don’t have any”. (case 15).

Similarly to what was observed above for unemployed individuals in the second group, the strongest risk of social exclusion does not seem to be linked directly to unemployment: cases 4 and 12 maintain a (however minimal) occupation level, but are completely deprived of significant networks and have no access whatsoever to public services, while they have an extreme need for them. Case 19 maintains a link with a specific public service, but since he has become again an illegal status immigrant (his residence permit has expired one year ago) he has trouble accessing it. A shelter community gives him housing, but only as an exception, because he was sent there by the public health facility that was treating him for alcoholism. And in this latter case unemployment and an illegal status are even harder to accept, as he previously held a residence permit. His health problems and alcoholism make finding a job even harder.
The question of legal/illegal status appears, in all cases, the central issue in regard to obtaining better living conditions. The lack of a residence permit is a variable influencing crucial aspects in a person’s life. The first aspect is housing: illegal immigrants cannot sign lease agreements, and have to live in overcrowded quarters, lacking basic amenities. Many interviewees perceive this as the first, serious hurdle linked to being an illegal immigrant. Often the landlords are other immigrants, who have residence permits; when not living with relatives, individuals pay a fixed amount for a bed in the apartment, whatever the number of people living in it. This is often perceived as an abuse made possible by the fact that illegal status makes one vulnerable. Renting a bed in an apartment – a particularly common practice among immigrants – should be a temporary solution, but becomes permanent once the individual realizes the overwhelming difficulty and cost of finding a place of one’s own. Thus, immigrants who can count on a support network in Italy can find better and more stable housing in the early stage of immigration.

(Female, Ecuador, 21)
"Her uncle [the uncle of a person she met on the plane to Italy, and whom she asked for help] brought us to a place where they rent beds, but I didn’t think they asked so much for just a bed, you see, and it’s not even a bed [...] because we sleep in the kitchen, on the floor... there was no room, we were 18, it was a one room apartment with bunks... anyway you had to go out in the morning, eight o’ clock everybody out... I stayed 5 months”. (How much did you pay?) "Three hundred thousand lira [150 Euros].” (case 4);

(Female, Peru, 23)
“The apartment has two big rooms, a closet, kitchen and bathroom. We’re nine people in there: four young men in one room, the landlady and her husband and a son in the other, and in the closet there’s me and since a few months my sister.” (How much is your rent?) “150 Euros myself and 150 my sister, to live in a closet.” (case 16).

Moreover, even the immigrant’s ability to work is severely affected by being illegally in the country; the need to work puts immigrants in working
conditions that are often very hard, and exposes them to blackmail. This particular vulnerability of illegal immigrants appears to be more severe for individuals interviewed in September, during the time when papers for legalisation must be submitted. Besides the obvious scarcity of employment opportunities for illegal immigrants, the 2002 legalisation was perceived to be the last chance to obtain regular papers.

(Female, Ecuador, 23)
(What problems did you encounter in finding a job?) "They always ask for your residence permit... when I first got here they didn’t really want to see the papers, they just asked are you experienced, do you speak Italian well, do you have experience with kids or old people... Now what they ask is, ‘Do you have your papers?’ [...] (Why don’t you want to stay here without papers?) ”Without papers now one can’t, there’s a law says if they catch you on the street with no papers, they take you away.” (case 3);

(Male, Ecuador, 28)
"My girlfriend says I gotta leave this job [he has been working for five months at a very hard job, and has problems with the owner] but then I think, What do I do if i can’t get my residence permit now? They’re not going to give me another job if I look for one, it’s too late.” (case 18);

(Female, Ecuador, 21)
"You remember four months ago, they said a legalisation was gonna come, so I said if there’s this legalisation can you hire me? [she wanted to be formally hired at a place where she had been working for one and a half year] and this person told me [...] you better come only on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays cause she didn’t want no trouble, didn’t want to legalise me, not even if a new law came out [...] said I’d better find someone else to legalise me because she can’t. I told her all right, I’ll pay for my own social security, I just want your signature. And she didn’t want to, she sent me away.” (case 4).

Many immigrants are willing to accept almost any condition in order to obtain a residence permit. They are willing to pay for their social security contributions – which should legally be paid by employers – or even pay additional amounts.
But is it normal for everybody to be willing to pay their social security contributions? Does everybody do it?) "Well, they tell you 'What, you got all your salary, you even want me to pay your contributions, I don't have the money', and all that... so we pay our own, just to be legal, you know, cause you can't be without a residence permit, and when you're on the street you don't know nobody. So the man says maybe pay some of it. So we can be okay, it's all right to pay your contributions if you get this permit, what can you do without it? You don't get no jobs without it.[...] This friend works at a firm, you know, they want 2,500 Euros to do the permit, like he gives them 2,500 Euros and they get him the permit." (case 4).

Another important aspect that seems to affect all the immigrants we interviewed was the impossibility, because of the illegal status, to plan to go back periodically to one's native country. This deepens the sensation of loneliness and failure especially if the family has remained in the country of origin, and if the immigrant feels a strong disappointment for not being able to send enough money home.

"I just miss my family... I miss my wife a lot." (Have you ever gone back to Senegal?) "No, because now I don't have the permit, so if I go back to Senegal now, I can't get back here." (case 6);

"Only worry in my head is my family not here [...]...but now I can't go back to Albania..." (Because you have no papers?) "I got no papers, I got no money [...] I hope I can bring them here, otherwise I just make more sacrifices." (case 7).

Another aspect strongly influenced by the illegal status is access to public services. The immigrants we interviewed confirmed consistently that being illegal prevents them from accessing certain services (project housing, subsidies, health services). Besides they are reluctant to seek these services and understand how they actually work, fearing they would denounce themselves as illegal.

"And then I don't have a residence permit, so I always steered clear of services"(case 16).
2.1.4.3. The trajectories of impoverishment and exclusion among the immigrants

We have noted above that many factors influence living conditions: first, an illegal status, difficulty in finding a job, the lack of adequate, guaranteed services. Moreover, a drift towards social exclusion seems more likely in the cases of isolation and solitude, where there is a lack of social networks that could provide support. The impossibility of activating support channels, especially in the earlier period in a host country, can accelerate – or at least, not contain – the exclusion process. Thus a crucial moment in the life of an immigrant is during the first months after arrival in Italy. Many cases we interviewed found the reality of things in Italy harder than expected; even more than higher earnings, the expectation is to find a job relatively easily, while other problems – such as finding housing – are underestimated. For all the subjects we interviewed, finding an occupation is hard: for some this took some months, and for most it is a gradual process, which does not guarantee survival in the initial period.

Another problem is paying back the debt incurred at home to pay for the trip to Italy. In some situations this can compound an apparently irretrievable situation of economic hardship. Besides getting a loan to pay for travel expenses many immigrants need it to show, at the border, that they have enough money to justify entry as tourists. Most expect to be able to repay this debt as quickly as possible, given that interest is almost always high. If repayment is not prompt, this appears to be a further negative factor influencing the migration project.

The impact with a new, tougher context seems to be a common element to all the trajectories of the immigrants in our sample. The beginning of the migration process appears to be a period when one necessarily relies on survival strategies to cope with finding a job and housing, and generally to get started in a new life in Italy. An element that appears to result immediately in a more or less positive course is the availability of networks, whether based on family or friends. Thus we can define three
possible trajectories relative to the presence or absence, and also to the resilience, of such networks.
A first group (cases 1, 5, 6, 17), can rely upon strong family networks based on close ties, usually with brothers or uncles or similarly close figures; often at least one member of the network holds a residence permit. Such networks provide a sense of security to the newly arrived immigrant facing a slew of initial difficulties: they provide economic sustenance until independence is possible, safe and secure housing, information and assistance in finding a job. Even more specifically, some (cases 1, 5) count on a residence permit holder among their relatives in Italy. This provides even greater security, for instance in regard to housing, because a residence permit holder can rent or buy a house, and can provide housing for free or for a low rent. A recent immigrant can thus avoid new debt, can find better jobs and can also derive a sense of greater security, while feeling less disoriented even in times of trouble. This kind of support, while crucial in the initial period, does not stop for the entire duration of the migratory course; networks can provide financial help in the event of unemployment, are strongly active in searching for a new job, while continuing to provide relatively stable housing. And even if individuals in this group cannot be said to be on an upwardly mobile course, they enjoy a stabilisation of their initial conditions and can plan for the future.

(Male, Egypt, 29)
(So you want to stay here for some years?) “Yes, stay here for work, not stay all the time. I go back to Egypt to marry, then bring the wife here like my brother done.” (case 5);

(Female, Romania, 33)
“I hope I’ll find someone who will tell me where I can find an association, to find a job as engineer when I’ll have the permit [her sister has applied for citizenship and she hopes she will then obtain a residence permit], because I know they’re in demand, but I don’t know where to go and who can tell me...” (case 1).
A second group (cases 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 16, 18, 20) is made up of individuals who had, when they arrived, less solid networks, whether because they were formed by less close relatives or friends of relatives or acquaintances, or because the network members were not in a secure situation themselves. Still their role seems to be very important in providing information and moral support. This advantage appears to be evident for instance when searching for a job. Networks of this kind can help in taking stock of a new, unexpected situation, but they are not a solid base to cope with food and housing issues. Financial support is not without conditions; even when those relatives and friends are legal immigrants, and for example rent a house under a regular contract, they do not help the new immigrant gratuitously but often loan money that has to be repaid in a short time (one or two months).

This appears to be moral more than material support, and networks of this kind do not play such a crucial role upon arrival in Italy as those mentioned previously. They do shelter the new immigrant from complete exclusion and emargination, but they cannot be a safety net in the face of such external events as job loss, financial trouble, illness or pregnancy.

For these reasons, immigrants in this group appear to be more at risk of drifting into degraded living conditions. While there certainly is a form of support in the event of an emergency, it is unlikely that such networks can provide extended support – this generally holds true also for the previous group, even if the risk is higher for some, less binding, types of network. Enlisting the help of others may guarantee survival, but degrades an individual’s perceived ability to modify reality and set in motion a change for the better. And in the case of networks built on relationship that are not solid, possibly made up of other immigrants, supporting a member for an extended time can deplete the network’s resources.
(Female, Ecuador, 23)
(If you should have problems, is there somebody among the people you know whom you could ask for a loan, for some help?) "We do, but it’s a problem... I may have my aunts, but my aunt who’s helped me a lot now has no job herself... and she’s got a one year old daughter [...] and I think she’s helped me out a lot already (and maybe they have their problems too so you don’t feel like asking?) “Yes. Well there’s also my uncle, but he’s got a wife too, then there’s Claudio’s brother, but I don’t like to go bothering people...” (case 3).

It should be noted that for some of the immigrants interviewed, being helped by others is acceptable in the initial period, but in the long run becomes a factor compounding one’s sense of failure. One can assume that, for these immigrants, an event leading to new difficulties and making a person more vulnerable can be a crucial step leading to a downward course. Case 03 was interviewed during such a defining moment in the development of her migratory course. She is unemployed because of maternity (she has left her job as household help during her last two months of pregnancy and now cares for her three-month old son), and she is in a state of social vulnerability and in need of services such as a kindergarten, but is hardly able to get access to them because she is an illegal immigrant. Her two brothers, both with families to support in Italy, are themselves in economic hardship and her husband’s brother has already had them stay with him for a time. The husband has an occasional job. She receives a monthly distribution of food from the local church and diapers from another charity, and can for the moment guarantee the family’s survival, but the help she gets is not stable and can in no way influence her ability to improve her conditions. Being in a vulnerable condition, she would have trouble re-entering the job market, and appears to be at a defining moment, possibly on the verge of a downward course. Within this group, some specific cases (8, 10, 13, 20) seem to be able to rely on support networks other than those made up of friends or family members. Case 8 is a Chinese woman who arrived in Italy with an autonomous migratory project and only a tenuous contact with an
acquaintance. From the start, and subsequently, she was able to rely on a network of fellow Chinese, who gave her hospitality and support even when she was unemployed, and appears to be very active in circulating information and contacts. Case 10 is a woman who is keeping contact with a group of Franciscan nuns providing assistance to immigrant women, and with a meeting group of African Catholic women. In both cases these networks seem to be able to provide strong and prolonged support, which compensated, completely or to a large extent, for the lack of other networks or for events such as the loss of a job (which in case 08 coincided with loss of housing as she was employed by a family to look after an elderly person). The initial assistance provided to the woman in case 10 was not limited to shelter and/or food as often happens with other institutions that work with immigrants, but involved stable housing, assistance in finding a job and even an Italian language course.

Two other cases of particular interest are 13 and 20, where public assistance services seem to have blocked a downward course towards exclusion. Case 13 succeeded in being helped by the long-term assistance services provided by the city government, which he accessed through treatment at a public health facility. His problem now seems to be how to move towards independence and more integration. Public assistance has certainly helped him to stave off poverty and social exclusion -- for instance giving him a disability subsidy – but in the long run, as with the networks discussed previously, this would not support his integration and could even prove to be detrimental.

The drift towards exclusion seems to be caused in this group by a gradual degrading of all the conditions that ensure a decent living, starting a vicious circle on the basis of an already precarious balance. In conclusion, for the second type of trajectory within our sample, the risk of social exclusion does not seem to be immediate; but a prolonged precarious status, particularly regarding occupation, can progressively wear down the social mechanisms that act to contain poverty, and break the balance between needs and resources.
The third group (cases 4, 12, 15, 19) is composed of individuals whose migratory course is marked by the absence of networks and contacts, especially in the initial period. This worsens greatly the problems that were apparent, in the previous group of cases, once a network started to become frayed and weak. First, the search for work is slower and more difficult. A long initial period of job instability, working underpaid and/or occasional jobs, without some form of economic and moral support such as not paying rent or relying on family members, tends to trap these individuals in a situation they find it difficult to emerge from. For instance, case 4 only worked a few hours a week as household help, and case 12 sold roses in the street.

Also relevant is the problem of the initial debt incurred to leave one’s country of origin, such as with case 18 (a member of our second group of cases) and 04. Case 18 arrived in Italy with enough money to enter the country as a tourist. A friend, who houses him and is the contact who persuaded him to come to Italy, loaned him money that he would pay back once he had found a job. The loan, without interest as it was from a friend, allowed him to repay immediately the money he borrowed in his home country. Case 4, without any contact when she arrived in Italy, cannot find a job and is faced with unexpected difficulty forcing her to use for survival the money she got in her country. The consequences of this fact will be a negative influence on the future of her migratory course.

(Male, Ecuador, 28)

(Do you have some money to stay in Italy, when you arrived?) "Not much because, you know, when you borrow money you have to give it back with a 10 percent charge. So if you get 1,800 you have to give back 2,000 in 15 days... if you make it through immigration. I left with [...] 2,100 dollars but I had to give 2,000 back. The taxi cost me 60 dollars and I had 40 in my pocket. Well, 2,040 dollars, sure, but 2,000 had to go back to Ecuador. She told me [...] [the friend who housed him] to go look for a job, that I wasn’t going to pay anything, not even pay for food. (And how long did they let you stay?) They let me stay three months without paying anything. And when I started working in September, I gave her what I saved. (case 18);
(Female, Ecuador, 21)

"I asked for 1,500 euros, dollars, but I had to give back 5,000 […] because I didn’t work for five months and I had to pay interest." (How long has it taken you to pay the debt you had in Ecuador?) Seven months.” (case 4).

Another typical element is an emergency, an event in their migratory history that they could not, or cannot, cope with. Case 4 lost the job that she felt would bring her into legal status; she was fired exactly because the person she was working for did not want the trouble of legalising her. She reacted with severe disappointment and resignation.

(Female, Ecuador, 21)

"I feel robbed. I had put all my trust in this woman, I stayed so long there […] now I don’t know what to do for the residence permit. If I can have it that’s fine, and if nobody can do it for me, all right. I’ll keep looking for a job, see if I can still have one, otherwise if they catch me without a residence permit they’ll kick me out and what can I do? Yes, in my heart I am desperate […] but if I can’t find anybody who can do it for me… I looked and looked, and they sent me away just for this, because they didn’t want [to declare her legally and get her a residence permit] (case 4).

The same can be said for case 15, who could not be issued a residence permit because of an expulsion order he got years before and ignored. He had a job and a home and was eligible for a residence permit. However the police in his city, Varese, checked his files and found he had received a deportation order years earlier from the police in another city, Viterbo, but had ignored it and had remained in Italy. In this case the individual’s downward trajectory appears to be due to the frustration stemming from the impossibility to work.

(Male, Romania, 25)

"If I work you make fun of me and send me away. And those who sell drugs, who do that kind of shit, well, they don’t ever do shit to them! […] So I want to know why didn’t they give me the permit but they give it to them Albanians who do all that shit thing? And I worked and didn’t get it? So I said fuck off, from now on I’m not gonna
work either, and guess what? I’m gonna do like the others do [Later in the interview he does not want to state where he gets whatever small income he has.] (case 15).

The feeling of having been treated unfairly adds rage to resignation. For this third group of people, a downward trajectory is a defining feature of their migratory course. Given the lack of support networks, one can assume the possibility of falling into social exclusion and isolation. This analysis underlines the central importance of networks in the migration courses of the immigrants in our sample. The courses leading to impoverishment and social exclusion are influenced and directed by social networks. Stable, strong networks seem to guarantee that an immigrant can cope with the difficulties associated with being at the margin of society – as illegal immigrants are – and with landmark events that can mean disaster for a person’s living conditions. Especially for illegal immigrants, networks appear to be the only factor that can influence a migration trajectory. This is compounded by events that, given a precarious balance (as with cases in our second group), can trigger a downward trajectory. The migration courses we considered as not being headed towards exclusion, but still at risk of it, provide interesting data on the mechanisms that can produce a downward movement towards exclusion, making social integration all the more difficult.

2.1.4.4. Social networks and forms of assistance
Given the central role played by networks, we intend to describe them, analysing how they are composed and how they operate. We can state that there are essentially four types of networks. First, strong family networks, built along close family ties (spouses, brothers, parents). Immigrants who can rely on such networks use them as part of survival strategies in the event of an emergency, such as unemployment, or during the initial period of immigration. Generally we find cohabitation, which is easier to handle with family members, even in overcrowded quarters. Food
expenses are usually separate. In the case of couples living with the parents of a spouse, the couple shares income and expenses, regardless of income levels, but not with the rest of the family (brothers and/or parents). In the case of cohabitation between brothers, income is not pooled but expenses can be diversified based on income.

(Female, Romania, 33)

"Now I live with my sister and brother in law and pay no rent. It’s the house they’re buying, but they don’t make me pay a rent.” (case 1).

In some cases this sharing of resources does not seem limited to times of trouble, but extends to the entire migratory course. This kind of network seems to rely on collective mechanisms, more or less strong, to balance resources and needs. In case 9 the entire extended family pools their income and expenses: the members with an income collectively take charge of the survival of all other members (children and unemployed adults or recently arrived adults who do not work yet.) The person interviewed in case 9 says she “shared” her job with her sister, who arrived in Italy six months after her. As she could find a job more easily – she already had some knowledge of the country and the language – she left to her sister her job with an Italian family, where she cared for an older person.

(Female, Ecuador, 35)

"We live together and we have no problem because we all share expenses, even condominium expenses, power and water, we do everything together […] we all share everything, without counting those who just came… when they arrive, if they don’t find a job, that person doesn’t pay.. only those who work pay… we share all expenses among the adults.” (case 9).

Such strong networks can provide a prolonged moral support, even when objective difficulties prevent them from providing material help.
(Male, Senegal, 37)
(Do your brothers help you?) “Yes because they, before I came here, lived through the same thing, they been here a long time without a residence permit. [...] and they’ve been down... they’re like a model for me. They say 'See, that’s what we did, we hold on, so you do that too and things will be okay.” (case 6);

(Female, Peru, 23)
“But when she [her sister] arrived, I realised I was a kid and I needed to be protected. I feel safer with her. And we play, we talk a lot, I feel really good with her. Fortunately she came.” (case 16);

(Male, Egypt, 29)
(What about your brother?) “My brother for me is everybody, he’s my father, he’s my brother... he’s a real real good person, he helps me a lot...” (case 5).

A second type of network is made up of friends, acquaintances and non-close relatives. They prove to be very useful in passing important information for an immigrant in a city: what services are available and information on housing and occupation opportunities. They appear however to be much less stable than the previous type; the immigrants we interviewed state repeatedly that they do not rely on them as a strategy to cope with serious problems. Probably, both the fact that they are not founded on close ties and the fact that they are formed by other immigrants act as limiting factors. More than one case refers to a network of acquaintances that, however wide, is not perceived as a possible source of help. On the contrary, it is considered weak particularly in times of need.

(Male, Ecuador, 28)
(How many friends do you have in this town?) “Friends you got when you got money, many friends. When you got no money, friends are few.” (case 18);

(Male, Senegal, 37)
(Is there somebody you consider a real friend?) “No... they talk like they are, but in their hearts they aren’t really friends.” (case 6);
(Male, Bangladesh, 25)  
(And the guys who live with you?) "Friends... well, not... only in my country I got friend." (And you don't here?) "No." (case 12);

(Female, Peru, 23)  
(You've never met anybody since you've been here?) "Just a few people. Let's say I know people but I don't have real friends. [...] You know, it’s not easy to find friends, I mean people you can trust. People, I know many, but friends, I've got really few." (case 16).

A third kind of network is represented by networks of fellow countrymen or people who come from the same, or a similar, geographical zone. They seem to be mostly employed during leisure time, to fulfil the need for companionship, and in cases of cohabitation. The immigrants in our sample always meet new acquaintances and friends within groups of fellow countrymen; similarly, if the need arises to share an apartment and there are no networks of family members or friends, immigrants almost always choose their countrymen or immigrants from nearby areas.

(Female, Peru, 23)  
"In my spare time I hang out with Peruvians and Ecuadorians. I live with Peruvians and Ecuadorians." (case 16);

(Female, Ecuador, 21)  
(How many of you are living in the house now?) "Seven. Four and three by room."  
(How do you feel? Do you have any particular problem?) "No, not here, I'm okay cause everybody's from where I am from." (They're all from Ecuador?) "All from Ecuador, and from my area too, they've got the same habits I do, you know." (case 4);

(Male, Egypt, 29)  
(How many of you were in the apartment?) "Seven people." (They were all your friends and acquaintances?) "Yes, I knew them." (Egyptians?) "Yes, always, Egyptians."(case 5);

(Male, Mauritania, 36)  
"So there were these guys from Senegal... you know how Mauritania and Senegal are next to each other. I got there and explained my problem and one of them told me to go live with them." (And where do you live now?) "I'm living with
Among fellow nationals, information on jobs and housing seem to flow faster and more easily, but the immigrants in our sample do not seem to rely too much on this. Otherwise, we have not observed strong and organised nationality-based networks which could address successfully the immigrants’ needs. The Chinese community appears to be an exception, as in case 8, a Chinese national. The community has created a number of services available to Chinese speakers: a Chinese newspaper providing information on jobs and practical information on life in Italy, and a network of hotels for the Chinese, where even illegal immigrants can live at affordable rates. Moreover, when the immigrant in case 08 lost her job and the housing associated with it, she was able to go live in a Chinese restaurant in exchange for help on the weekends. She was also helped by other Chinese in finding a job during her initial period in Italy, when she didn’t know the language and had no contacts. She has easily found jobs at Chinese restaurants and even with a Chinese family who needed a caretaker for a family member. In this case, the Chinese community in Milan, one of the oldest and most structured ethnic communities in the city, was the critical factor.

(Female, China, 42)
"I read in Chinese paper... where is information on jobs, dictionary to go look for jobs... so I went." (Where have you lived initially here in Milan?) "The same way, I found. I needed place to sleep and there is no place... Some days I went to Chinese hotel [...]" (Meaning it’s a hotel just for the Chinese?) "Yes [...] then I found again in Chinese paper, there was Chinese restaurant where help only Saturdays and Sundays but can sleep there. But all day I go away to look for some other jobs." (You slept in the restaurant?) "Yes... so they helped me too... little by little... and I found lot of work in Milan." (case 8).

Finally a fourth type of network is made up of associations providing services to the immigrant population, including illegal immigrants.
Religious associations seem particularly important: parish churches, religious institutes, and Caritas. They provide soup kitchens and canteens, information on job opportunities, legal advice mainly regarding legalisation issues, and in some cases economic help in various forms (food and clothing, for instance, such as in case 3). Some interviewees (cases 10, 13, 14, 16, 17) talked about Italian language courses, and in two cases computer courses. Women can access gynaecology services without presenting a residence permit (cases 2, 3); the women in our sample used this opportunity only when they became pregnant.

Most immigrants in the sample know they can go to any public hospital emergency room free of charge and without a residence permit; many have done so, encountering no problems; and some state that they know associations and centres providing free assistance even to illegal immigrants (such as NAGA, CAD, CAV – see cases 2, 3, 9, 14, 19). Some went to the trade unions for information on their working conditions, but this is decidedly a minority. The assistance obtained in these cases is however considered by the immigrants as merely occasional, and difficult to access given the sheer number of people who use it.

(Female, Ecuador, 21)
(You’ve been in all the Caritas centres?) “Sure. I got up at three in the morning to be in that long long line and see if I could get an appointment, to find a job.” (And you could get food from Caritas too?) “If you got there early […] there’s a big big line there too.” (case 4).

The personal emotional background of each immigrant can influence if and how they use a support network. First, looking for support in the early stages of immigration may be considered legitimate, but at a later stage it can be considered a form of failure. In some cases, immigrants feel too proud to ask for the assistance of certain types of institutions, which are considered necessary only for those who are in extremely severe circumstances.

(Male, Egypt, 33)
(You never went to seek help to an association or another office? ”No! We help ourselves. We can’t go to an office. We don’t want to.” [he is referring to a friend

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besides himself] We work. When we all work we get money, that’s all right. [...] We’re not used to go to an office and ask for help. Maybe other people are in trouble, maybe they have more problems than us, so they should take that help. But for us it’s not like that.” (case 14);

(Female, Peru, 23)
"I don’t even go to churches to ask for help. I managed on my own, and I know that those who go to churches are the ones who really have nothing. I have some work.” (case 16).

Another crucial aspect is the fast, steady circulation of precise information among immigrants, almost always those from the same country or similar geographical areas. Illegal immigrants encounter an objective obstacle in accessing certain, especially public, services. Interviews have shown that information circulated by word of mouth tells them exactly where to go to find hassle-free services.

(Female, Peru, 23)
(How did you hear about the association where you take Italian classes?) "My aunt told me about the course. I knew they didn’t ask for a residence permit. But that’s the only public service I go to.” (case 16).

### 2.1.5. Effects of policies on exclusion trajectories

#### 2.1.5.1. A survey of services for immigrants in Milan

A survey of services available to immigrants in Milan is especially difficult for several reasons. No source has so far gathered a comprehensive overview of such services; only lists of specific services provided by entities dealing with immigration affairs are available. These lists are however only partial and limited to a few areas of intervention\(^\text{36}\). Moreover, services are constantly changing, and in some cases not specifically directed to immigrants; some started as assistance for cases of socially marginalised / excluded Italians and later adapted to a new social situation. In other cases, services are
provided only for a limited amount of time, for the duration of an emergency situation, after which they cease or change radically.
Therefore we do not aim to describe exhaustively what is available in the Milan area, but simply to provide a wider overview for the purposes of comparison with the other areas studied in this research.
Our survey was first conducted searching existing material (Internet sites and specific publications). On the basis of the data collected, we conducted interviews with some of the most relevant actors providing services to immigrants in and around Milan. The object of the interviews was to analyse in greater detail some issues emerging from what immigrants had stated in earlier interviews for this research.
While most organisations and associations each provide several services, we have divided the offer into four categories: primary needs (such as shelters and canteens); secondary needs (such as language courses and legal assistance); job training and assistance; and social and cultural activities.

A. Primary needs
This category groups the services directed towards an individual’s primary needs: food, shelter and health care. They can be broken down into the following categories:

Shelters and canteens
Initially provided to poor and socially excluded people in the city of Milan, but now used mainly by immigrants. Originally they simply provided a bed for the night and a hot meal; now most offer a wider array of services beyond food and shelter. Managing such services is expensive and requires full time attention; most are managed by religious orders that can find resources and mobilise the needed number of volunteers.
Shelters and community housing
Shelters are defined by law 40/1998 as "housing structures providing, also free of charge, to the immediate needs for food and shelter (...) strictly for the time needed for reaching self-sufficiency (...). Community housing, introduced by law 1/1986, provides shelter "(...) in standard housing facilities, with professional operators present, to limited groups of persons in certain age ranges, with specific problem conditions (...).
In Milan they are mostly provided by private associations. Some structures belong to the city government but are managed by private associations or religious institutions, such as Caritas.

Information / orientation offices
Like many shelters, these offices were created initially as an answer to poverty and emargination but were later adapted to the needs arising from immigration. Some of the associations working on immigration affairs felt the need to have their own information and/or orientation service for immigrants in need. Some of them are placed in locations, such as railway stations, making them easy to use for newly arrived immigrants.

Health care centres
Foreigners are guaranteed by law, even if they do not hold a residence permit, access to the National Health Service, and thus can obtain free treatment in outpatient centres and hospitals for urgent and essential medical needs. Care is free and guaranteed also in case of injuries resulting from accidents and illness requiring long-term treatment. Care for pregnant women and new mothers, paediatric care and vaccinations as well as diagnosis and treatment of infectious diseases are also free.
However, some health care providers are not informed of this right of immigrants, or apply more restrictive regional laws. Thus illegal immigrants often find that private health centres provide fundamental care that could not otherwise be obtained from the public health system.
B. Secondary needs
The services grouped here are directed to immigrants in a successive stage of their permanence in the host society. They are useful for reinforcing an immigrant’s abilities and skills and tend to be used by those already part of integrated social networks. They can be divided into several categories:

*Italian language courses*
The city government of Milan provides, through its Permanent Territorial Centres, free Italian courses and elementary and middle school, for regularly registered immigrants. Illegal immigrants can only access courses provided by private associations.

*Centres offering assistance in finding accommodation*
These services provide support during one of the critical phases of a migratory experience. Many also provide advice on the laws governing housing; many immigrants are not aware of their rights, such as the right to request popular housing (in apartments blocks built with public funds) for those who hold a residence permit. Several services are available for regular immigrants, while irregulars can only count on networks that they can personally activate.

*Social, psychological and legal assistance*
Several services directed to migrants encountering trouble in integrating into the host society have appeared in recent years. Most are used both by legal and illegal immigrants. The former, even if they are nominally guaranteed free access to public welfare services, prefer using services specifically for immigrants. Other centres offer psychological help specifically for immigrants and / or help for cases such as drug addictions or alcoholism and also for unaccompanied minors.
C. Job training and assistance
The services in this group are fundamental for a large part of the immigrant population. They can be divided into the following categories:

*Job training and job searching centres*
Generally these are services originated in response to the needs of Italian unemployed workers, but the number of immigrant users – particularly immigrants with a residence permit looking for a stable, legalised job – has been rising steadily. The most popular and widely used services are those linking directly job demand and offer. In some cases such services tend to act as hiring centres, and businesses directly ask them for personnel they need. Some centres offer similar services for illegal immigrants, but there is a tendency to discourage “black” jobs and to push for the legalisation of immigrants seeking employment.

*Trade unions*
CGIL, CISL, and UIL, Italy’s three largest unions, have provided specific services for immigrants for several years now. Smaller unions are particularly active in this area if they represent occupations with a high percentage of immigrants (household help, for instance). Most unions, besides supporting the rights of immigrated workers, also offer general legal advice.

D. Social and cultural activities
This group includes organisations providing services for cultural exchange – also between foreign communities – and for the development of forms of integration going beyond simple assimilation.

*Associations of immigrants*
There are numerous such associations in and around the city. They mainly promote an ethnic community with the indigenous population and aggregate immigrants, providing an escape from possible isolation.
Cultural and inter-cultural associations
They provide easy access to cultural activities for immigrants, supporting their comprehension of, and integration into, Italian society.

2.1.5.2. Implementation of policies regarding immigrants in Milan
Our analysis showed that services available to immigrants in Milan are many and varied. The city government opened an Immigrants Office more than fifteen years ago, and many associations are active in the city to help immigrants, especially clandestines, in every aspect of life, from primary needs to assistance with every step of their social integration. In some cases there is close co-operation between private associations and the city’s Immigrants Office, but this is a rare instance; more often, the two are distant, and a co-ordination of all services for immigrants appears difficult to establish.

To analyse how these services work, we have examined more closely some public and private services operating in Milan -- both lay and Catholic in the latter case – and showing the complexity of dealing with the task of hosting and supporting a large immigrant population. The Immigrants Office of the city of San Giuliano, a small town south of Milan, was included in the cases we examined as it had been mentioned in several interviews.

A. Immigrants Office, City of Milan
The office receives all sorts of requests regarding immigration. Its users can be divided into two groups: 1) asylum seekers and immigrants with severe problems, and 2) long-time resident immigrants and Italians seeking information, advice on specific issues or qualified assistance. The data provided by the office show that some ethnic groups are much more oriented than others to use the opportunities provided. The 21 nationals of Togo residing in Milan, for instance, presented 116 requests to
the office while the nearly 20,000 nationals of the Philippines – one of the largest ethnic communities in the city – are virtually absent.

Over the years the office has become more structured and has been able to go beyond pure assistance and response to emergency situations. Its activity hinges on a First assistance office to which other specific services refer. The office is managed by social workers and essentially provides information on several topics. In many cases an interview is enough to define the problem and allow subjects to solve it on their own. More complex requests are directed to special services. Two social workers take charge of the more severe cases of adult immigrants in trouble; generally they are people with serious health problems not recognised officially, and without relatives. To a lesser extent they are “procedure cases”, persons with especially complex juridical status who need extended, specialised assistance. In some situations the city can pay a subsidy, proposed by the social worker handling the case and approved by an ad hoc commission. In other cases the city gives economic incentives to firms willing to hire the subject.

The city has also opened a Job training office providing orientation interviews for immigrants searching for a job and business owners who need advice on the complex legal issues involved in the hiring of non-EU immigrants. Co-operation with temporary employment agencies is close, especially to define training courses suited – for duration and cost – to the particular needs and skills of immigrants. The office has agreements with associations such as the Centro di Solidarietà S. Martino whose goal is to facilitate contact between immigrants and industry. Through another agreement with an association, the Centro Paolo Alberto Del Bue, immigrant minors from particularly poor families receive assistance and orientation regarding education and work.

The Immigrants Office also provides a specific service dealing with the growing problem of refugees, who receive assistance with the procedures they need to go through. Assistance to political asylum seekers is linked to a network of four temporary residence centres at the disposal of the office. The centres are managed by an outside co-operative; deciding who should
be sent to them is the office’s responsibility, as is defining assistance projects for the asylum seekers. The office has developed a network of private resources for “second level” assistance (a more personalised form of hospitality, demanding greater responsibility.) Immigrants can be housed in apartments in the city and in the province thanks to two agreements with private co-operatives (*Farsi Prossimo* and *La Grande Casa*), for a maximum of six months and for a fee growing with time. Other housing solutions can be found by smaller voluntary co-operatives with which the office works closely. Also provided are specific *social assistance and protection programs*, for foreigners who escape exploitation, especially women who escape forced prostitution. Such programs are managed in close co-operation with the police, the courts, local authorities and private organisations. Another branch provides a *service for cultural documentation* which also monitors the evolution of the immigration phenomenon in Milan. The service publishes information booklets on the legal issues most affecting immigrants (family reunification, citizenship, health care) and more specific publications on family law in Italy compared to that in the immigrants’ main countries of origin.

**B. The San Giuliano Milanese Immigrants Office**

San Giuliano Milanese is a small municipality in the southern outskirts of Milan. According to official municipal figures, about 3 percent of its 32,360 inhabitants are foreign nationals. In this, it is in line with the national average. In late 1999, the city opened an office for the immigrant population. This appears to have been motivated more by administrative and image choices rather than in-depth knowledge of immigration and its problems, but the office has rapidly become popular with foreign citizens. This success is due in no small part to the physical location of the office and the approach by its operators. The public reception is located in the city centre and is easily reachable, while remaining separate from the main city administration offices, a factor that has proved instrumental in
attracting immigrants without papers, who would not feel at ease in “official” premises for fear of sanctions.

Users can access the office without formality and sit down with an operator, giving an impression of being in an open place where one’s difficulties are understood and respected. In many cases this approach has resulted in establishing a frank, direct relationship between the user and the office representative – a decisive element particularly for those who do not feel at ease in explaining the real reason they need help. The office mostly provides information and assistance regarding residence permits, family reunification, health care and sending children to school. Users can be directed to a specific city office for further assistance, but often, when direct assistance is provided, an office operator takes personally charge of a problem. Within the office there is a Centre for job training and permanent education, a free service for job search and training.

The office has requested funding for “housing mediators” helping immigrants find accommodation. The search for housing is the most pressing issue for immigrants, and the presence of mediators should reduce the risk of fraud and protect immigrants from possible prejudice and racist behaviour. Another project in the works is the creation of an inter-cultural council, to promote integration between immigrants and the host society. Councils of foreign citizens can, under Italian law, be consulted by local administrations.

The success of this approach has been recognised widely, and San Giuliano’s immigrants office today is a model for other public and private institutions dealing with immigration. The administration is also organising the networking of the immigrants offices of five other nearby towns (San Donato, Cornaredo, Pioltello, Opera and Rozzano).

C. Opera San Francesco per i Poveri (St. Francis Institution for the Poor)
The institution, known by its acronym OSF, has been included since 1986 in the Lombardy regional directory of volunteer associations, but was founded in the early 20th century by a Capuchin friar as a religious
institution assisting the poor. For much of its history it provided a soup kitchen for poor Italians, but with the rise of immigration the percentage of immigrant users has now reached 90 percent. Now the OSF provides showers, clothing and medical care besides food.

The canteen is open every day except Sunday for lunch and dinner and admits both men and women. Showers are for men only and available every two weeks; users can also receive shirts, socks and underwear, and once a month also a new set of second-hand clothing. All these services are accessible with a magnetic card, to prevent fraud; a residence permit, however, is not necessary. Medical care, also offering specialist visits, is provided to immigrants who are not able, for various reasons, to use the National Health Service.

A central office provides information on life in Milan and the surrounding area, specifically regarding work opportunities, health care, legal procedures and schools. OSF can provide a number of apartments for so-called “third level” housing to users who have started a process of social integration and are trying, with the help of social workers, to reach complete independence. OSF co-operates closely with public welfare services and with private associations, mainly with Caritas, with which it co-ordinates several areas of activity.

D. Gli Esteri

Gli Esteri (Italian for “foreign affairs” or “foreigners”) was founded fifteen years ago as the Foreign Affairs Secretariat of the Diocese of Milan. In 2001 it was spun off from the Diocese and now is managed by two associations, Sarepta and Golondrinas, dealing with immigration and emargination. It is open to legal and illegal non-EU immigrants and Italians of foreign origin, included because it was felt that they face problems similar to those of immigrants in integrating into Italian society. Gli Esteri deals with both primary and secondary needs mainly through a “listening center” where specific problems can be explained and addressed
in detail, besides providing information on where to find basic services such as food and shelter.

Job orientation is differentiated for men and women. A union representing household helpers, API-COLF, has an office in the association’s headquarters, supporting the many immigrants who work in private homes, mostly as cleaning persons (which remains the main source of jobs for non-EU immigrants). Gli Esteri also provides legal advice, although not legal representation.

**E. NAGA** - *Associazione Volontaria di Assistenza Socio-Sanitaria e per i Diritti di Stranieri e Nomadi* (Voluntary Association for Medical, Social Assistance and for the Rights of Immigrants and Nomads).

NAGA is a non-religious and non-political association founded in 1987 to promote support for the legal rights and rights to health care of immigrants, refugees and nomads. Its outpatient centre has provided basic health care to more than 100,000 immigrants from all continents. Its users are recent immigrants who tend to be from the groups with the most social, economic and language problems. Fifty volunteers staff its *Reception and listening service*. The outpatient centre is always open and staffed and besides basic care also provides information on how to use public services, and on where to sleep, eat and get other primary services. A wide range of specialist medical visits are also available.

A workgroup within NAGA provides assistance to immigrant women regarding pregnancy, abortion, contraception and menopause. Another workgroup provides a service, *Street health care for immigrants and nomads*, for those living in occupied buildings. The service is provided by a mobile unit.

A “expulsions hotline” can be called to obtain legal assistance for clandestine immigrants who have received an expulsion order from the police. In 2001 NAGA opened a Centre for asylum seekers, refugees and torture victims, providing information, psychological support, legal advice and Italian and computer courses, besides elementary and middle school.
F. Centro Come - Percorsi di Accoglienza, Integrazione ed Educazione Interculturale (Reception, Integration and Inter-cultural education).

The Centro Come ("come" meaning "how" in Italian) is an assistance centre for minors and was created in 1994 through an agreement by the Province of Milan, Caritas and a co-operative, Farsi Prossimo. The Province and Caritas provided the funding while the co-operative provided the personnel and was in charge of day-to-day activity. The centre is organised as a second-level service and as such does not directly take charge of minors; rather it contacts the families and the social and school workers who deal with immigrant minors. A residence permit is not necessary, as fundamental rights are guaranteed to minors as such.

The centre’s purpose is to create the conditions for the reception and integration of immigrant children and their families, promoting encounters between cultures. The main activity is a public office where social workers and pedagogic consultants provide assistance on social, educational and cultural issues.

The centre also provides formation for teachers, tools for inter-cultural education and integration and research and projects in language and cultural mediation.

In July 1999, a new provincial administration decided not to renew the agreement, while continuing to provide funding for some of the centre’s activities, which in January 2001 were moved to the offices of Farsi Prossimo. Opening hours were cut in half; the centre is now open two days a week instead of four and mainly provides formation and information for Italian social assistants rather than immigrant families with minors. The centre however maintains a close relationship with several private associations, co-ordinating a network of 10 associations that provide services for immigrant minors, and also remains close to Caritas and its various departments.
2.1.5.3. *The immigrants’ evaluation of the services in Milan*

The interviews with immigrants regarding their evaluation of the services available to them can be divided into two groups: one composed of subjects who have come only into sporadic contact with services (cases 4, 5, 6, 7, 12, 15, 18) and another of subjects who have frequent contact with them (cases 2, 3, 8, 9, 10, 14, 16, 17, 20). The particular features found in four cases (1, 11, 13, 19) separate them from the two groups. The first group is composed only of illegal immigrants, but there does not appear to be a single, overall reason for their scarce contact with public services. Some subjects belong to strong family networks (cases 5 and 6) and seem to be able to provide for their needs autonomously. On the other hand, in some cases it is the opposite – the lack of friends and/or relatives – that prevents subjects from accessing services. In still other cases, services are accessed only when there is an immediate, temporary need, such as the use of canteens (cases 4, 18) or medical care (cases 4, 5, 6, 15). A common reason to avoid services is the fear of being caught without a residence permit:

(Male, 28, Ecuador)

(You never used a public service in Italy?) *"No."* (Because you were afraid of getting caught without a residence permit?) *"Yes."* (case 18).

Also common is the lack of information on how services can be reached:

(Male, 37, Senegal)

(Have your brothers enrolled in the lists for popular housing, since they’re legal immigrants?) *"No."* (Why?) *"Perhaps because they don’t know how it’s done."* (...)
(There are associations that can help illegal immigrants...) *"But I don’t know them."*
(You’ve never heard of them? Nobody told you where to go?) *"I’ve heard they exist but I don’t know where they are and where to go... If I know where they are then I can go and ask for help..."* (case 6).
Subjects in the second group appear to confirm that when there are strong networks of friends and/or relatives, access to services is easier. This is evident especially if a member of the network has received positive assistance:

(Female, 23, Peru)
(How did you know about the association where you take Italian classes?) "My aunt told me. I knew they didn’t ask for a residence permit there." (case 16);

(Female, 23, Ecuador)
"My aunt... went to a payphone to call home and there was a girl who was talking to another girl, so my aunt heard and went up to her and asked ‘Is there an agency? Because I’ve got a niece who isn’t working...” (case 3).

Subjects in the second group use very actively the job search and health care services. Some (cases 8, 9, 10) did not seek a job autonomously:

(Female, 42, China)
"When I arrived in Milan I found no job ... Then I met Anna (a social worker) who helped me a lot, I thank her much... she always helped me all these years, so I found jobs with Italians." (case 8).

This group of subjects tends to be well informed (cases 2, 3, 8, 9, 14) of the rights that public health care facilities guarantee them, and also know in what private facilities they can be assisted.

(Male, 33, Egypt)
"When there’s problem... we can go to emergency room. Or the doctor here. And there’s another place for free, that’s called NAGA.” (case 14);

(Woman, 23, Ecuador)
"I have a residence permit for maternity until October, for me and Esteban... he has a pediatrician, until October. When I was pregnant I always came to be visited here at Mangiagalli” (a public maternity clinic in Milan). “I was okay, because everything was free...” (Did you give birth here?) "Yes, and yesterday a social worker told me that they can help me with a gynecologist, a nurse, a pediatrician...” (case 3).
The four cases mentioned above as worthy of being treated separately show a strong relationship with welfare services. One is a man living in community housing because of his alcoholism problem (case 19.) Since 1998 he has been assisted by the CAD (Addiction Assistance Centre). He has lived in Italy since 1984 and has always had a residence permit, until 2001. Before his alcohol problem arose, he was in contact with trade unions because, as he was working, he sought to have his job legally registered by the employer. He has also used public shelter services after the relationship with the woman he was living with ended.

Another (case 11) is a 36 year old man from Mauritania who arrived in Italy in June 2001 as an asylum seeker and obtained a residence permit in August 2002. As an asylum seeker he received a 790 Euros contribution from the city of Milan and lived for six months in city housing for refugees. He can count on a strong network of fellow nationals, but continues to use services provided by the city’s Immigrants Office. He is however strongly critical of those services, which he thinks are not co-ordinated, and of the economic aid he received, deemed insufficient.

Case 13 is a 25 year old man from Cameroon who holds a visa issued for medical reasons. He arrived in Italy four years ago thanks to a Catholic foundation, the Fondazione Don Gnocchi, and his sister who already was in Italy. The foundation took charge of medical treatment and helped him access other services; now he receives a subsidy and lives in an accommodation provided by Caritas.

In the fourth case the subject has developed a prolonged relationship with the Immigrants Office in San Giuliano (case 01) which she was directed to by her sister. She enrolled in a computer course and a “memory workshop”, a project on the personal and cultural issues associated with migration and leaving one’s home country. She also obtained legal advice and other information on services she could use. The possibility of accessing a service in a continuous and co-ordinated manner is clearly of the utmost importance:
"The only group I know is Luca’s [Luca is a worker at the Immigrants Office]. We’ve done a memory workshop which was a project for non-communitarian immigrants, how they feel here, leaving their country, far from home..." (And legal assistance? Did you get that from the office as well?) "Yes, the office sent me to a lawyer, Luca told me about him, otherwise I had no guts to go there and say "I have no papers, you know". You never know if you can trust them... I was afraid when I was out, every time I saw a police car my knees were shaking. Then Luca told me if something happened I had to call this number he gave me, an office for foreigners who have legal problems or are expelled. It’s called Telefono Mondo (World Telephone). One year ago we got a letter from Luca’s office after the legalisation law was passed. He contacted us and showed us where we could go. (What is the reason that made you use that service?) Because I saw they were really there to help. I can’t go tell people that I don’t have a residence permit, many of the people I work for don’t know. Even if your work is irregular maybe they don’t know you don’t have a permit. I could talk about this with him and he helped me, told me where to go, who you can trust and where you have to be careful." (case 1).

In the final analysis, what emerges from the interviews is that services offered in Milan appear to cover fairly completely the array of needs arising from immigration, but a large component of the immigrated population is still excluded.
The fundamental element is the presence of a network of family and/or friends. From the interviews it appears that those who are at the margin of their communities do not have access to the information needed to move around with ease in the host society. Word of mouth is of absolute importance: access to services depends on the experiences of other members of a network and on personal contacts, either direct or through the network, with representatives of the various service providers. Therefore, in the case of particularly isolated individuals, the possibility of accessing any public or welfare service is severely limited, resulting in a higher risk of chronic social exclusion.
NOTES

7 A. Golini, I movimenti di popolazione nel mondo contemporaneo, in Dossier di ricerca, Volume II, Agenzia romana per il Giubileo, Roma, 2000, p. 94.
10 E. Pugliese, Sociologia della disoccupazione, Il Mulino, Bologna, 1992, p. 82.
14 Ibidem, p. 84.
18 Ibidem, p. 12.
19 New migration laws are in effect as of September 2002 (Law 189). As fieldwork was concluded before that time, analysis has focused on the preceding 1998 laws (Laws 40 and 286). The 1998 laws are still valid, though, as the new one only contains some modifications.
22 Commissione per le politiche di integrazione degli immigrati, Secondo rapporto sull’integrazione degli immigrati in Italia, Il Mulino, Bologna, 2001;
24 A similar approach was adopted in defining the modes of incorporation of immigrants into American society as described in A. Portes (ed.), The New Second


Case 10 relies on a solid non-family network, linked to a group of Franciscan nuns who gave her shelter when she first arrived.

2.2. The Danish case
Ditte Amskov, Andrea Gallina, Herluf Thomsen

2.2.1. The size and features of the immigrant population in Denmark

2.2.1.1. Historical and political background
After the Second World War the traditional Danish self-perception of being a country governed by humanistic principles was established. This self-perception includes a widespread willingness to help and protect asylum seekers and refugees. Later in 1956, when the first bigger influx of refugees (Hungarians) came to Denmark, there was nationwide understanding and support from the Danish people. During the Sixties and Seventies, it was primarily people from Portugal and Latin America who asked for asylum in Denmark. During that time refugee matters were not a political issue, in this sense that this willingness to let people into Denmark was not questioned. The Sixties were also the period of consistent flows of foreign “guest-workers”, coming especially from Turkey, Pakistan and Yugoslavia.
Until the Seventies the attitude of society towards immigrants and refugees was positive among people and the politicians. The situation changed in the early Seventies due to the economic crisis that hit industrialised countries. Immigration was seriously controlled to protect the local labour market and ever since the issue of immigration become a political one. Immigrants were not anymore a temporary but a permanent phenomenon. Since then, issues related to asylum seekers, refugees and immigrants have been of growing importance in Danish politics.
When the first major groups of immigrants arrived as guest workers, it was not expected that they would stay and bring their family to Denmark. Then, there was the expectation that they could easily and rapidly assimilate to the local cultural models. It is by now clear that this has not
been the result and many of the immigrants and their descendants hardly want to consider themselves Danes, and secondly the “Danish society” does not allow them to feel as such, even if they would.

In 1973 a rightwing party was elected to Parliament for the first time in Danish history, on a programme, which focused mainly on introducing minimal taxation. During the 1980s and the 1990s this party plus a splinter group, which formed another rightwing party started to play a major role, with a shift of focus from a programme based on minimal taxation to one of severe restrictions of asylum and immigration.

In the last decade the debate has grown more intense, and somehow creating a negative and hostile attitude towards refugees and immigrants. The political scene has also changed and political forces inspired to xenophobic principles emerged in Denmark as well. Similarly to what has happened in the rest of Europe the rightwing has increased its number voters significantly, and thereby the seats in the Parliament. The Danish public debate has been pushed forward by the xenophobia to an extent that the tabù of immigrants was broken in the last campaigns for local authorities elections and in the general elections for Parliament. The social democratic government had already introduced tight measures against immigrations. This compromised them in a way that they were not able to propose a different political strategy regarding immigration. In this period the main issue in the debate about immigrants in Denmark became therefore that of “integration” of those already in the country and of those that manage to enter for family reunification reasons, or the few accepted as refugees.

The new minority government established with the elections of November 2002 consisting of the Liberal party (Venstre) and the conservative peoples party (Konservativt Folkparti), has a parliamentary majority based on the extreme rightwing Danish Peoples party (Dansk Folkeparti). Under these pressures, and on the basis of the framework established by the previous government, the liberal minority Government is modifying the legal framework regarding refugees and immigrants introducing even
more strict measures. As a result, the number of asylum seekers has decreased by 70 per cent in first year of government. This evolution is at the base of the current political debate in Denmark on immigrants. It involves the immigrants, their descendents and the newly arrived. Social exclusion is therefore not opposite to integration as defined by the government, but is a more complex process that is related to the definition of the goals of a society. It is therefore a problem requiring a political solution.

2.2.1.2. Immigrants and integration in Denmark

Data concerning employment, education and income levels show that immigrants and their descendants are likely to have a lower position in society. This first consideration underlines that a real inclusion in society demands more than official papers stating that a person is a Danish citizen or has permanent residency in the country. In that way, the Danish context differs compare to the other two cases – Spain and Italy - since the dynamics and causes of social exclusion of immigrants are not linked to their regularisation process, obtaining the official permission to remain in the country or to get a job. Social exclusion is a hidden process in Denmark, which overcomes the dichotomy legal/illegal, and is instead related to problems of participation to society and access to opportunities on the same pace as the Danes. That is way the focus of the public debate is on the issue of integration. In recent years it was believed that by assimilation to the Danish cultural models, foreigners would be able to ripe the same benefits from participating in society as the Danes. This perception showed its limits from the very outset, due to the impossibility to impose to the old generations of immigrants and to the newcomers a change in their cultural identity. This perception has then been changed and the issue of integration is now focusing mainly on economic factors. By learning Danish language and getting a proper job, immigrants would become active
members of Danish society and contribute to the Danish welfare state as the other citizens. Hence the need to set up the standards and have measurable indicators of “integration”.
In our opinion, this perception presents limits as well. Unemployment (and for some the lack of proper command of the language to get certain jobs) is a problem that affects Danes as well, although to a lesser extent in relative terms -but of course higher in absolute terms- and which creates frustrations and feelings of being marginalized from society. However, in the specific case of immigrants the situation is different. To speak the language and have a job does not necessarily give them the feeling of being part of this society. Often immigrants, old, new and descendants, are forced to keep a lower profile just because they are treated differently. Therefore integration, as in the public debate, cannot be considered as the end of the process of social inclusion. Instead, it should be considered as just one of the means to achieve social inclusion, otherwise it would imply to turn upside-down means with ends.
The hidden process of exclusion is also reinforced by the fact that, although unspoken in the public and political debate, the society into which the immigrants must integrate is not the “Danish society” but the “society of the Danes”, that the system in which the immigrants must fit is not the “Danish welfare state” but the “welfare state constructed by the Danes”, and so on. Therefore the concept of integration proposed by the policy-makers is ambiguous for that it can be achieved, but not necessarily represents the way to create a more open and tolerant society. This in turn does not mean to have a multicultural society, creating an artificial blending in which unavoidably a group will prevail on the others, but instead to have a society in which access is guaranteed to everybody regardless of economic, social, ethnic and language level.
2.2.1.3. Definition of integration according to the Ministry of integration

The first of January 1999 a law of integration entered into force. The law has the aim to:

"[...] assure newly arrived foreigners the possibility to participate in the political, economical, work-related, social, religious and cultural aspects of society on equal terms as other citizens. Furthermore the law aim to secure that foreigners become self-provident and obtain an understanding for the values and norms dominating the Danish society".

In Danish the term “udlændinge”, translated in English as “foreigner” is the juridical term to indicate immigrants or refugees. In this study the terms ‘immigrant’ and ‘foreigner’ are used interchangeably. Unless it is stated specifically, the term ‘immigrant’ will also include descendents. It is also worth nothing that the term “guestarbejde” (guest worker), which is a “milder” term compared to the currently used has almost disappeared from the debate.

According to the law the achievement of integration is the responsibility of the municipalities where the immigrants live. The main issues tackled in the law are related to the need to have a balanced geographical distribution of the immigrants, and the learning of the Danish language in combination with activities related to access to the labour market. The main objective of the law is to create the condition for enabling the immigrants to participate in society on equal terms.

The Ministry of Integration has split the term integration in ‘social integration’ and ‘cultural integration’. According to the Ministry a successful integration depends upon both the social and cultural factors, but special emphasis is on the social factors defined as education, employment and economic independence. In the latest report published by the Ministry seven criteria for integration are listed. Within these criteria there are both social and cultural elements:
Danish [language] skills and education: Foreigners should possess Danish [language] skills to a degree enabling them to cope with the demand from the labour market and the society. Furthermore they should achieve a minimum level of education in order to be able to enter the labour market. Descendants should have the same level of Danish [language] skills and education as Danes;

Employment: Foreigners should have the same employment rate as Danes. Descendants should have employment that equals their qualification;

Economic Independence: Foreigners should achieve and maintain the same degree of economic independence as Danes, without relying on financial aid from the state or municipalities;

Lack of discrimination (meaning that discrimination should of course not occur): Foreigners should not be discriminated on the labour market or in society in general, because of their race, skin colour, descent, sex, age, nationality or ethnic origin;

Contact between foreigners and Danes: There should be contact between Danes and foreigners, be it through marriage, as colleagues or as ordinary interaction between people in everyday life;

Participation in the political life: Foreigners should to the same extent as Danes participate in the political life as voters, representatives of the people and members of associations and boards of users. However, only Danish citizens can run for the Parliament, have the right to vote for the political general elections and for the European Parliament. Resident foreigners have the right to vote for the local administrative elections;

Fundamental values and norms: Foreigners should respect the same fundamental values and norms in Denmark. Among these values and norms there is the respect for democracy and people’s freedom of rights, obeying the laws of the country, participatory democracy, observing equal rights as well as tolerance towards differing values and norms.
The report provides statistics showing that in the seven above-mentioned areas immigrants have a lower performance than the Danes. Furthermore, according to the Ministry of Integration, there is even a lack of material and knowledge concerning these factors in the Danish context: "This report contains few assessments of the causes of the existing problems" (page 1 and 7), which makes the need for a more qualitative research on the dynamics and causes of social exclusion even more relevant.

The standards set by the integration law are very ambitious, and especially those related to socio-cultural factors are also difficult to measure. It clearly indicates that behind the concept of integration lays a perception of society, its norms and values, which is the dominant one. The same standards could be applied to Danes to analyse their level of integration into an increasingly multi-ethnic society. The dynamics of the process of social exclusion in Denmark might have a different trajectory compare to other countries due to their hidden nature.

2.2.1.4. Legal framework and immigration policies

Since 1972, Denmark has tightened the borders and thus newcomers are mainly political refugees or immigrants for family reunification. The judicial system forecasts a specific set of laws and regulations especially designed for immigrants. The general legal framework applies for all permanently residents in Denmark, while these specific laws apply to people leaving in Denmark who are not Danish natives, tourists, and those who do not have permanent residence permission. The laws concerned with immigrants or foreigners are:

- *Udlaendingeloven* – Immigration Act
- *Integrationsloven* – Danish integration Act
- *Lov om aktiv arbejdsmarkeds politik* – Active labour market policy Act
- *Serviceloven* – Social services Act
The two former laws apply specifically to immigrants, regulating the status of refugee, legal immigrant, citizen, etc. However, these laws are closely linked to the laws of social services and active labour market policy. The Immigration Services, (Udlaendingestyrelsen) has the overall responsibility of the evaluation of the applications to enter the country, as for asylum, study, tourism, work or family reunification. In the following the analysis is concerned only with immigrants coming as refugees or for family reunifications. If the applicant is granted a permission to stay, whether permanent or temporary, will receive a personal identification number (CPR number), and then the responsibility for the integration of the foreigner is transferred to the jurisdiction of the local authorities, where the person is living, or going to live.

In case of asylum seekers, the residence permit is granted normally for seven years. In other cases only a temporary, usually from six months to one year, renewable residence permit is provided and after seven years is possible to apply for a permanent residence permit. Refugees are given a permit on the basic assumption that they are sent back to their country of origin if the conditions that pushed them to flee do not exist anymore. In order to get a permanent residence permit the immigrant has to comply with a set of criteria, ranging from the absence of offence to law to the compliance with the introductory program (according to the integration Law). As soon as the immigration service has granted the immigrant a CPR number, the immigrants are divided by quota among the counties. The immigration service negotiates the quotas with the counties every three years. Then, the figures are shared among the municipalities of each county. If the counties are not able to negotiate the division of the immigrants, it is up to the immigration services to dictate the quotas for the different municipalities. Usually, the distribution of the quotas is easy. Difficulties have arisen only in case of emergency situation, such as international crisis, when the Parliament or the Government voted a decision to accept refugees exceeding the previously determined quotas.

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According to the Integration Law introduced in 1999, modified the 1st of July 2002, the Local authorities (municipalities) have the obligation to offer the immigrant an introductory program. The municipality and the foreigner make an individual contract in which the objectives of the integration plan are set according to the competences of the foreigner (level of education, working experiences, etc.). During this period the immigrant is given financial support by the local authorities, provided he or she is unemployed throughout the period. The introductory program is organised in the following way:

- Thirty hours per week course in Danish society, supplemented with vocational training courses, activation schemes or other daily activities;
- Eighteen hours per week of Danish language course. The number of hours of the language course can in certain cases be reduced to 12 hours per week if the person has a part time job, or to five hours if has a full-time job.
- Vocational programs, supplementary work related courses or upgrading of existing education.

If the immigrant is receiving financial support from the state, he or she is obliged to attend the introductory program. If the immigrant does not comply with the program, the municipalities have the possibility to withdraw up to thirty per cent of the financial support. When the introductory program is completed the municipalities issue a certificate. At this point, the immigrant can apply for the permanent residence permit. If the introduction program requirements’ are failed the right to the introductory financial aid is lost and so the possibility to apply for a permanent residence permit. The financial costs of the introduction programs are sustained by the municipalities and are reimbursed to them by the central government. This includes the costs of education in relation to the introduction program, and also health insurance and other socially related costs.
2.2.1.5. A Statistical overview on the immigration phenomenon

Definition of immigrants according to the statistics

A general problem in analysing the Danish national context is the lack of dis-aggregated statistical information. For example, descendants of the immigrants that came to Denmark in the 1960s, i.e. the second and third generations, are often gathered in the same category with “first generation” immigrants. According to the official statistics, an immigrant is a person born abroad and whose parents are both foreign citizens or are born abroad. A descendant (second-generation immigrant) is a person born in Denmark by immigrant parents. A Dane is a person where at least one of the parents is a Danish citizen born in Denmark, regardless of its country of origin or citizenship. The relatively few existing third and fourth generation immigrants constitute the large part of this group.

In the statistics the topic of illegal immigrants is not included, due to the fact that there are very few illegal immigrants and it is rather considered a police issue than a political or social issue. The number of registered offences and prosecuted offences in violation to the immigration and foreigner laws are relative few: in 2001 the number of illegal immigrants where 314, of which 77 led to conviction and extradition. Asylum seekers are not included in the statistics of foreigners but are treated separately. The part of the population that is neither immigrant nor descendent is labelled the ‘rest of the population’.

Table 1: Persons with foreign origin, as 1st January 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Immigrants</th>
<th>Descendants</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foreign citizens</td>
<td>212,789</td>
<td>37,795</td>
<td>8,045</td>
<td>258,629</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danish citizens</td>
<td>95,885</td>
<td>49,478</td>
<td>45,173</td>
<td>190,536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total citizens with foreign background</strong></td>
<td><strong>308,674</strong></td>
<td><strong>87,273</strong></td>
<td><strong>53,218</strong></td>
<td><strong>449,165</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Foreign citizens do not include asylum seekers
In January 1st 2001 were censed in Denmark 308,674 first generation immigrants, 87,273 descendents and other 53,218 persons born in mixed marriages or adopted and either with foreign or Danish nationality (Table 1 and 2). First generation and second-generation immigrants represent 7.7 per cent of the total population. This figure can be split between immigrants from Nordic countries, the EU and North America (1.9 per cent) and Third countries (5.8 per cent).

**Table 2:** Immigrants and their descendants allocated by country of origin, per January 1st 2001.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of origin</th>
<th>Immigrants</th>
<th>Descendants</th>
<th>Total n° of immigrants and descendants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nordic countries</td>
<td>34,707</td>
<td>4,701</td>
<td>39,408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU (exempting Nordic countries)</td>
<td>50,515</td>
<td>5,326</td>
<td>55,841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>7,008</td>
<td>1,004</td>
<td>8,012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third countries</td>
<td>216,444</td>
<td>76,242</td>
<td>292,686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>308,674</strong></td>
<td><strong>87,273</strong></td>
<td><strong>395,947</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total proportion of immigrants and descendants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of origin</th>
<th>Immigrants</th>
<th>Descendants</th>
<th>Total n° of immigrants and descendants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Nordic countries</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU (excluding Nordic countries)</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third countries</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>78%</strong></td>
<td><strong>22%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Regarding the distribution on the national territory, immigrants tend to cluster around the major urban centres (figure 1). The darkest areas in the figure are those were the percentage of immigrants is higher than the national average. The settlement of the first wave of guest-workers was based on the proximity to the job place. So, family reunifications have followed the same distribution patterns. The area surrounding Copenhagen is the one with the highest percentage of
foreigners both from the EU and North America, and from the Third countries.

**Figure 1:** Geographical distribution of foreigners in Denmark

![Geographical distribution of foreigners in Denmark](source)

*Source: Årbog om udlændinge I Danmark 2001 – status og udvikling, Ministeriet for Integration, 2002.*

An interesting aspect in analysing the distribution emerges when considering the youngest part of the immigrants’ population (below 15 years-old): in some municipalities located at the periphery of Copenhagen, such as Ishøj or Brøndby, this figure raises to a third of the young population. This will put a strong pressure on the local municipalities budget in relation to primary education and health.
The number of immigrants has increased constantly, in the last decade. While, in 1991 there were 228,193 immigrants and descendents in Denmark, in 2001 the figure amounted to 395,947, which means an increase of 73.5 per cent. The increase was due to the fact that immigration from Third Countries (which include all countries outside Norway, EU and North America) has more than doubled in the same period. By now, about three fourth of the immigrants in Denmark comes from Third Countries (Table 2 and 3).

### Table 3: Development in number of immigrants and descendents distributed by continent of origin in the years 1990, 1995 and 2001.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>672</td>
<td>1017</td>
<td>1314</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Union</td>
<td>55823</td>
<td>60579</td>
<td>66406</td>
<td>5776</td>
<td>6736</td>
<td>7846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe exc. EU</td>
<td>59000</td>
<td>68743</td>
<td>106987</td>
<td>15049</td>
<td>22582</td>
<td>34210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>8724</td>
<td>16224</td>
<td>28190</td>
<td>2111</td>
<td>4206</td>
<td>10258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>5893</td>
<td>6573</td>
<td>7008</td>
<td>899</td>
<td>944</td>
<td>1004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South and Central America</td>
<td>3989</td>
<td>4808</td>
<td>6248</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>46041</td>
<td>65899</td>
<td>90945</td>
<td>9100</td>
<td>18248</td>
<td>32905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>967</td>
<td>1152</td>
<td>1576</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>181109</strong></td>
<td><strong>224995</strong></td>
<td><strong>308674</strong></td>
<td><strong>33462</strong></td>
<td><strong>53464</strong></td>
<td><strong>87273</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Statistics Denmark, 2002.*

Turkey has been one of the traditional sending countries. Turkish immigrants are by far the largest group. The number of Turkish immigrants and descendents was 50,470 persons, in 2001. The Turkish group consists of both ethnic Kurds and ethnic Turks. In Table 3, ‘Europe exc. EU’ means mainly Turkey, ex-Yugoslavia and Poland, whereas ‘Asia’ includes countries like Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka and Thailand. The remarkable increase in immigrants from ‘Africa’ is almost exclusively made up of Somalis, whose number increased from only a few hundred in 1990 to 17,299 in 2002. Other consistent immigrants communities are originally from Lebanon, Bosnia, Pakistan, Iraq, Yugoslavia and Somalia (Table 4). Gender wise there is no big difference in the population of immigrants.
Table 4: The 20 largest communities of foreigners from third countries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N°</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>w.m.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>w.m.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>29431</td>
<td>46,7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>12006</td>
<td>44,6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>10504</td>
<td>48,0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>9662</td>
<td>60,2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>8591</td>
<td>30,1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>7938</td>
<td>37,9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>5797</td>
<td>41,9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>5014</td>
<td>38,3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>4267</td>
<td>41,6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>2423</td>
<td>30,0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>2194</td>
<td>44,7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>2023</td>
<td>71,9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soviet Un.</td>
<td>1916</td>
<td>62,3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>1567</td>
<td>80,7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>1557</td>
<td>44,1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>1403</td>
<td>50,5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>1154</td>
<td>35,6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>1152</td>
<td>49,1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czecho-Sl.</td>
<td>1040</td>
<td>55,1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>969</td>
<td>41,4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Typically immigrants’ age distribution varies considerably from the rest of the population, with a relatively larger share of people in the working age (15-49 years). When it comes to the age distribution of descendents the picture is reversed. Descendents are per definition children born of immigrants and the majority of these are below 25 years, and especially below 15 years old (73.3 per cent) (Table 5).

Table 5: Number of immigrants and descendents by age distribution, January 2001.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age Categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrants</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Immigrants</td>
<td>45215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descendants</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Descendants</td>
<td>76549</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.1.6. The immigration phenomenon at the local level: the case of Copenhagen

Since January 1st 1999 all foreigners living in Copenhagen who are covered by the integration law, i.e. from countries outside the European Union and Scandinavia, are the responsibility of a specific unit in the municipality of Copenhagen. This office has the responsibility of planning and coordinating the mandatory individual action plans. The unit is known as the "Receiving Unit" (Modtageenheden).

Due to the recent changes in the Danish integration policy, following the implementation of the Integration Law of 1999 and the 3 years Introductory Program, this section will focus on the immigration phenomenon in Copenhagen since 1999. In order to limit the problem of concentration of foreigners in the largest city, Copenhagen is a 0-quota municipality with respect to refugees and asylum seekers\textsuperscript{13}, while can still receive foreigners through family reunification. As of January 2001 there were 87,620 foreigners registered as living in the larger Copenhagen area\textsuperscript{14}, which corresponds to 18 per cent of the local population\textsuperscript{15} (the average figure for Denmark as a whole is 7.7 per cent) and to 17.5 per cent of the total immigrants’ community in Denmark (Table 6). However, compared to a general increase of 64 per cent during the period 1995-2001, in Copenhagen the number of immigrants increased only by 48 per cent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6: Foreigners in Copenhagen, 2001.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YEAR 2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrants (EU, North America, Norway)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrants (Third countries)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descendants (EU, North America, Norway)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descendants (Third countries)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL FOREIGNERS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 2001 the Receiving Unit received 1253 people emigrated for family reunification reasons. This number has been fairly constant over the last 3 years. Half of these are coming from Third Countries, and in particular Turkey, Thailand, Somalia, Pakistan, Iraq and Morocco. The immigrants coming for reunification are in general excluded from welfare benefits programs and have to provide economically by themselves, alone or with the help of the family.

The Receiving Unit has a special program for the immigrants that have to sustain themselves. As of January 2001 there were 1670 persons “active” in this group. This program consists in an individual action plan for integration in the labour market. In this group about 60 per cent is unemployed despite the fact that two-thirds have at least a secondary (high school) education (Graph 1).

**Graph 1:** Educational background of self-sustaining immigrants

![Graph 1](image)

**Source:** Modtageenheden årsrapport 2001 (Receiving Unit, Yearbook 2001), Copenhagen

Within the group with no educational background whatsoever the unemployment rate is as high as 91 per cent. However, even the group with a high education, although obtained in the country of origin and therefore not recognised in Denmark, has the second-highest
unemployment rate. It should be taken into account that usually this group is more reluctant to take jobs that falls severely below their initial qualifications. Of the 1670 immigrants registered in the Copenhagen Receiving Unit that are obliged to provide for themselves, only half are considered “active”, i.e. either employed or looking for job.

The socio-economic status of the foreigners living in Copenhagen shows some distinct patterns when divided into categories of country of origin. The ones coming from less developed countries have a lower economic and working status compare to the rest of the population, and to the foreigners coming from richer countries. They earned only 62 per cent of the average salary of Danes. This is due firstly to the fact that this group of immigrants is younger on the average. Secondly, twice as many (41 per cent) as the rest of the population are outside the workforce for other reasons than retirement or temporary reasons. Also a high share of foreigners from the European Union or the United States are outside the labour market, but his is especially due to fact that they are studying at Danish universities as exchange students. Participation in the labour market, whether employed or unemployed but looking for job, is highly correlated to the level of education (Table 7).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No educ.</th>
<th>Primary educ.</th>
<th>Secondary educ.</th>
<th>Vocat. training</th>
<th>Short higher educ.</th>
<th>Medium/long higher educ.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Immigrants and descendants with a Danish education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside workforce</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Danes</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside workforce</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Immigrants with no education/ no information can have a foreign education. Due to rounding, sums of percentages may not correspond to 100.
Among the immigrants, those with a foreign education have an even weaker association with the labour market than those with a degree obtained in Denmark (Table 8).

Table 8: Labour market for foreigners according to foreign education level (16-66 years old), 2001.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No educ.</th>
<th>Primary educ.</th>
<th>Secondary educ.</th>
<th>Vocat. training</th>
<th>Short higher educ.</th>
<th>Medium/long higher educ.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside workforce</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The problem of recognition of foreign education is a central issue, which even within the European Union is not solved yet. This is a problem that has not been tackled by the authorities, but which has important implications for the welfare system, and that shows the high level of under-exploitation of the human resources available in the labour market.

2.2.2. The reconstruction and analysis of the exclusion paths of immigrants in Copenhagen

2.2.2.1. Introduction
According to government sources and the local non-governmental organisations (NGOs), illegal immigrants in Denmark are almost non-existent due to the unfavourable climate, especially during the winter, which makes the country less attractive as a place to live under precarious shelters. Illegal immigration mainly involves female prostitution.
The sample of immigrants surveyed in Denmark included only people with a legal permission to stay in the country. Social exclusion in Denmark seems to occur despite the possession of official residence permit, a job and knowledge of the language, and is object of an intense public debate which official solution has been presented in part one (the integration law). The aim of this section is to present and analyse the information obtained through the interviews with the immigrants with the aim to understand how social exclusion actually occurs and in which way immigrants try to overtake it. In the text box some parts of the interviews are written-down in order to give "voice" to the immigrants through their answers.

The people interviewed had either limited residence permit or permanent residence permit; some had Danish nationality. In all these cases housing and minimum economical income are not the primary problems in relation to livelihood, although this is expected to change once the recent law reducing welfare benefits income will begin to show its effects.

The interviews focused mainly on topics related to ‘information’, i.e. access, and ‘integration’, i.e. inclusion and acceptance, being these considered the key to the general problem of social exclusion in Denmark. Then, the interviewed were asked about their ways to overcome the difficulties encountered in the insertion in the local society. It is important to stress from the outset that compared to other countries in the European Union, especially the Mediterranean countries, in Denmark the migratory issue and the conditions of the immigrants in society present completely different problems.

In relation to information about the functioning of the Danish welfare system and bureaucracy the frustration among immigrants is very high. Information is not systematised, in the sense that the sources are very fragmented, and often communications are in Danish, despite the awareness of the local authorities on the lack of knowledge of the Danish language among wide groups of immigrants. In these instances, immigrants rely on the help of Danish friends or relatives, or the Danish
language teacher. In other cases, they use private organisations such as "centre for immigrant women" (indvandrerkvindecentret). In relation to inclusion in society the frustration of the immigrants is due instead to the stigmatisation occurring in the media, which equalises immigrants with criminals creating fear and prejudices among Danes. Most of the interviewed express a hope that this image will change and that people will become more tolerant and able to accept differences.

2.2.2.2. Methodological considerations and background of the immigrants interviewed

Description of the sample
The persons interviewed are twenty-two, of which eighteen are first generation immigrants and four are second generation. Of them twelve are employed or studying while the rest is unemployed. Geographically they come from Afghanistan, Turkey, Pakistan, Iraq, Kuwait, Brazil, Japan, the United States, Uganda, Somalia and the Philippines. The youngest is twenty-five years old and the eldest fifty-five. There are twelve women and ten men.

Brief methodological remarks
Due to the peculiarity of the Danish case in relation to Spain and Italy it was necessary to modify and add some parts of the interview-guide. The adjustments implied the introduction of questions in relations to the issues of integration and the welfare system. Particularly, less emphasis was put on the economic aspects, since the people interviewed are legally in the country and therefore benefit at least from the minimum income granted by the State. Then, another small adjustment was made in order to include in the sample second-generation immigrants or refugees, since in those cases there was no need to ask about the reasons for choosing Denmark or about their migration project. Then, it is important to stress
that especially in the case of refugees, questions about a traumatic escape from the country of origin have in some cases proven to be too sensitive. Despite these modifications, the interview guide present still its original character and does not hinder the possibility to compare the results with the other two cases analysed in the research.

The interview-guide is divided in sections according to the chronology of the history of the interviewed. The chronology has proven to be a useful tool providing information on different problems and accordingly, different coping strategies at different points in time of their migratory project. The information have then been clustered in three groups:

- The migratory project and its trajectory;
- The general information about the first period of life in Denmark;
- The special events/cases particularly linked to the Danish context.

In this way it was possible to identify the condition of the immigrant before coming to Denmark and the motivation and goals behind the migratory projects. Then, the information about education, language, labour market and unemployment, have been used to describe the living conditions of the immigrants in Copenhagen. Special emphasis was given to the information about networks, information and integration. Finally, the ‘special cases’ in the Danish context are mainly related to the condition affecting groups of second-generation immigrants.

The Information gathered have been ordered according to two criteria: a) relevance and b) compatibility.

- Relevance. Relevant information are those that:
  - Provide a picture of the problems and successes that are mostly stressed by the interviewed;
  - Special episodes selected to emphasise the specificity of the Danish context (these include for example the parts regarding
the welfare system, information system, judicial system, integration law);

- Cover specific cases.

- Compatibility. By compatibility is meant that the information given reveal common issues in relation to what are the difficulties and how the immigrants overcome them. For example many people stressed that their national network is a solution to some problems, but for others this can be a problem because does not promote any contact with the local society.

References to the immigrants condition previous to the immigration project
The respondents have been chosen according to the country of origin mainly represented in Denmark, especially Turkey. The immigrants from Turkey can however be divided in two subgroups according to their ethnic background: Turkish and Kurdish. They are both of Turkish national origin, but until recently immigrants with a Kurdish background were often granted a stay in Denmark as political refugees. Today, despite the Kurdish-Turkish ethnic conflict has not been solved Denmark does not accept Kurds as political refugees any longer. The group of immigrants interviewed can be divided in either political refugee, or immigrants for economic reasons, or immigrants with a family reunification project. The stories of the refugees are very different in relation to their condition in the country of origin and in relation to their migratory project. Furthermore, among refugees the reasons for fleeing can vary enormously. However, once accepted in Denmark they all have a similar start, since the authorities have designed for them the common introductory programs.

The other groups of interviewed have some common denominators in relation to their migratory project, in fact, many of them came to Denmark in the Sixties and Seventies in search of work. They have lived in Denmark, established families, had children, etc., ever since. These are
the so-called first generation immigrants, which have a considerable knowledge of the local system and society, although many of them do not necessarily speak a fluent Danish but are able to handle everyday life situations, and seem satisfied with that. The limited knowledge of the Danish language in the groups of first-generation immigrants is also due to the fact that only recently the State has started to demand foreigners to attend language courses (free of charge). This group of immigrants have a large network of people from the same country or even the same region. However, the children of this group of immigrants present a different situation. The large majority of them is born in Denmark and have Danish passport, or in some cases have two passports 20. The descendant is the group upon which the media have focused intensively in the last years 21, and due to its visibility in terms of number and actions in society, it represents a very sensitive issue for policy-makers.

Migratory projects and trajectories
The migratory project differs according to the type of immigrants group. In the case of refugees the place of destination is usually unknown, especially for the “quota refugees” 22, and the most important goal is to reach a peaceful and safe place to live. The main need to live a safe life motivates them to overcome the difficulties they may face in this new and very different context and thus feel less frustrated. Expectations are very few at the beginning, mainly safety and peace, and do not necessarily depend upon the place where they live. In a later stage the refugees realise that the

**Box 1 – From a Somali refugee:** “I did not have many expectations, except peace, when I came. Everything was very different, and I was very sad and missed home. I wanted to go home, but life goes on, and things change. My expectations for the future? I am dreaming of a good life here or in Somalia. If there will be peace in Somalia it would be nice to go back. But I also think about education and possibilities for the kids. Safety is the most important thing when deciding where to live”.

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possibilities offered in terms of education or job opportunities are higher in Denmark then in the country of origin, especially when thinking about the future of their children. This pushes them to stay, despite the changed conditions in their country of origin (for example in the case of the Latin Americans that came in the Seventies), and increases their level of expectations. We can add that long-term refugees often remain in Denmark also because the social networks in the country of origin has almost disappeared after such long absence, or have grown-up children in Denmark, which makes difficult the “reintegration” project.

In the case of immigrants arrived for family reunification purposes the expectations about life in Denmark were different due to their previous, although limited, knowledge about the country. The expectation about a job related to the level and type of education is very common, though these dreams vanish very fast.

It is rather difficult to find a common project among the immigrants. However, when they had the choice to select Denmark they were pushed by factors such as political and economic stability, better job and educational opportunities. In the specific case of immigrants with separated family the motivation was mainly the reunification. Once in the country the immigrants enter soon in contact with the local authorities. The immigrants that came for family reasons declared to have had fewer contacts due to their already established social network.

The migration has put them in a position in their course of life where they had to “start all over again” or change completely direction. The lack of knowledge of the Danish language upon the arrival has put them in a vulnerable condition in regards to the labour market.

Age plays also an important role in the immigration trajectory. Elderly migrants are less preoccupied with education as a solution to their problems. They rather have the job as primary need. The type of jobs that immigrants obtain is usually low skilled and low wage. The reasons for this are many and not only related to language skills or education. In some cases the problem is related to the lack of recognition of their foreign degrees.
It is not uncommon that an immigrant will modify the attitude towards the type of job available, and eventually getting a different type of education. For example, a former student of law decided to become in Denmark a social pedagog, since the original objective to help poor people can be still fulfilled, although in a different way. Younger people are instead rather focused on the attainment of higher level of education than enter into the lower segments of the labour market. Younger immigrants adapt also faster to the new conditions and their period of “incubation” into the welfare state is usually shorter than for the elderly people.

*Socio-economic conditions of the immigrants interviewed in Copenhagen*

Authorities provide housing for the refugees, otherwise the family or ethnic network help the immigrants to find an accommodation. This is a necessary condition for a separated relative to re-join the family in Denmark. Housing conditions for the immigrants interviewed is not a major issue. Other aspects such as education, language skills and a job are identified as the most important problems to be solved in order to attain a better social and economic position in society. In relation to education the main problem lays in the difficulty to achieve the level of written and spoken Danish that is necessary to enter public schools.

**Box 2 - Similar views:** “My wife found a school for me and I started learning the language. But then I got a job and I worked there two months. It was hard and I could not continue to study at the same time”.

...Or: “According to the integration programme I should be in school fulltime, and I do not like that and have taken a break. Then there is no chance to do other things like see my friends, and work voluntarily. I don’t think I get integrated into the Danish society if I don’t see any people. I Think I learn more Danish here than in the school. I’m much more interested in learning the issues related to my interest, and I can learn Danish much better here than at school - at least at this level; where I can speak and function. I want to see the outside of the world”.
Higher education is in Denmark provided free of charge but to enter the education system, universities as well as shorter educations, is necessary to pass a language test (Danish Two), which is rather difficult. For this reason, immigrants remain stock in the language schools for years, increasing the financial burden of the financing institutions. Even though courses in Danish are today offered free of charge to immigrants, the level of attendance diminishes after the first months. This is either because the quality of the courses was considered below the expectations, or less linked to the real need of daily life, or because it was difficult to combine the course with a job and the family. Taking into account that to obtain a permanent residence permit immigrants can miss only 15 per cent of the classes, the frustration about it is very high. Furthermore, language courses are available only during daytime, which means during normal working hours. The younger feel that the language courses are not very attractive and they lack other kind of stimuli coming from the outside world. The implementation of the integration law in 1999, introducing for everybody a three-years activity to integrate in “Danish society” caused people to leave because the plan was too long and boring. The immigrants feel that traditional teaching, in heterogeneous classes, is not very helpful if not supported by other initiatives aiming to establish the connections with the labour market or society in general. The lack of voluntary work schemes or internship in Danish companies or organisations represents a major obstacle in the implementation of the integration program. Also, scholastic Danish language is not necessarily better than the Danish learnt in the social and working environment chosen by the immigrant. In other cases the lack of support from the municipal authorities in the following up of the integration activities has represented a source of

Box 3 - Opposite views: “I gave up in language school, because they were bad. They were very theoretical and as soon as you leave the class you don’t use it...”. …Or: “The courses were free and excellent!”
discouragement, which led to giving up. The programs are in principle individual in the sense that they are based on a personal and individual action plan, but the services and programs offered, are standardised. From the interviews, it emerged also the problem related to the lack of recognition by the Danish authorities of the education obtained in the country of origin. Even immigrants from countries that have a similar educational system have faced difficulties, regardless from the type of education.

However, the problem to find the “first job” is similar for both Danes and immigrants (first or second-generation). Increasingly people do not get the jobs they were educated to do, at least not after having demonstrated a certain working experience (which is in fact paradoxical). In the case of immigrants groups, the situation is worse since they cannot even use their higher education, or if they have a Danish degree are discriminated on the bases of their ethnic background. As pointed out by some interviewed, the poor Danish is often used as an excuse by the employer to deny even a job interview, even for some kind of low skilled jobs where language is objectively not a determinant competence to carry out the job tasks. Discrimination occurs also in the work place and creates frustrations or forces the immigrant to leave, and therefore start again with the job searching activity. These problems are faced also from very “active” immigrants. An interviewed declared that despite having attended several courses and participated to internship schemes is still without an occupation.

_Unemployment and underemployment_

Immigrants register the highest level of unemployment in the Danish labour market. This is perceived as a major problem for both economic reasons, the burden for the state, but also for the integration policy set forward by the Ministry of Integration.
The problem of unemployment is common to most of the people interviewed. It can be particularly difficult to find a job especially if an immigrant or refugee has just arrived and does not have a network of friends and relatives. Second-generation immigrants register lower unemployment rates than the newcomers, or the first generation immigrants, although it is still higher than that of the Danes. A main problem is that the job found is not always rewarding in relation to the educational level. In particular foreign workers are highly underemployed since their competences are not used in the most efficient way due the lack of recognition of their curriculum of study.

**The special case: second-generation immigrants**
Second-generations or descendants represent the special cases of the survey. Among the younger second-generation immigrants, who have grown up in Denmark and see the comparison with the Danes in a more complex and conflictual way, the levels of frustrations are higher. The first generation is instead more satisfied once got a job that enables them to provide the family and make them feel useful. Second-generation immigrants have also raised the issue of discrimination due to their family name. When they apply for a job, the employer can easily spot that they have a foreign background and according to them for this reason they are denied the job.

**Box 4 - As an American put it:**
“I tried to have the Danish authorities to recognise some of my education from the US, but they don’t here. It’s very difficult to get the approval of educations taken in other countries. I also hear it from other people that almost nothing is recognised. It doesn’t matter what it is, pilots, engineers, molecular biology, and they are all driving taxis”.

**Or a woman from Iraq:**
“The education from Iraq cannot be used here. The pedagogical form is too different. Here I have to learn new things and the way that the Danes are working. It will not be difficult for me”.

However, it is difficult to separate between the real discrimination towards foreigners and the attitude of renounce by the young immigrants that feel stigmatised. The combination of these factors is often at the base of an escalation in the level of tension between Danes and second-generation immigrants.

On the one hand, companies are often reluctant to employ immigrants because of their inferior language skills. On the other hand it is also hard for a young immigrant to acknowledge that they just have to fight harder to get a job.

It seems especially unfair to the second-generation immigrants who grew up in Denmark, and consider themselves just as Dane as anyone else who are born in Denmark. This stigma is emphasised in Denmark by the media that too often associate the fact to have a different ethnic background with criminal behaviours.

Therefore the labour market (and society in general) presents barriers that overcome the language or cultural differences, and for which the immigrants are not the one to be blamed for. Furthermore, the “stigmatisation” created by the media produces among second-generation immigrants the feeling that being different means to be doomed to fail.

Box 5 - A common problem:
Internship and getting into the companies is impossible - only if it is a "workshop" that is owned by an immigrant.

It’s just like the practical educations where you have a lot (relatively) of immigrants studying they have to get an internship in a company. If they don’t get that they will fall-out because of the lower qualifications. If their Danish friends have internship places and they don’t, who do you think the companies will take?

The problem suggests that there is reluctance on the part of the companies. But it also reveals that there is a “stigma” effect, on the part of the youth: Many of the young girls and boys don’t have very high expectations; they are also victims of the media. They say that it will be difficult to get a job afterwards even before they tried. They already think that they don’t fit in the system, and are already giving up before even trying. This happens to just as many Danes. It’s not only because the companies are discriminating.
2.2.2.3. Social network and survival livelihood strategies

When analysing the trajectory of the immigration project a central aspect is the strategies implemented to overcome the difficulties and obstacles encountered. A main asset of the immigrant, which can produce both positive and negative effects, is believed to be the whole set of social relationships. The social network can have different level of formalisation. Two important types of networks have been identified in the research:

- Social networks;
- Institutional networks.

Social networks

Social networks are based on family, friends and work colleagues. These networks are of great importance to all our respondents for personal matters, for solving daily problems, and for economic and social problems.

In particular, the immigrants interviewed have claimed that this type of network is very important to find a job. However, these networks can also play the opposite function limiting the ability to access the opportunities available in the system (such as for example training schemes, language courses or education upgrading courses), or by giving a biased image of the local society.

The immigrant is then locked into a milieu that does not help to improve his/her condition. Negative attitude and feeling of renounce are especially

Box 6 - Opposite situations:

"I lived in Odense but I left, I ran away from my family structure and the whole milieu. Because the people I was with there, where not cultivated in any way. I had many friends, both Danes and foreigners, but it was more partying and trouble. And they did not think of any education. I was maybe a little different".

Or:

"Support was very important for the success of my education, support from the family. But it was also because some others in my neighbourhood were doing the same, i.e. study. So there was someone to look up to".
teeming in immigrant families with low expectations from life. The influence of the family and the neighbourhood is an acknowledged factor in the upbringing regardless of the ethnic background. The housing policies implemented in the Sixties have created large ghettos areas in the periphery of the main urban centres, which are the places where the level of conflict between young Danes and foreigners is higher.

Friends and acquaintances represent as well an important source of information and a way into the labour market for many of the immigrants, both first and second-generation. The network is useful to find the first job, which is usually low paid and low skilled, with no career opportunities and often between the formal and informal system, which reduces the social security of the workers.

The extended family plays a central role among communities of immigrants, both for personal economic support and in case of sudden expenses, such as travels to the home country, funerals, etc. Family is also the primary source in case of investments in a new economic activity. Family represents also the place where basic education and moral support is found.

For many second-generation young immigrants their cultural traditions are instead a reason of tension within the family. Their way of life and values are increasingly assimilated to that of the Danes, which generally cause identity crises and in some case leads to conflicting situations. Second-generation immigrants face thus hard conditions both outside, not being or feeling accepted by society, and at home due to the clash with their parents.

In Denmark the exclusion of immigrants from participation to the Danish welfare system, educational system and labour market has been usually related to this lack of assimilation into the Danish cultural models. The situation is instead more complex and involves not only the community of foreigners but the larger community of Danes as well as. If on the one hand, there is a lack of understanding of different traditions and social organisations by the Danish policy-makers, on the other there is
a lack of participation or immobility by the community of immigrants in society, despite the fact that they do not have to hide from the authorities. For example, Danish law defines a typical family as the two parents and two children. Families with more children receive less state support per person. Also in the case of more generations living together automatically the state support is reduced, despite the fact the might be actually cheaper for the state to keep an elderly person at home instead of providing care in a institution for elderly or through home support.

The immobility of the immigrants is evident in the participation to daily activities such as for example the running of the children-care institutions (*kindergarten*). For example, in Denmark there is a tradition for participating in all kinds of boards: primary schools, *kindergarten*, sport-clubs, etc. The presence of immigrant parents in these institutions is quite limited, despite the fact that the lack of participation to these activities has also repercussion on the children (the second-generation) that feel less equipped than their Danish companions. It might also be that public institutions have not yet prioritised their participation in the civil society making appropriate measures. But it should be also taken into account that immigrant families do not have the same tradition to participate in civil society, besides the frustration created by their poor Danish that hinders them from doing it.

*Institutional networks*

Institutional networks are instead the set of relationships the immigrant entertain with the public sector authorities, the different institutions and organisations receiving and providing support to immigrants such language schools, local NGOs, etc. The general perception of the immigrants on the level of services offered is quite good, although the access to the system is often very difficult. For example, they confirm that there is a gap between what is decided by the laws and their practical application by the local authorities. This attitude is linked to the fact that the local officer can be very arbitrary in the solution that can be applied to
a specific case. The laws of social services do to some extent leave room for interpretation to the social worker or the case officer handling the case. This leaves the immigrants that do not know the system well in a vulnerable position. However, often a conflicting relation with the authorities is due to the immigrant lack of knowledge of how the system actually works. Sometimes immigrants feel discriminated, but instead the same rules applied to Danes as well. Therefore, the lack of flexibility in the system claimed by the interviewed is not completely true, but instead reflect the conflicting relationship that can exist between the assisted and the assisting institution.

The understanding of integration among immigrants
When asked, many of the respondents consider themselves enough integrated into society when their basic needs are satisfied. Some lack connections with Danes, which is believed to be helpful when it is necessary to deal with the authorities. Language is in fact the main barrier when dealing with the state. Otherwise, from a social life point of view it is not considered essential to know Danes to have a nice life in Denmark. However, for the immigrants interviewed to be integrated does not mean to be accepted by the Danes. Many pointed out that according to the politicians, the laws, the media and many Danes integration means in practice assimilation. They all feel that they have the right to maintain their traditions and look different from the majority population and yet be fully integrated in the Danish society. The self-perception of being foreigner is therefore assuming a negative connotation, instead of being considered as a fact, especially for the second-generation immigrants. In the worst cases integration is perceived as restrictions and demands imposed on the immigrants by the authorities. For example, if they do not follow the language courses or show up at the meetings with the municipality, they are denied further financial support. But on the opposite, there are very few sanctions, if any,
towards the perpetrators of discrimination on the labour market and in other sectors of civil society.

The public debate and the media is contributing to this perception since integration, is still regarded as assimilation to Danish traditions, language and cultural models, and it is presented as the *conditio sine qua non* a foreigner is granted the right to live in Denmark. As a result, this strategy implemented by the media and the Government puts the blame on the immigrants if they do not find a proper job or are denied the social welfare.

Nevertheless, the interviewed have good expectations towards the possibility of a change in the general debate, although they are very aware that the hidden barriers that an alien will always face in this society will never disappear. For second-generation immigrants this problem is more evident, since they can reflect upon the differences between their cultural models and those of the Danes in a different way then their parents. Social barriers are as stronger as language and physical differences.

These people are born in Denmark, and even though they speak another language at home, many categorise the Danish language as the one they are most comfortable with in reading and writing. They pay taxes and know their rights and duties. Still, they are not equally accepted in the labour market and in the public sphere they are stigmatised as criminals. This again points to the fact that integration in the Danish context is understood as a one-way process of assimilation of the aliens in the local society. And that the local society is a dominant one to which foreigners have to conform, and that despite the achievement of integration according to the Ministry of Integration, an immigrant will always be excluded from certain positions.
2.2.3. Effects of policies on exclusion trajectories in Copenhagen

2.2.3.1. General overview of the service providers

In Denmark there are private and public institutions and organisations, as well as joint public-private projects, offering support and care to the needy segments of the immigrants community. Although the role of the public institutions is still central, it is believed that civil society in Denmark will play an increasingly important role due to the withdrawal of the state from some basic functions and services.

The institutions offering support can be classified in the following way:

- Public institutions;
- National NGOs and Trade Unions;
- Small and locally based organisations, national clubs and other private and semi-private organisations;
- Other services.

Public institutions

Both governmental and municipal institutions provide services for immigrants. The responsibilities are split between the central administration and the municipalities in order to avoid duplications of services. The immigrants in need of social support have the same rights under the laws of social services and active labour market policy.

Following the implementation of the “integration law” in 1999, the municipalities have the overall responsibility of the “integration” for the first three years of an immigrant’s life in Denmark, provided that they are not economically independent. The State has instead the overall responsibility regarding the issuing of residence and working permits, then the cases are handed over to the municipalities for the integration plan. The municipalities are obliged to work out a three-year integration or action plan together with the newcomer when he or she first arrives. Depending upon its size the municipality may have an “Integration-unit”
otherwise the social workers in the municipality are in charge of taking care of this phase.

In many municipalities where there is not an integration unit the social workers, or case officers, deal with both immigrants and Danes. Therefore, the service cannot really be defined as a service only for immigrants. Due to its size in terms of population, Copenhagen has a special ‘Receiving Unit’ that handle all matters concerning the new immigrants in Copenhagen. The immigrants come here to define the integration plan, which includes planning the schedule of attendance to the language course and to the course about society and culture in Denmark. Goals for job seeking activities or education are set. The Receiving Unit provides also open counselling once a week where the immigrants can contact the social workers for problems related to their integration plan or other legal matters. The Receiving Unit aims to have follow-up meetings with all immigrants in the municipalities during the three-years period of the integration plan.

Copenhagen does not accept any longer refugees, although a small number of refugees were recently accepted in Copenhagen, due to their severe health problems that required large hospitals. The only immigrants that can be received are those looking for family-reunification. In this case the family has the economic responsibility for the first three years. The public authorities finance only the language school. The family of the refugee that is coming to Denmark will have complete support from the state. A large share of the family-reunification in Copenhagen was with refugees, and in this case the municipality sustains the cost of the integration.

The immigrants who have been in the country for more than three years have either permanent residence or Danish citizenship. Despite on the judicial level they are on the same level as Danes, the type of services they require is sometimes different. In certain areas of Copenhagen there have been projects with the aim of separating the working programmes for the immigrants from that designed for the Danes, acknowledging the
fact that immigrants face different problems. An example is the ‘integration-house’ in one district of Copenhagen where there is a concentration of immigrants with a low standard of living. In the ‘integration-house’ the social workers have specialised in dealing with immigrants and refugees, who sometimes have different types of problems on top of the weak socio-economic position.

A common problem among immigrants lays in the difficulty in understanding the bureaucracy, its rules and regulation. This is mainly linked to the language barriers. Language is a sensitive issue in particular for the elderly immigrants – and especially women. In the integration house the social workers spend more time to deal with these problems, compared to what happens in the municipality offices, which might result in a better services to the immigrants.

Unfortunately, according to a social worker in the integration house, the house is about to close since the government imposed a tax-stop at national and municipal level in the beginning of 2002, which has resulted in a lack of financial resources to continue initiatives such as the integration-house.

These projects are usually experimental by targeting a “new” social problem or seeking to solve an existing social problem in a new manner. The funds available for all social projects in 2003 are approximately 431 millions of DKr. Out of these funds 11 millions are specifically targeted at integration measures.

Some educational institutions have given priority to projects and programmes that should improve the immigrants’ possibilities to find a job. An example is a school that educates professional pedagogues. A special introduction year for immigrants has the aim of preparing them to study in the Danish educational system and upgrade their knowledge if they have not studied for many years, or lack the needed qualifications for the type of education chosen. Immigrants who have not yet passed the Danish Two test, required to enter a higher education institution in Denmark, will receive extra classes in Danish language. Other educational
institutions have educations in English, which make it easier for some groups of immigrants to take and finish an education.

National NGOs
In Denmark two large national NGOs located in Copenhagen are involved with both refugees and immigrants: the Danish Refugee Council (DRC) and the Danish Red Cross. Before the integration law of 1999 entered into force, the responsibility for newcomers belonged to the State that outsourced this task to the national NGOs who took care of the refugees once they were granted asylum. Red Cross takes care of the asylum seekers, providing shelters and camps until they are accepted or rejected as refugees. DRC administered the housing benefits and the introductory Danish courses for one year and a half. Since 1999, the municipalities had the full responsibility for the refugees and DRC transformed the integration unit to a consulting firm called “integration network for refugees’ (F.I.N), offering expertise to municipalities.

Both organisations have a widespread network of volunteers all over the country. The volunteers are organised in regional groups where they organise different services such as help for homework and computing training, help with filling out forms and understand bureaucracy. They also organise social events between Danes and immigrants and run places called “safe heavens” or “activity centres” where the immigrants can hang out, cook, sew or just socialise. The youth department of Red Cross also runs clubs for young people, and specific clubs for young girls.

Volunteers in these organisations play a major role in the activities of the Danish Refugee Council. In Copenhagen there is an open counselling unit for refugees run by volunteers. The counselling is open four nights a week and refugees and immigrants can get advise from social workers, lawyers, psychologists, social scientists and students from these disciplines who are about to finish their studies. The counselling-service is very popular and has a broad diversity of users. Information about the counselling is available at libraries and at the municipality. However, most of the
immigrants seem to find the counselling through the ‘mouth to mouth’ method. People visit the counsellors for very different reasons. Some need help to fill in forms and others come to discuss more personal problems that cannot be discussed in the family. If a problem is too complicated or if it concerns issues outside the authorisation of the counselling service the counsellors can contact the social workers in the municipality (if the people involved agree) or send him or her to other counselling-services. Trade unions are also starting to play a role in the integration of immigrants in the labour market. Within the programs offered for qualifying unemployed members to get better jobs, Unions have courses specifically designed for immigrants. These courses teach the immigrant technical skills and language skills, with the aim to move the language classes at the working station. This plan, although innovative, has revealed feasible only within large enterprises hosting a sufficient amount of foreigners to justify economically the classes.

Locally based organisations
There are a great number of small organisations that provide different support and services to immigrant. Often these organisations have limited target groups such as for example young or elderly people, specific nationalities, or only men or women. It is difficult to have a complete picture of all the organisations and clubs in Copenhagen, since not all of them produce information material or have an internet homepage. The majority are national associations, such as the Turkish association in Nørrebro (a district of Copenhagen), or friendship associations, such as for example the Danish-Cuban friendship association. Many of the organisations are under two major umbrella organisations: IndSam and POEM. These umbrella organisations have a certain influence in the public debate and their representatives are widely used as “experts” by the media in television debates and political hearings.
In a central area of Copenhagen, where many immigrants live, there is a centre for female immigrants and a club for Somali men. The centre for
female immigrants is a private organisation that has existed for more than twenty years. It is located in a large apartment where women can be received during daytime for the whole week. It is run by few employed people and hosts many volunteers and trainees. The organisation is run with private funds, and fund raising occupies a large amount of time of the employed staff. At the moment it is mostly Somali women who come. The women come to socialise but also to discuss specific topics such as school system or the children safety. Many women also bring official letters and bills to the Centre to get an explanation or translation of the content. The organisation works also to establish contact with private companies. The club for Somali men is also a private initiative and the users are all Somali. The club is open from morning to evening seven days a week and functions as a place where Somali immigrants come to socialise. The youngest or the ones that have been longer in Denmark help the other for understanding official letters, homework for language courses, etc.

A different type of organisation is the one called "Foreningen til integration af nydanskere på arbejdsmarkedet" (The association for integration of new Danes in the labour market). This fairly new organisation has the objective to create better possibilities for immigrants and descendant to enter the labour market. The members are employers, private companies and public institutions who are willing to work for a better integration of immigrants and descendants. Immigrants can place their curriculum vitae in a database and are offered support for preparing for example to a job interview.

Other services
Some companies have realised that they can play a big role in the integration of immigrants and have taken initiatives to employ more people with foreign backgrounds, especially larger companies in the cleaning industry, manufacturing industries and public transportation. With training courses designed especially for foreigners and sometimes combined with language-courses, these companies have managed to
integrate the foreigners in the staff. The public offers financial support, as well as counselling for the companies.

Other initiatives providing relevant information to the community of immigrants are the Internet homepages (in many languages) run by both private and public organisations providing information about Denmark and the Danish welfare State.

2.2.3.2. Changing policies for immigrants in Copenhagen

Since its establishment, the current liberal government has given a clear signal that stricter measures will be applied to immigration and to those immigrants that do not work to meet the requirements set by the integration law.

However, the laws and the policies that affect immigrants have started to change drastically during the last four years, which implies a responsibility of the previous government as well.

The major change occurred in 1999 with the Integration Act, which transferred the responsibility of integration of all newcomers to municipalities. Previously, the Danish Refugee Council was contracted by the State to have the overall responsibility for all refugees during the first eighteen months of stay. At that time only refugees were supposed to join an integration plan, while the immigrants joining their family were not receiving any support.

The new law prolonged the integration period from one and a half year to three years, and include all immigrants. This was done also with the aim to keep the immigrant or the refugee under the control of the public institutions for a longer period. As stated by the interviewees in chapter 2 the plan in itself is good, but there are problems with inflexibility, and for some, it does not need to be three years. Several of the immigrants interviewed who came to Denmark before the entry of the integration law have a positive attitude towards the idea of an integration plan, and expressed disappointment that there were no such things when they
came. It would have given them a better understanding of their possibilities and learn the language faster than what they probably did. According to F.I.N in Copenhagen, there are both good and bad things in the system following the integration law. The good thing is that the refugees get a permanent place to live earlier than before. The municipalities have the responsibility of distributing rented apartments, thus they can easier than FIN find apartments. Also, the integration law prohibits that refugees live more than three months in temporary housing. The placement of the refugees in certain municipalities is also something that has changed with the integration law. When DRC managed the placement, some municipalities received many refugees and others none. The reason was partly practical and partly planned. DRC had to place people where they could find housing, and that was not easy in the rich municipalities where the cost of the rented apartments was higher. The refugees own priorities where considered important to DRC, and thus many chose to live where they had relatives or nationals. That procedure has been criticised for creating what often is referred to as ghettos because of the high concentration of immigrants in the peripheral areas of the big cities.

After the integration law, a quota system was implemented and each year the immigration office makes a plan for the amount of refugees each municipality can receive. With this new system refugees are spread all over the country, which may seem more reasonable for the municipalities. However, for the refugees this means that they do not have any influence on the decision on where they are supposed to live the first three years of their life in Denmark.

The laws made after the change of government in November 2001 have not yet shown much of their effect in the labour market. However, cuts in public expenditures will affect the special programmes for foreigners. Government has in fact decided to end the financial support to a number of projects and programmes targeted to immigrants.
Furthermore, the government has implemented a “no tax raises” program for the municipalities, meaning that government and municipalities cannot raise funds through new taxes. The problem is even more acute considering the general increase in spending in social welfare, due to an ageing population.

The reduction of welfare benefits will affect not only the newcomers but also those that have been here for a longer period, particularly immigrants and refugees who have been unemployed periodically or permanently. They will experience a significant decrease in their income.

Among the people interviewed in the organisations providing social services for immigrants the perception is that the new law is likely to cause problems for many families. The tightening of economic living-conditions may push some people to make a bigger effort in getting a job but it will also leave the relatively larger part of the low skilled with even lower possibilities to find a job, and become more dependent from the public services. Competition in the labour market is towards the lower qualified and lower paid jobs.

There has not yet been any new initiative that increases the immigrants’ possibilities to enter the labour market. Initiatives as the ‘integration-house’ are closing down and social workers dispose of fewer funds for helping the socially and economically marginalised people. Problems related to budget cuts are recorded in the voluntary counselling services where the number of people in economic difficulties asking for help has increased dramatically in the last six months.

Especially the families that are supporting a child or a partner that came for the re-unification are facing increasing economic difficulties. In the worse case they will be forced out of the country. Among the organisations interviewed it is the perception that this situation will lead to an increase in informal economic activities or social fraud.
2.2.3.3. Evaluation of the services provided

The services and possibilities for first generation and second-generation immigrants differ and so will the effects of the new legislation. For first generation immigrants it seems that there is a greater need for flexibility. Most of the interviewed people agree that it is good to start the Danish courses at an earlier stage and they like the idea of making an integration-plan. However, some have expressed frustrations about the limitation of the possibilities offered, as for example when a highly educated person is offered practical courses in cooking or in nursery.

The people at the Receiving Unit in Copenhagen, who pointed to the fact that they have very few things to offer the well educated, confirm this problem. Furthermore it is often the well educated that have the highest expectations and therefore also those ending up being most disappointed when they do not succeed in getting a job within their educational field. The problem is connected to the fact that an education obtained abroad is not recognised automatically by the authorities, although this is a problem that exists even within the European Union countries. In the best cases, with some extra courses the immigrants will be allowed to practice a job within their field. However, these courses cost money and within the first three years the immigrants that came for family re-unification have to pay themselves for everything that is not part of the integration-plan. An upgrading course can cost up to about 10,000 Euro per year, to which it should be added the missed income. Danish legislation makes it impossible for the Receiving Unit to recommend the Public sector to pay for the upgrading course during the first three years.

Especially in technical areas the competences learnt are lost very rapidly if not used, and so the possibilities to enter the labour market. The Receiving Unit regards the new policies for immigrants as passive and negative. The public sector should be able to offer immigrants holding diploma or higher education degrees the upgrading courses from the very outset instead of keeping immigrants on social welfare for the duration of the introductory programme. Increased flexibility in the services provided
would give a larger number of immigrants a chance to start working or achieve connection to the labour market, which will probably be more economically and socially viable.

Concerning second-generation immigrants the situation and the problems may be very different. Second-generation immigrants are relatively well aware of the functioning of the Danish welfare system, of the rules regulating it and they speak the language. Yet it emerged that they are also the least satisfied. Since most of them have been to Danish schools and had Danish teachers they even fulfil the most controversial of the integration criteria, which is the knowledge and understanding of Danish values and norms. The situation seems paradoxical, since the media often point out that it is the lack of knowledge about society that makes integration difficult to achieve.

Employers, public and private, seem reluctant to accept the diversity and the benefits that can stem from it. Some companies have started activities to employ more immigrants, but until now it is primarily in the low-skilled sector, where there is now a demand for labour, and which Danes are not willing to take. Second-generation immigrants have also more problems in getting an internship, sometimes a good complement of the education, or in getting a job after finishing school and university. This is due to a general sceptical attitude by the employers towards people with foreign names.  

This, it is not surprisingly that second-generation immigrants have lower economic status compared to the Danes.

Setting general criteria for integration may be a good way to promote it, but in the recommendations from the Ministry of integration there is a lack of focus upon the native Danes and their duties in the integration-process. Employers are not the only Danes who have a role to play, but neighbours and playmate’s parents can also take part. Integration can only be a two-way process and it is not enough to set criteria for the immigrants.

The media have a big responsibility in this process as well. If a non-prejudicial policy was implemented, immigrants would not always been categorised as a problem, and that could have helped to prevent social exclusion.
NOTES

1 A main qualitative change in the Danish political scene since 2001 is the inclusion of the populist right party, *Dansk Folkeparti* in the newly elected minority government—formerly considered as the extreme right wing party—without consensus and subject to “paria” status in the Parliament.

2 Translated from: *Lovens målsætning er at bidrage til, at nyankomne udlændinge sikres mulighed for deltagelse pålige fod med andre borgere i samfundets politiske, økonomiske, arbejdsmæssige, sociale, religiøse og kulturelle liv, samt at bidrage til, at nyankomne udlændinge hurtigt bliver selvforsorgende og får en forståelse for det danske samfunds grundlæggende værdier og normer (Årbog om udlændinge i Danmark 2001, Indenrigsministeriet).*

3 This is due to the fact that second-generation immigrants do not show a statistically significant difference in comparison with the first-generation, although descendents differ in various ways from first generation immigrants.


5 The Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs, 2001, p. 3-4.

6 Udlændingeloven §1, §7 and §8; Integrationsloven Kap.2 §4 stk. 2, 3 og 4.


10 *Rigspolitichefen* (the head office of police in Denmark) in an answer to a request by the Minister of Justice in the parliament. §20 Høringssvar 5503 Folketingssamling 2002/2.


12 The Immigration Authorities can dispense from this general rule if the refugees have special familiar relation to Copenhagen. In 2001 Copenhagen received 16 adult and 10 children refugees.

13 The larger Copenhagen area includes the municipality of Copenhagen and the municipalities in the surroundings. It has the same status as a county.

14 The population of Copenhagen city and that of Frederiksberg (an independent municipality within the territory of Copenhagen) amounts to 591,853 people in 2001.

15 The information contained in this section is taken from the material available, the
institutions’ internet home pages, and with the interviews with selected informant working in the organisations. In particular, the interviews with a public social worker, the representatives for the Copenhagen municipality ‘Receiving Unit’, the responsible for ‘The Integration Network for Refugees’ Copenhagen (Flygtninge Integrations Netværket) and a contact person for the voluntary advisory service for refugees in Copenhagen, provided further information about the functioning and the typology of the services offered. To this it has been added a visit to a club for Somali men, a visit to a class of immigrants attending a school for pedagogs, and a visit to a centre for female immigrants. A particular acknowledgement goes to the Indvandrer Kvindecentret and the Højvangsseminariatet, for the useful help provided during the field research.


About the specific services and volunteer groups, see the homepages of the two organisations: www.drc.dk and www.redcross.dk.

It is worth noting that Denmark often has become known as the country of organisations. Almost everybody with an idea and an objective start an organisation because the label ‘organisation’ makes it possible to apply for funds from public and private institutions. In this respect the huge amount of immigrant organisations can be seen as a consequence of integration!

The contact person for the voluntary counselling service pointed to the fact that the idea of a greater connection to the labour market in the integration phase may represent a good initiative, although very little has been done to implement this idea.

That is what almost all the interviewed have pointed out to be a major problem when applying for jobs.

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- Danmarks Statistik (2001) Befolkningen i kommunerne, København.
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INTERNET SOURCES

- www.statistikbanken.dk, Danmarks Statistik.
- www.akf.dk, Institute of local governments in Denmark.
2.3. The Spanish case
Lola López and Rafael Crespo

2.3.1. The size and features of the immigrant population in Spain
In this first section we will offer a brief summary to contextualize the migratory panorama of Spain and Barcelona City. We will also introduce references to Catalonia because of the existence therein of an autonomous Catalan government, the Generalitat, which holds administrative responsibilities in immigration issues, and this regional dimension has economic, social and territorial implications on the process of exclusion-inclusion.

2.3.1.1. The immigration context on a state level: Spain
Non-EU immigration has come to be one of the key items on political and social agendas of both government officials and civil entities. The first reason is because the Spanish State has become the gateway for two of the main immigration currents heading for the European Union: the African and Latin American ones; at the same time, there is evidence that it is also a key entryway for Asian migrants who reach Europe by way of the Mediterranean Sea. To understand the attention that is now given to the immigration phenomenon, there is another relevant factor to be taken into account, and that is the growth of the immigrant population itself and its "visibility" in public spaces. The host society perceives this process as a "surprise" phenomenon, since it did not expect it to happen, nor to grow as quickly as it has. Spanish society has had to acknowledge that on top of its own cultural diversity (Andalusians, Catalans, Castillians, Galicians, Basques, Valencians, etc.) another multicultural society has developed. This would explain why the assessment continues to be that of a "permanent novelty", which so far has characterised the response of public administrations to the challenges brought on by immigration. The process of adapting to a new socio-cultural context undergone by both the
immigrant population and the host population shows certain dark areas which could entail the risk of socially excluding a sizeable part of the non-EU population. However, before being able to analyse the data obtained in our fieldwork, it is necessary to provide general background information on the political scope and quantitative dimension of non-EU immigration in Spain and in the city of Barcelona.

**Immigration policy**
The Spanish government’s current immigration policy is based on the control of the influxes, and especially on regulating the entry of non-EU immigrants. As de Lucas has stated (2002), in Spain, instead of speaking about immigration policies, we should speak about a policy on aliens that defends borders and is instrumental in supplying the needs of the work market. That is why one of the pillars of the policy on aliens is the establishment of a quota system (popularly called “quotas”) which attempts to establish the number of foreign workers which the Spanish economy will need every year. However, the legal requirements and scarce administrative mechanisms put at work to implement the fulfilment of these quotas have hindered obtaining the permits assigned annually; in fact, in the year 2002 it was not possible to grant even 50% of the quota assigned to Catalonia.

In principle, the policy of incorporation, integration and accommodation of the foreign population within the Spanish state is determined by the *Ley de derechos y libertades de los extranjeros en España*, (Law of Rights and Freedoms of Foreigners in Spain), the so-called *Ley de Extranjería* (Law on Aliens) and by the *Programa Global de Regulación y Coordinación de la Extranjería y la Inmigración* (GRECO program: Global Program of Regulation and Coordination of Aliens and Immigration) which was to develop actions in response to the economic, housing, social and cultural needs of immigrant population, as well as racism-prevention policies actively promoting intercultural coexistence. The plan approved in 2001 has not been provided with a sufficient budget to execute the foreseen
actions- for example, it was not until the end of 2002 that a program was approved to establish shelters for non-EU immigrants in Catalonia, where so far there is no resource of this type\(^2\). The project springs from an agreement between the Spanish government and the Generalitat of Catalonia, and will be carried out by the Cáritas and Red Cross organisations. Nevertheless, Spanish policy on foreign immigration is conditioned by EU guidelines, and will continue to be so in the future. Since the Schengen agreements (1992) and all other posterior guidelines (agreements of Ámsterdam, Tempere and Seville) there seems to exist a will to organise a common policy on aliens and immigration, which for the time being is based on harmonising the control of borders and the establishment of a database on immigrants without permits and foreign criminals. In fact, the Spanish government accepts guidelines which will hamper historical relations with some of the countries of origin of certain immigrant groups, as is the case of requiring visas for Latin American citizens.

*The quantitative dimension of immigration*
Since the 1970’s, the Spanish state has undergone an important migration transition, going from being an emigrating society to being a land of immigration. This transformation is easily observed in statistical data, although it is important to bear in mind the specificities of the Spanish system for gathering and divulging data. Regarding statistical treatment, it is somewhat difficult to have access to updated data on the situation in Spain; until the end of the nineties the Observatory of Immigration gave access to statistical findings, but at present this service is at a standstill, waiting for the government’s announcement that it would reopen to come true. Depending on the source\(^3\), the most updated data may be from the years 2000, 2001 or 2002. Therefore, to carry out a comparative analysis of data, we have to refer to years in which we count on having all sources equally updated. The lack of harmonisation in the criteria employed to draw up statistical
tables makes it harder to carry out a thorough analysis of these, thus limiting effective comparison among them. According to official State statistics, residents are those individuals who are recorded in the Register of foreigners, and who must have their papers in order to be able to be registered. On a municipal level, the term residents is applied to those people actually living in the municipality, or who are at least registered in the municipal census list of inhabitants and who do not need to legalise their situation in order to register. At present, foreign immigration in Spain exhibits the same main traits of the rest of international migrations:

- **Globalization.** Spain is one of the centers of immigration networks on a world scale. Apart from being a land in which immigrant population settles, it is one of the transit areas for the fluxes from Africa, America, Asia and Europe. At the same time, circumstances such as the delocalization and transcontinental expansion of companies now also form part of the Spanish economy. Its membership in the European Union conditions its migration policies. Within the Spanish state and Catalonia, the city of Barcelona has functioned and functions as a place of entry and distribution of immigrant population. Barcelona is one of the centers of international migration networks due to its location near the French border and to the fact that it has an international harbour and airport; but it is also due to being one of the settling areas for immigrant population. The existence of colonies allows one to arrive, find shelter, go elsewhere, and come back if the experience has not been positive.

- **Diversification.** The diversity of nationalities among immigrants is growing everyday. Aside from the plurality of origins, current influxes do not fit into one sole model: there are war refugees, refugees seeking economic asylum, skilled and unskilled workers, students, executives, and businessmen, etc. Age groups are also expanding: there are minors who immigrate on their own and minors
who arrive to be reunited with their families or to be adopted, while the number of retirees from Northern and Central European countries living in Southern states increases.

- **Acceleration.** The number of immigrants is growing exponentially. Between 1975 and 1997, the number of foreign residents (those who have a residence permit) went from 165,000 to 610,000. This is an annual growth rate of 10%. If we take data from the National Institute of Statistics as a reference, as of December 31, 2001, the figure had gone up to 1,572,017 foreign citizens residing in the Spanish state, which means that the foreign population had needed less than four years to multiply its forces by two and a half times. Of these, 360,181 residents are from the European Union and the rest are non-EU citizens (1,211,836). In other words, 3.83% of the resident population in Spanish territory is foreign. This growth process is one of the most striking ones within the European Union; according to Eurostat, 22.1% of the foreigners who arrived in the European Union in 2001 settled in Spain, a proportion only surpassed by Germany, where 22.4% settled. This percentage acquires even greater relevance if we take into account the fact that there are 40 million people living in Spain, whereas in Germany the population goes up to 82.5 million people.

On a scale of nationalities, Moroccan citizens form the largest community (247,872 individuals, 15.8% of the total foreign population). The next largest group is that of Equatorians (216,465 making up 13.8% of the total figure) followed by Colombians (160,096 making up 10.2%). The next in order are the British (94,860), Germans (78,017), Romanians (57,533), Argentinians (47,656) and French (46,891).

- **Feminization.** Women are increasingly participating in migration processes, either via family regrouping or as a result of their own initiative. More than half of the foreign residents is still male, however. The proportion is greater among non-EU immigrants (52% of whom are men) than among those from the European Union (50.4%).
• **Structural element.** Immigration has been, is and will be a structural element of the economy, history and culture of Catalonia. According to a report written by Maria Antònia Moners, head of the Barcelona Mayor’s Office Bureau of Programming, if the metropolitan area of Barcelona wishes to maintain a growth rate that is not below 1.5%, it will need at least 500,000 immigrants to settle in the next few years, and up to 800,000 immigrants in the next 20 years. This point of view coincides with a study made by the Secretariat of Immigration of the Generalitat of Catalonia which calculates that approximately 350,000 immigrants will be arriving in the next four years. Along the same lines, the *Institut d’Estadística de Catalunya* (Institute of Statistics of Catalonia, known as Idescat) has reported that in 2000, the number of births grew 7% in comparison to the birth-rate of 1999. Immigration has played a fundamental role in consolidating this growth tendency, for 10% of new-borns are the offspring of a foreign father or mother, or both. In some hospital centers of the metropolitan area of Barcelona, the percentage is higher than that of Catalonia. For example, during the year of 2001, there were 211 births in the Hospital de l’Esperit Sant of Santa Coloma de Gramenet, and of these 62 were the offspring of foreign parents.

The contribution of foreign immigration to Spanish economy is more than evident- according to the Ministry of Economy, immigration generated 4% of the Spanish GNP. The data from Social Security confirm the increasing contribution of foreign population to the welfare system. In 2002, 439,639 new dues paying into Social Security were effected, of which 50% belong to foreigners, surpassing the government’s previsions by 190,000 workers. 829,395 foreigners are labour union members, accounting for 5% of total membership figures. Moreover, according to a study carried out by CERES from CC.OO (Workers’ Commissions) a striking fact that contradicts the topic that non-EU immigrants take away jobs from national workers, is that non-EU immigration is keeping meat-producing and agricultural
sectors “alive and productive”. One must also take into account their condition as consumers, contributing to commercial dynamics, as well as the commercial enterprises set up by immigrants which provide work for national population, an example of which are household appliances shops which have Spanish employees.

- *Geographical distribution.* The settlement of foreign population within the Spanish territory is uneven. Table 1 indicates that the areas on the Mediterranean coast (Catalonia, Valencia, Murcia and Andalusia), jointly with the Canary Islands, Balearic Islands and Madrid take in 83% of all foreign immigration. These are territories that coincide with the areas of greatest economic dynamism within the Spanish state. They are also the areas where there is greatest concentration of EU-immigration, made up by liberal professionals, students and retirees.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Autonomous region</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Foreign population</th>
<th>% of foreigners out of the total number of Spaniards</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madrid</td>
<td>5,423,384</td>
<td>366,099</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalonia</td>
<td>6,343,110</td>
<td>310,307</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valencia</td>
<td>4,162,776</td>
<td>217,673</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andalucia</td>
<td>7,357,558</td>
<td>178,130</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cañarí Islands</td>
<td>1,694,477</td>
<td>97,950</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murcia</td>
<td>1,197,646</td>
<td>69,556</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balearic Islands</td>
<td>841,669</td>
<td>68,826</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castille-La Mancha</td>
<td>1,760,516</td>
<td>40,668</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aragon</td>
<td>1,204,215</td>
<td>38,314</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castile and Leon</td>
<td>2,456,474</td>
<td>37,674</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galicia</td>
<td>2,695,880</td>
<td>35,152</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque country</td>
<td>2,082,587</td>
<td>31,168</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navarre</td>
<td>555,829</td>
<td>24,274</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asturias</td>
<td>1,026,998</td>
<td>13,254</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Rioja</td>
<td>276,702</td>
<td>12,865</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estremadura</td>
<td>1,058,503</td>
<td>11,271</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceuta and Melilla</td>
<td>137,916</td>
<td>10,175</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantabria</td>
<td>535,131</td>
<td>8,661</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| TOTAL                      | 39,275,354       | 1,572,017          | 3.8                                                 |

2.3.1.2. *The immigration context on a local level: Barcelona*

The city of Barcelona and the metropolitan area which surrounds it has been and is an urban enclave of immigration. This is historically due to its being the capital of the Earldom of Barcelona and because it was the national and international commerce headquarters for the kingdom of Aragon. As a result of the industrialisation which began in the 18th century and especially since the beginning of the twentieth century, the city has undergone a spectacular growth due to the arrival of newcomers. Concerning foreign immigration, Barcelona was one of the first towns of the Spanish state to take in non-European immigrants as a consequence of its own economic growth and because it was near the border with the rest of Europe, a phenomenon that started in the mid-1970’s. However, it was not until the second half of the nineties that non-EU immigration underwent an exponential growth, this being one of the key factors of current Barcelonian social dynamics, a tendency which will almost surely be on the rise in the coming decades. The importance of this phenomenon and the civic consequences which an increase of cultural diversity implies have created a new challenge for municipal policies.

*Immigration policy*

The municipal government’s response to the needs of non-EU immigration is pioneer in Spain, for it began in 1984, even before the publication of the first Law on Aliens which is from 1985. At the beginning of the eighties, the first step was taken when the City Council acknowledged internally the “immigration problem”. However, it was not until 1989 that a first public acknowledgement of immigration as an administrative issue came out in the document *Conclusiones y propuestas: refugiados y extranjeros* (*Conclusions and Proposals: Refugees and Foreigners*), for until then the sphere that drew the most attention was that of public safety.
Starting in the nineties, different areas of the City Council began to implement certain courses of action. In 1990, an information service for foreign immigrants was created, the Punto Informativo para Extranjeros y Refugiados (Information Center for Foreigners and Refugees), and an internal debate was initiated to establish strategic guidelines for municipal plans of action. In 1991 a qualitative change took place with the creation of a post within the political sphere, called the Mayor’s Office Commissioner for the Defense of Civil Rights. At the same time, the direct information and assistance service was improved by seeking the collaboration of associations, an outgrowth of which was SAIER (Assistance and Information Service for Immigrants and Refugees). In the following years the information task was complemented by the elaboration of studies about the situation of immigrants, as is the case with the 1993 report Informe sobre inmigración extranjera (Report on Foreign Immigration) or the establishment of the Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración (Permanent Observatory of Immigration) in 1995.

In 1997 municipal actions widened their scope by drawing up the Plan Municipal para la Interculturalidad (Municipal Plan for Interculturality) which established a transversal approach in their courses of action. The following year, 1998, the political dimension of immigration was magnified by the institutional recognition of the immigrants’ political rights manifested in the Carta Municipal (Municipal Charter) and by the inauguration of the Office for Non-Discrimination. At the same time, the transversal approach to the issue was further emphasised with the creation of the Comisión Interdepartamental para la Interculturalidad (Interdepartmental Commission for Interculturality) in 1999.

Until the end of the twentieth century, the City Council’s plan of action was based on information and counselling, coexistence, education and health care. Since the end of 2002, municipal policy concerning foreign immigration has made headway with the presentation of the Plan Municipal de Inmigración, which is made up by 90 specific measures to improve the insertion/integration of immigrants in the city. Although it is
still too early to evaluate the Plan, we do want to point out that the fact that the document has been presented without a budgetary endowment accompanying it does not augur well for it. It is also important to remark that in the same act in which the Plan was presented, an agreement among all the political parties present at the City Council plenary meeting was announced declaring that immigration would not be used to further the interests of any party, a very positive agreement considering that between 2003 and 2004, three different elections will be held (municipal, autonomous and State elections), thus avoiding the risk that a negative vision of immigration become the focus of political debate, leading to pejorative associations endangering intercultural coexistence, as would be the case of linking the increasing lack of public safety with the growth of immigrant population, a reaction which has already occurred in other European states.

This initiative of consensus among democratic parties has not only taken place in the city of Barcelona, but also in other town councils such as Santa Coloma de Gramenet and Mataró, which have reached similar agreements.

Statistics and immigrant profiles
The data available for the city of Barcelona indicate that the number of immigrants has risen from 58,186 immigrants registered in the census list of June 2000 to 113,809 in January of 2002 (Table 4), and according to non-segregated data from December 2002, the figure goes up to 139,189 residents of foreign nationality. There is evidently a floating population made up by Spanish and foreign citizens, but it is very difficult to calculate the extension of temporary residents.

Regarding the number of foreign inhabitants with permits and those without, we only have available figures for Catalonia. If we carry out a comparative analysis between the data of foreigners registered in the census lists of Catalonia (462,276) and the holders of residence permits (340,7909) we obtain a figure of 121,486 foreigners registered in the
census lists without permits, although it would be necessary to subtract registrations in two different census lists and those who drop out of it without communicating so.

As a whole, men represent 51.8% of the immigrant population and women 48.2%; for the first time we see that the percentages of both sexes is almost equal, whereas traditionally non-EU immigration was markedly masculine.

The increasing amount of Latin American women immigrants, as well as a rising number of arrivals due to the reuniting of families has feminised the profile of Barcelonian foreign population. Table 2 shows that masculine population predominates in all origins except among the Latin American population.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region of origin</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Asia</td>
<td>14,552</td>
<td>76.1</td>
<td>23.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>65.7</td>
<td>34.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>2,452</td>
<td>64.7</td>
<td>35.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Africa and Maghreb</td>
<td>12,538</td>
<td>64.9</td>
<td>35.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central and Southern Africa</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>55.3</td>
<td>44.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central and East Europe</td>
<td>7,928</td>
<td>51.8</td>
<td>48.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td>62,030</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>54.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central America</td>
<td>10,337</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>63.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Population of Barcelona</strong></td>
<td><strong>111,420</strong></td>
<td><strong>46.8</strong></td>
<td><strong>53.2</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Municipal census list of Barcelona.*

In the next table we can observe the substantial variation undergone by the immigrant population in the city of Barcelona from March 2000 to January 2002. Any action carried out to work with immigrant population must take into consideration these changes, which occur in brief periods of time, as well as the mobility of the population of foreign origin both on a State level and on a level of autonomous regions, provinces and municipalities.
Table 3: Majority non-EU residents in the city of Barcelona in January 2002 and growth rate since March 2000.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Residents</th>
<th>Growth rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>17,975</td>
<td>565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>9,751</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>9,616</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>8,646</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>6,112</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican Republic</td>
<td>5,031</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>4,547</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>3,859</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>3,303</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>2,187</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Elaborated with data from: Barcelona City Council, Department of Statistics.

The distribution by districts which appears in Table 4 indicates a tendency to settle in all parts of the city, breaking the model of concentration in Ciutat Vella (the downtown area) which immigration had seemed to follow until the end of the nineties.

Table 4: Foreign population per district.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District in Barcelona</th>
<th>January 2001</th>
<th>January 2002</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td>% over total foreign popul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciutat Vella</td>
<td>15,513</td>
<td>21.0 18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eixample</td>
<td>13,386</td>
<td>18.1 5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sants-Monjuïc</td>
<td>8,585</td>
<td>11.6 5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Les corts</td>
<td>3,320</td>
<td>4.5 4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarrià-Sant G.</td>
<td>5,939</td>
<td>8.0 4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gràcia</td>
<td>4,805</td>
<td>6.5 4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horta-Guinardó</td>
<td>4,850</td>
<td>6.6 2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nou Barris</td>
<td>4,961</td>
<td>6.7 2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sant Andreu</td>
<td>4,057</td>
<td>5.5 3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sant Martí</td>
<td>7,019</td>
<td>9.5 3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Without address</td>
<td>1,584</td>
<td>2.1 -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Barcelona 74,019 100.0 4.9 113,809 100.0 7.6 53.8%

Source: Municipal census list of Barcelona.
The expansion of immigrant settlements throughout the city is of great significance because it makes the whole city become a multicultural space, and foreign immigration can no longer be identified with the old city quarters because now it is distributed in all of Barcelona. This tendency will continue to be on the rise because urbanistic remodelling of *Ciutat Vella* and available housing in other districts favour the settling down of this population in other areas.

**Level of education and training in the countries of origin**

If we focus on the educational level of Barcelona’s foreign population, we see that 25% have university studies, 13% of Barcelonians have them, and only 10% of Catalans have the same educational level. In the global calculation of Catalonia, almost 35% of immigrants have secondary and post-secondary studies, which therefore means that this group surpasses by 4% the average of the population as a whole, which is 31%.

These figures clash with the stereotype of the immigrant who is illiterate in a European language and who can only “serve” the host society as an unskilled labour force. As it turns out, current migrations can be considered to be a “flight of the intelligentsia” from their countries of origin, and as human capital which reaches us without any training whatsoever on the part of the host society.

The panorama evidently changes depending on the area of origin of immigrant individuals. Thus, the percentage of university students and those with high school studies among EU immigrants residing in Catalonia rises up to 55.6 percent and among those from South America it reaches 52.8 percent. Among those from North and Central America the percentage goes down to 46%. Among European immigrants not pertaining to the EU, the figure is higher than the Catalan one, for 46.8% of the former group has secondary and post-secondary studies.

The educational level goes down among Asian immigrants, 29% of whom have high school or University studies, whereas only 8.7% of African immigrants have this same level.
Health care
One of the factors indicating the risk of exclusion is the circumstance of not having a residence permit, while the risk of social exclusion is much lower if one has a residence and work permit. According to Spanish legislation, all foreigners registered in the census list have access to a health care card which gives them the right to public health care. The Generalitat of Catalonia has handed out 138,767 health care cards to immigrants without papers, of which 3,357 were given to minors who were not even registered, but who because of being under age are guaranteed the right to health care assistance, and therefore to have a card.

2.3.2. Areas of exclusion among immigrants in Barcelona

2.3.2.1. Research sample
In order to offer a general understanding of the traits which characterise the trajectory of immigrant exclusion, we have selected a sample of 27 immigrants, in which we have attempted to include members from the main communities present in the city. We have selected 15 men and 12 women reflecting varied migratory backgrounds in terms of their legal situation, educational level, marital status, and professional qualifications. This is by no means a representative sample, for statistically it is not sufficiently ample for one to arrive at significant conclusions. Nevertheless, it highlights various problems of exclusion/marginalisation suffered by immigrants in Barcelona and its metropolitan area.

The objective is not to provide a sample of the city’s immigrants as a whole, but rather to focus on non-EU foreigners who evidence some exclusion-related problems. To localise the sample, the interviewers have counted on the cooperation of various intermediaries and social service organisations to provide them with the contacts to carry out these interviews. We have also localised and interviewed excluded persons pertaining to certain immigrant groups that do not rely on social services,
with the objective of revealing the presence of individuals in situations of social exclusion even within communities traditionally considered to be “integrated”. In 14 cases, interviews were conducted in the language of the interviewee due to his or her difficulties in speaking Spanish or Catalan.

**Table 5**: Description of the sample.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Origin</th>
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<td>D</td>
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<td>Democratic Republic of Congo</td>
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2.3.2.2. The legal sphere
Immigrants living in Barcelona consider the current legal framework one of the main barriers against integration. Some years ago, admittance into Spain was quite simple for certain foreigners such as Latin Americans and Moroccans (rather greater obstacles to emigration often existing in their own countries of origin). However, in the last years certain alien immigration regulations have been modified in accordance with European Union legislation and new laws restricting the granting of visas and residence permits have been approved. Foreigners whose situation is not legalised are under a great deal of pressure to obtain “papers” which will enable them to have access to the work market, housing, reunification of family members, and social services... However, legal problems do not come to an end with the legalisation of their immigrant status. Their legal status is, in fact, as precarious as the typically unstable jobs that many non-EU workers are forced to take on; once they lose these jobs and fail to obtain work elsewhere, they often revert to their status as “undocumented” aliens given that employment is a prerequisite for renewing residence permits. Obtaining the necessary documents to ensure a legal status therefore becomes a long and difficult process that entails the constant risk of reverting to a situation of exclusion.

Many of the immigrants who do end up excluded start off with an initial handicap, their illegal entry into the country, which tends to aggravate their bureaucratic problems and hamper their integration. According to the new law on alien immigration, naturalisation through marriage has become the only way by which illegal aliens can legalise their situation. The offspring of immigrants whose situation complies with the law only have the right to a work permit if they obtain a long-lasting full-time work contract, a requirement that is beyond the reach of even native youths (unemployment rates among youths are very high in the Spanish state). In some cases, their condition as “immigrants without papers” leads to a feeling of frustration and hopelessness which they attempt to relieve falling into certain types of drug abuse (alcoholism, glue sniffing, etc.). To
survive they may even recur to committing delinquent activities (street peddling, piracy, petty drug trafficking, pickpocketting and muggings, etc.). Once caught in the spiral of social exclusion, their integration in Barcelonian society becomes extraordinarily difficult.

Alien immigration control policies predominate over integration policies. The mechanisms enforced to restrict illegal immigration facilitate the exclusion of immigrants whose situation is not stabilised. Visa restrictions have even deterred marginalised immigrants from going back to their countries of origin if they are considering coming back to Spain to try their luck in the future, for they fear that once they are out, they will be unable to re-enter the country afterwards.

2.3.2.3. The labor market sphere
Spain ranks as one of the countries with the highest unemployment rates of the European Union. Moreover, the minimum wage continues to be markedly lower than in neighbouring countries, whose standard of living is slightly higher. Certain sectors, such as youths who have not entered the labour market or unemployed individuals over 50 years old, are more prone to becoming excluded due to their precarious economic situation. Likewise, immigrants are a very vulnerable group in the Spanish labour market (despite the fact that some communities, such as the Chinese, tend to generate work for their members, thus keeping unemployment rates low within the group). In some cases, immigrants spend long periods of time unemployed or taking on half-time jobs that do not even cover their basic needs. Job-hunting ends up being one of the main occupations of some immigrants. Even certain women whose culture of origin would lead them to shy away from entering the labour market end up attempting to join the labour force due to economic problems within the family unit. Until a few years ago, non-EU immigrants whose legal situation was not regularised still had the possibility of entering the formal sector, although they needed a work permit which was only granted if they could obtain a
long-term full-time work contract (which is becoming more infrequent in Spain, with the consequent loss of occupational stability resulting from the tendency to favour temporary contracts). Now, without even this path of regularisation open to them, there is no possibility for those without permits to legalise their situation, since the objective at present is to promote the hiring of foreign workers in their countries of origin by means of a quota system. Workers with a residence and work permit may renew their documents only if they can prove they have a work contract lasting a certain length or time while their permit renewal is being processed, or if they are receiving unemployment compensation (a benefit exclusively reserved for those working with a contract) at the time.

Some entrepreneurs refuse a priori to hire non-EU immigrants, whereas certain unscrupulous employers (both Spanish and foreign) impose abusive conditions on immigrants who are forced to tolerate this. Nevertheless, many immigrants need to obtain a legal contract at all costs, there even being verified cases of payments for non-existent work contracts. In other cases, the hired workers cannot demand that their employers comply with the conditions stated in the contract to avoid being fired, which would inevitably lead to a worsening in the immigrants’ legal situation (moreover, in many cases their salaries are lower than what is stated in the contracts, and the official work schedule is prolonged arbitrarily).

Despite the fact that the goal is a fixed job, many immigrants have to search for work in the informal sector (widespread in Catalonia), where work conditions are subject to greater exploitation because they escape the control of Spanish work inspectors. There is evidence of a great deal of abuse against workers’ rights: hazardous occupations, arbitrary dismissals, abusive working hours, harassment, breach of contract, lack of vacations, situations bordering on slavery in domestic services... In certain cases, immigrants fall into these jobs through informal networks, but some are hired through service centers and are equally exploited. There is evidence of sexual harassment, especially to women working as live-in
domestic servants. On some occasions we have encountered cases of foreign workers bearing under the racist attitudes of middle management. They are very rarely informed about their rights, so that in some cases they are even grateful in the face of abusive treatment (one domestic servant interviewed who was always locked inside the house expressed her gratitude toward her bosses for letting her take walks when “they were in a good mood”).

There are some sectors, such as live-in domestic service or floriculture, in which the cheap labour force constituted by immigrants is essential (there are enterprises whose workforce is almost entirely made up by unskilled foreign workers from different nationalities). Ruthless businessmen also take advantage of the precarious situation of immigrants who lack a work permit, refusing to offer them work contracts to avoid both compliance with labour regulations and payment of social security expenses (there are even cases of hiring immigrants for manual labour on a day-to-day basis). Consequently, when immigrants finally manage to legalise their situation, they often have even greater problems finding work, or have to accept jobs within the legal labour market but paying extremely low wages (“it was either having a contract or paying the rent”, as an interviewee declared, who obviously had no choice but to pay the rent and go back to working in the informal sector). In certain jobs, such as domestic service, the massive inflow of immigrants has implied a check on or even a reduction of real wages.

In other cases, non-EU foreigners are hired to work in certain seasonal activities such as in the food service and lodging business during the summer months, as vacation-time substitutes in industrial companies, or in fruit picking, harvesting etc.. Despite the fact that some of these employments offer good wages and legal conditions, they do not offer the possibility of obtaining residence and work permits due to their short duration. Moreover, it is almost impossible for immigrants to land jobs that correspond to their educational level (a high percentage of immigrants have received high school or even post-secondary schooling,
although few of them have validated their degrees as many have problems with the Spanish and Catalan languages.

Certain socially undesirable jobs and borderline activities are basically reserved for immigrants. There are, for example, many foreigners who earn their living taking care of elderly people in their homes, an activity that, in spite of not requiring specialized skills, nevertheless requires long working hours and great dedication. Furthermore, there is an increasing number of foreigners engaged in sexual activities for money, either due to their own initiative or under duress. Many prostitutes feel degraded by their occupation and thus search for alternative occupations (this activity is abandoned even by people who were willing to practice it when they first arrived in Spain). Among those working as prostitutes there are also women who initially refused to engage in these activities but have been unable to find other jobs.

Labour market access problems especially affect immigrants who were already involved in marginal activities in their countries of origin (prostitutes, beggars, etc.), but also afflict skilled workers with a high vocational training level who held steady jobs in their native lands. The majority of immigrants, who had great expectations of improving their lot when they left their countries, feel let down (having expected better jobs and salaries). Many are working below their professional capacities. Others, though offering no special skills, believed that they would obtain better-paid jobs and better working conditions in Spain. In most cases they do not even receive professional training in their work because they are only hired for unskilled labour. Even so, their expectations seem reasonable: many would be satisfied to work in unskilled labour related to commerce, industry, construction or hotel services as long as they could obtain stable employment contracts. Many wish to go from the informal to the formal sector and would even be willing to work long hours and engage in physically strenuous labour as long as the wages earned corresponded to the level of work carried out. Some of the individuals interviewed recalled positively previous jobs they had held in the Spanish
state, for despite their low salaries and level of responsibility, they had enjoyed a certain degree of stability and had been treated correctly. A high percentage of immigrants attempt to send part of their earnings back home, but they are often not able to send as much as they had first expected to, further deepening their sense of failure. Many are not able to save enough money on the side to go back and visit their country or to fulfil their initial expectations (setting up their own business or building a house of their own). The main cause of dissatisfaction among foreigners tends to be the terrible work situation linked to economic hardship. There is evidence that, in some cases, feelings of frustration and anguish have provoked emotional paralysis, at which point the affected immigrants give up struggling to improve their work status and fall back into a situation of exclusion which they consider to be insurmountable.

Lack of occupational stability has negative repercussions on the immigrants’ ability to control savings and expenditures, a factor to be taken into account in the integration process. Although it is possible to obtain high incomes from certain activities on the black labour market, those engaged in such activities are not ensured access to housing nor a better standard of living because they lack the certainty of regular cash inflows (one of the issues most often vindicated by interviewed individuals). Many of the immigrants participating in the interviews were not able to specify their level of expenses. In most cases, they depended on periodical loans offered to them by their compatriots. Some had been obliged to rely on social welfare at specific times because they were on the verge of extreme poverty. Nevertheless, the majority of those interviewed considered that social services were not a long-term solution to their problems, but that the obtainment of a decent occupation was.

Precarious conditions existing in the labour market sphere also entail other problems that lead to exclusion: long working hours are an obstacle to professional training and thus to the access to better jobs; the lack of an employment contract leads to the loss of a residence permit (in the case of having one) and the impossibility of family reunification; landlords refuse
to rent flats to individuals without long-term employment contracts; periods of unemployment provoke constant changes of living quarters which also affect the individual’s stability; short-term temporary jobs prevent the workers from establishing bonds with their colleagues and hinder integration into the host society; in the case of families, the absence of adults at home due to long working hours impairs the parents’ ability to educate and control their children, thus undermining family cohesion and therefore eliminating the base for the children’s integral upbringing (some parents admitted they could not take adequate care of their offspring and were not able keep them under control).

2.3.2.4. Housing
Barcelona has a grave housing problem. In the last years housing prices have risen much more quickly than incomes have. The common average rent is basically equal to the minimum wage, and native youths often have problems in establishing themselves on their own due to this reason (moreover, for many people it is very difficult, if not downright impossible, to save the money necessary for the down payment and administrative transaction fees related to the purchase of housing of their own). In the last few years, the number of apartments for rent has shrunk considerably, and the few ones left are quickly rented. The supply of public housing is not sufficient to cover existing demands, and is an option little known to foreigners, as well as beyond their means in general. Real estate agencies and landlords habitually require proof of either income or property assets when renting a flat, and the most impoverished sectors of the population have a hard time showing any such credentials. Many of the flats for rent are in very bad shape, because landlords expect renters to remodel the apartments before occupying them. The city center has lost inhabitants due to town planning measures implemented by the City Council leading to higher rents. In addition, people with low purchasing power have had to leave the city and go to live in the metropolitan area.
where rents are not as high (although many immigrants continue to settle down in the city). The above clearly indicates that access to decent housing is one of the main concerns of Barcelona’s inhabitants. Evidently, immigrants tend to be especially vulnerable with respect to housing issues. First of all, there are landlords who, motivated by racism, reject them as candidates for rental apartments. Since they are aware that many immigrants have low purchasing power and irregular incomes, they demand very high advance payments which are out of reach for most immigrants. Many foreigners therefore give up searching for lodgings with a formalised rental contract because of their lack of purchasing power or the fact that they don’t have the personal documents required. An example of this is to be found in the groups of Maghrebian minors who live in abandoned dwellings. In a few cases, immigrant families within a middle-income bracket have ended up without living quarters due to the scarce housing offer. This has given rise to the creation of a parallel market of sub-level housing destined for immigrants. Commercial premises, shacks on building terraces, abandoned factories, and run-down flats with structural problems (leaks, asbestos, rotten beams and humidity, etc.) are rented at considerably high prices. Many of the individuals who rent these spaces are not aware that they are considered to be uninhabitable by Spanish law and therefore cannot register themselves in the census list with their addresses, so these do not officially count as domiciles when they seek to obtain their residence permits. Moreover, if the immigrants are not registered in the census list they are not eligible for the obtainment of a health care card, and they cannot get a permit for family reunification unless they have a dwelling either owned by them or leased to them with a contract in their name. The control of available housing generates authentic networks of exploitation in which both natives and immigrants participate. There are foreigners who have rented a dwelling without a legal contract and who after having spent time and money remodelling it, have been kicked out by their unscrupulous landlords. Those who have either property or rental
rights to a dwelling can end up living comfortably by sub-letting rooms and beds (many people share rooms with strangers). There are even individuals who rent beds by the hour, so that two or three people share the same bed, with each person keeping to a different timetable for its use (it is the so-called “warm bed” system whereby when one gets up the next person goes to sleep). For some immigrants, the objective becomes having a flat of their own, not to enjoy it for their own use, but to sub-let all possible spaces. In some areas of Barcelona there are inns (often illegal) which do not comply with minimal living standards, where foreigners often reside on a permanent basis without the most elementary facilities (they do not even have access to a kitchen and have to survive on uncooked meals). Furthermore, certain groups of immigrants are allowed to use their workplace as dormitories at night, the employer therefore gaining greater control over the workers, who are forced to fulfil long working hours (some prostitution networks also tend to concentrate their sexual employees in shared apartments to strengthen the network’s hold over them).

Some individuals are forced to stay on the streets during the daytime because their dwellings lack minimal living conditions (space, comfort, etc.); this can generate conflicts with native citizens and/or with other immigrant groups for the use of public space. The high density of inhabitants in tiny dwellings lacking hygiene lead to unhealthy conditions and to a high incidence of certain diseases such as tuberculosis. Moreover, forced cohabitation in reduced quarters causes great tension among those sharing the space, contributing to the breakdown of the ties of solidarity which had formerly bound them (an individual interviewed confessed that he refused to live with his compatriots). Women are especially vulnerable in these situations, for it is not uncommon for them to be sexually harassed, nor for married women to continue living with their husbands in spite of abuses and batterings, for fear of losing the only shelter they have. The situation is so extreme that there are even single women searching for a partner to ensure having a roof over their heads.
Faced with the difficulties entailed by sharing lodgings under these conditions, immigrants frequently move from one dwelling to another, all of which makes their insertion within the host society even more difficult (they don’t manage to make friends and often do not even know who their neighbours are). Some immigrants interviewed admitted they had been kicked out of their former flats, sometimes even by their own relatives. Many of the sample members had been forced to move very often. This causes them a great deal of anguish: for some immigrants, one of the topmost priorities was getting a flat of their own from which "no one can kick me out ". Some have repeatedly tried to set up a place of their own and leave their shared apartments, but when they become unemployed, they are forced to go back. Some immigrants who had good dwelling quarters in their countries of origin feel cheated by housing conditions in Barcelona; others, who seek to accumulate as much money as possible to send to their families or to accumulate savings for themselves, fare better under these bad conditions. For those who live with their families, the need for decent housing becomes an even more urgent issue. Many delay family reunification because they would have to move their dwelling quarters and thus their capacity to send money back to their countries would be greatly reduced. There are even immigrants who have come to consider these disastrous housing conditions as “normal”, no longer believing that they will ever be able to improve their present situation. Increased housing prices have led to a marked concentration of immigrants in the most degraded areas of the city (such as the historical center in the downtown area, the Raval, where old, run-down buildings most abound, and where living quarters tend to be small, or Hospitalet, a dormitory city where rent is less expensive). This tendency to concentrate immigrant population which has rapidly come to the fore (the influx of immigrant population being a relatively recent phenomenon, which began just a few decades ago, but which is growing very quickly) has likewise provoked a concurrent increase in racism. As an example of this, one might cite the massive entry of immigrant children into the public schools.
of these neighbourhoods. This has, in some cases, been a source of conflict because public schools lack resources for their integration; subsequently, many native parents have opted to send their children to private schools.

2.3.2.5. Social services and participation
As a welfare state, Spain lags behind other European Union countries. Government aid to families is much lower than in other states, and there are also fewer services aimed at students, senior citizens, and poor people. Immigrants have reduced access to these services and to social aid. As a matter of principle, Barcelonian institutions prefer immigrants to integrate into the services network established for the population as a whole, and are not inclined to offer specialized services for immigrants other than providing information. It is therefore all the more surprising that not more effort has been made to at least reinforce translation and interpretation services given the rapid increase of immigrants. Nevertheless, some new specific services have had to be created for certain newcomers, as is the case of the shelter centers for unaccompanied Maghrebian minors.
Immigrants in general have very little knowledge about the resources available to them in Barcelona, and moreover, encounter certain difficulties in having access to them. Many of the immigrants interviewed did not have a health care card (which is only universal for children and emergency cases) because of problems registering in the census list. Despite this, the majority of sample members managed somehow or other to resort to public health care services when they needed to, although some interviewees who had not been given access to public health care had ended up resorting to the private sector despite the extremely high fees charged. Immigrant population is very young and theoretically should not generate the high expenditure on health care typical of the
aged native population, but due to the deplorable housing and work conditions it endures, it does suffer many pathologies. Immigrants whose children live with them tend to send them to public schools (which they view very positively), but a great part of immigrants maintain their children in their countries of origin, which means that the Spanish state does not incur the expense of their education. Adult education classes comprise another of the services available; they are offered in many public schools at varying times of the day and night. Nevertheless, few members of the sample had attended these courses for adults or even gone to Catalan or Spanish classes despite the fact that they have problems expressing themselves in these languages (on the other hand, clandestine immigrants who came to Spain on boats and were put in camps for immigrants received Spanish classes on site). Very few go for some type of occupational training to adapt themselves to the labor needs of the territory (despite admitting that they are aware that in Spain formal education is necessary). It is very rare to encounter an individual who takes up studying where he/she had left off in the country of origin, and this is due not to a lack of interest, but to lack of time and difficulties in validating their previous studies. The majority of those interviewed only seek legal assistance in relation to their residence situation, but do not resort to it for other issues such as work, housing and family problems. Only some of the immigrants who have been in Spain for a long time get unemployment benefits or family subsidies, and just a few have obtained a job through social assistance organizations. A minority of the sample immigrants resort to charity organizations (mostly religious) to obtain food and clothing, and have even on a few occasions received other types of support, such as financial help to cover pending rental payments when confronted with the threat of being kicked out. Nevertheless, many shy away from donations or resort to them as little as possible because they want to be able to solve matters for themselves. There are other resources available which immigrants hardly ever make use of, as is the case of cultural and sports facilities. It
could be said that, for the most part, the only service used by immigrants is public healthcare assistance, and that there are individuals who never even use this. Some services are held in high esteem, such as the social assistance offered to prostitutes, but in general immigrants do not have a high opinion of the assistance offered. Some of the interviewees were not familiar with non-profit organizations set up to help them, and others considered that they only served to maintain their members (“NGO people don’t do anything, they just talk and act cool”, said one interviewee). Various immigrants coincided in their opinion that the State should be the one to take care of the needs of the country’s inhabitants and not some other types of organizations. Others barely trusted the intervention of these institutions and believed that the only answer to their problems was getting a job, and therefore placed all their hopes in companies or temporary work agencies and not in the government (although there are some immigrants, such as the unaccompanied Moroccan minors, who expected to find very competent social services encompassing many needs, and are disappointed about the reality of the situation). The majority of interviewees also did not believe that social services could offer them a solution to their housing problem, which for most foreigners is a priority. Public nursery schools were among the services most in demand (clearly insufficient in the city of Barcelona). Many immigrant mothers have to leave their children at home on their own or end up losing their jobs because they have no place where they can leave their children. In reality, social services are accessible to immigrants whose situation of exclusion is extreme (prostitutes, unaccompanied minors, homeless people, etc.) because there are institutions and organisations that make it their business to search them out and offer them assistance. There are also some immigrants who are very familiar with the social services resources available to them because they have been in Spain for a long time and they frequently use them all, but it is precisely these immigrants who are the least prone to being excluded. The many immigrants who do
face imminent exclusion do not habitually have access to social services, often because they do not know about them (others have no access to them because the assistance centers are excessively centralised and they cannot get to them). The government services and the NGOs which deal with these issues have not managed to make themselves sufficiently known among the communities most in need of their help, and have instead created structures which limit themselves to responding to the demands of immigrants who already know the service. Most of those who use social services have found out about them through other members of their community and not through campaigns of the organisations themselves. Some immigrants who would genuinely need to have access to these social services do not have access to them because of language or cultural barriers (for instance, they are unable to make telephone appointments). The account of a Chinese woman is emblematic of this situation: she was only able to receive certain social services, such as a place in a nursery school, after the police detained her for street peddling illegal copies of musical hits with her son in tow; until that point, she had not had access to any assistance. A Nigerian citizen was also able to contact the census register services after his neighbours had called the police because he was living as a squatter on commercial premises.

Apart from the fact that immigrants make scarce use of social services, there is evidence showing that they barely participate in activities of the host society. Very few get involved in political issues (those who were actively engaged in political affairs in their countries of origin and those fighting for immigrant legalization --as was the case of those who locked themselves up in a church-- do so). Immigrant rights awareness is uneven and depends on each community (it is especially strong among those from Pakistan and Bangladesh). Labor unions, like political parties, are not considered to be effective instruments to defend their rights, except in the cases of labor union actions to combat alien immigration policies (it is a fact that labor unions are ineffective in the defense of workers in the informal sector, be they natives or immigrants).
The sample included some immigrants who participate in religious activities of their communities (Christian and Muslim), but for the majority of the interviewed this did not constitute a central activity of their lives. Among some non-Christians there was a positive opinion about the Catholic Church because of its political and humanitarian involvement in favor of immigrant rights.

Immigrants mostly enjoy recreational activities in their homes and hardly participate in leisure time activities (probably due to their elevated cost, because those whose purchasing power is greater do use them more often). In some cases, the sample members go to bars and discotheques mainly aimed at and used by members of their own communities (restaurants for Pakistanis, bars for Moroccans, or discotheques for Latin Americans and Sub-Saharan). There is very little participation in cultural activities; these often do not take into account the interests of these immigrant communities. Many of the leisure time activities specifically addressed to immigrants (such as video clubs offering Egyptian, Philippine, or Hindu movies) have arisen from private initiatives of community members.

2.3.2.6. Social networks and exclusion

Solidarity networks among immigrants from the same country often facilitate the integration of newcomers into the host society. Many of those who arrive have planned the trip with the help of fellow countrymen already living in Barcelona, and these same countrymen provide them with the means to survive when they arrive. They habitually offer them temporary lodgings or at least food, facilitate their access to work and social services, and help them to overcome cultural, legal and language barriers by sharing with them their knowledge of Catalan society. Friendship and family ties give the newcomers a certain degree of psychological support, and sometimes they even receive financial help from a member who is better-off. Although immigrants tend to become
more independent as time goes on, there are certain individuals who continue needing the help of their compatriots, either in cash or in kind, because their precarious labor and residence situation does not allow them to progress. Some very well-organized communities (such as the Chinese) ensure that almost none of their members end up either destitute or absolutely marginated. Nevertheless, there are individuals from other groups who do not manage to integrate themselves into any social network and end up falling into situations of extreme exclusion.

Newly arrived immigrants perceive these networks very positively despite the fact that relationships among fellow countrymen do not always lead to mutual help on an equal-footing status. In some cases, newcomers settle in gradually and achieve the same level of integration as their well-adapted compatriots, but in others, veteran immigrants with greater resources exploit the most underprivileged and least integrated fellow countrymen. In this way, the veterans consolidate their position in Catalonia by marginalizing those who have arrived later and obstructing their integration. Some newcomers have arrived in Catalonia thanks to a ticket fare which had been paid by a fellow countryman, and once they are in the country they are forced to pay back this “debt”; sometimes it takes them more than three years working long hours to return this money. In addition, newly arrived immigrants frequently have to pay elevated sums for the right to share a bed (although there are also cases of altruistic aid). Moreover, in some cases the networks directly orient immigrants toward marginal activities within Catalan society, as is the case of prostitution, drug trafficking, or illegal street peddling, and this means that newcomers find themselves trapped into situations of exclusion from which they cannot easily escape.

The women of certain communities are especially vulnerable, for they arrive in Barcelona with a residence permit for family reunification purposes, and this specification greatly hinders their access to salaried employment. Thus, women in this situation often have to submit themselves to the will of their male relatives (many women have very little
knowledge about the host society because men control the information), and sometimes have to bear domestic violence, robbery, and other abuses perpetrated against them because they are not economically independent and therefore are not free to abandon their families. There are also certain husbands who attempt to keep their wives from legalizing their situation or obtaining the nationality of the host country to ensure their wives’ submission to their will. Some women interviewed considered tense personal and family relationships to be their main problem. On several occasions, different women confessed that they hid their love affairs from their relatives to avoid provoking their anger (this is the case of certain single or divorced Moroccan women who were living with their partners). The responsibility that immigrants feel towards family relatives left behind in their home country becomes a heavy burden for them to bear. They often have to send sizeable amounts of money back home, and since their salaries tend to be low, they have to opt for cheap and insalubrious lodgings; it may, in fact, be impossible for them to have access to decent housing at all. For some immigrants, being in constant contact with their fellow countrymen leads to certain problems, for their compatriots try to exert a degree of social control unacceptable to them; for instance, compatriots may inform families back home of a certain family member’s lax moral behavior or adulterous actions. Some individuals who have economic problems fear that their parents might find out how they are really faring if their compatriots tell on them, and they certainly do not want their migratory experience to come out as a failure. A Moroccan interviewee declared that one of the things that she most appreciated about Spanish society was the fact that Spaniards did not interfere in the lives of others.

Among the immigrants interviewed who were clearly facing exclusion, it was possible to detect a strong feeling of loneliness resulting from communication problems within these social networks. Tensions with compatriots led to conflicts while living together, which in turn further pushed the least socially integrated members towards a situation of
exclusion. Many of the sample members defined their compatriots as acquaintances but not as friends, and, in one case, a Moroccan woman emphasized the fact that those who at some point offered their help afterwards expected something in return. Another interviewee, also from Morocco, stated that she had lost all contact with her relatives who also lived in Catalonia because of the problems they had had while living together. Some of the individuals interviewed remarked that they felt betrayed and exploited by their own fellow countrymen.

Immigrants who are accustomed to extensive families which offer their members permanent protection strongly miss the support of their relatives. Those who have left behind a structured nuclear family feel a terrible longing to be with their kin (many spend an important part of their salary in telephone calls to remain in contact with their families). In some cases, prolonged separations of parents from their offspring lead to problematic behaviour on the part of youths who arrive in Europe during their adolescence (there is a high incidence of failure within the school system, and this further draws them down into exclusion). Many immigrants whose personal and family-related expectations have not been fulfilled delay returning to their countries so as not to have to face family scorn or rejection. This eventually leads to the degradation and sundering of ties with their society of origin.

The possibilities of establishing ties of friendship outside of their narrow circle of solidarity are basically precluded due to the fact that immigrants are often forced to change their job and residence. Certain occupations, such as live-in domestic service, hinder social relations and in the long term reinforce the immigrant’s process of exclusion (“it isolates you from the rest of the world and it turns you into an even bigger idiot than before”, said a Moroccan domestic servant). In some communities, such as the Moroccan and Pakistani ones, where men control and dominate the public sphere, women have even fewer social contacts and feel even lonelier, especially in the cases in which male family members restrict their going out of the house.
Although non-EU immigration is a rather recent phenomenon in Catalonia, it is nevertheless surprising to observe the scarce contact existing between foreigners (this being especially true with respect to the most excluded sectors) and natives. The majority of the interviewed individuals’ social relationships were limited to their national community, and secondarily to citizens belonging to countries of similar cultural background (Pakistanis with Bengalese, Ivory Coast citizens with other Sub-Saharan, Colombians with Equatorians, etc.). In some cases, the immigrants of the sample principally maintained contact with relatives or with people whom they were already acquainted with in their countries of origin, but many others had established ties with other compatriots whom they had not known before. Certain immigrants did not even have one friend who belonged to the host society. Some women had established relationships with Spanish men (an African woman confessed that she had come to the country in the hope of marrying a European man); the norm, however, continues to be the concentration of their main ties of friendship within their national community. The fact that certain immigrants do establish relationships outside of their national sphere does not guarantee either their integration or a relationship on an equal footing. There is evidence of marriages between immigrants and natives in which the a priori legal inequalities are used against the immigrant partner, deteriorating the couple’s relationship (the Spanish husband of a Moroccan interviewee had refused to endorse her naturalization petition). Nevertheless, it became clear through the interviews that establishing relationships with native individuals can be of great help in integrating immigrants into the labor market at better conditions, as well as in giving them better access to housing. However, those who are on the borderline of exclusion rarely have any contact with the indigenous population.

The sample surprisingly seems to indicate that contact with native citizens does not depend as much on the immigrants’ initial knowledge of Spanish as on their migration process and status. Many Latin American immigrants (whose mother tongue is mostly Spanish) do not have any native
acquaintances, whereas quite a few non-Spanish-speaking foreigners involved in more highly-skilled occupations in their own countries do establish contacts (an immigrant from the Congo who had arrived in Barcelona with a scholarship to prepare his Ph.D. had very good relations with Catalans). Amongst those interviewed, the one who had most Spanish friends was a Peruvian who had studied in Catalonia, although his close friends were in all cases other Latin Americans. Certain individuals mentioned as a positive factor the fact that they had become acquainted with Catalans in their jobs and had established relationships with them.

2.3.3. Exclusion risk factors among immigrants in Barcelona
Most non-EU immigrants risk falling into exclusion. Frequent labor problems may give rise to legal contretemps that lead to an unstable situation and marginality. For some groups, the problems are more acute than for others: immigrants of Latin American and Guinean origins have easier access to Spanish nationality, and by opting to obtain it, they at least have more possibilities of escaping legal difficulties (even though naturalization does not automatically free them from problems of exclusion).

Another factor to be taken into consideration is that many non-EU immigrants have to face racism which is deeply rooted in a part of the host society (there are communities, such as the Moroccan one, which are specially targeted in xenophobic attacks). Cases of job and housing discrimination are frequent, as are petty discriminatory actions observed in daily life. These practices can affect both immigrants in an illegal situation and foreigners who have been living in the country for a long time and who have no legal problems.

Spaniards’ rejection of foreigners is often linked to margination and poverty, for individuals who have high purchasing power (such as the Japanese) face absolutely no rejection, whereas more impoverished groups (such as Maghrebiens) are discriminated against. The truth is that
Barcelona is a city that annually takes in millions of foreign visitors without any misgivings, underlying racism being mainly directed toward non-EU immigrant workers who occupy the lowest tiers of the social pyramid. More than half of the city’s inhabitants are the descendants of inhabitants from other Spanish regions (in fact, until the nineties, the term “immigrant” was not applied to non-EU citizens, but rather to Spanish-speaking individuals). However, xenophobic practices are also common among “new Catalans” (so called because they arrived in Catalonia from other parts of Spain in the 1960’s). Although almost all non-EU immigrants may at some point find themselves on the borderline of exclusion, there are sectors which are specially vulnerable to this plight, such as women without jobs and adolescents.

2.3.3.1. Gender

Immigrant women who work can often count on supplementary economic help from their partners; in this sense it is easier for them to dispose of means, if need be (although in certain groups, it is women who mostly immigrate on their own and maintain their families back home by regularly sending them cash). However, immigrants from certain countries do not look well upon women working, especially outside their homes. These immigrant women, like those who don’t find work, are especially prey to abuses and domestic violence.

There is a high percentage of single mothers within immigrant groups on the whole. There are also women who are taking care of their children on their own; if they have problems with their partners, they are forced to support their offspring on low salaries and without any economic help. Moreover, it becomes even more difficult for them to find a job when they are pregnant or when their children are small because they cannot accept certain occupations that would leave them no time to take care of their offspring. Lack of sufficient social services such as nursery schools aggravates this situation; many women, despite their unwillingness to do
so, have to leave their children unattended in order to earn enough money to support them.

Social tensions derived from labor problems and difficulties in living together due to lack of decent housing provoke a high incidence of domestic violence against women. Women with many children and women with no relatives in Europe are the two groups most at risk in this sense because they very often don’t know where to turn to and fear the consequences of abandoning their husbands. There is evidence of husbands who, in a calculated manner, oblige their wives to have many children because they know that it is more difficult for their spouses to abandon them in these circumstances.

Economic hardships may induce certain women to adopt behaviors censured in their society of origin (such as living with a man without getting married, having a relationship with a man from a different religion, practicing adultery to have a roof over her head, and even working as a prostitute). These acts may be severely condemned by the woman’s compatriots, who will in given cases exclude her from their social networks.

2.3.3.2. Language skills

Immigrants who do not speak Spanish or Catalan are at greater risk of exclusion than those who do. Knowledge of the official languages improves the possibility of access to better jobs and a better standard of living. Some interviewees expressed their frustration about not being able to aspire to certain work offers because of their lack of Spanish or Catalan language skills. Speaking the official languages fluently also facilitates access to social services, for individuals who are unable to understand application procedures cannot benefit from them. Those who speak Spanish and Catalan also have an easier time getting information about the host society and are able to better establish relations with the institutions and with people in general, consequently improving their
chances of getting housing, fulfilling their needs, and even widening their network of relations. Knowledge of Spanish, and to a lesser degree of Catalan, foments the autonomy of the individual (that is why many give priority to learning Spanish; others have not even considered the possibility of studying Catalan, despite the fact that they may have already spent many years in Catalonia). In some cases, immigrants whose situation is precarious end up being exploited by their own community or family members because their lack of language skills in Spanish or Catalan hinders them from becoming independent and from seeking legal counsel.

2.3.3.3. **Age**
Among immigrants there are two main age groups at risk of exclusion: minors and senior citizens. There are many children who do not receive the parental care they need, be it due to the fact that their parents work long hours and therefore have no time left over for them, or because family reunification has not been completed. The lack of social facilities (nursery schools, recreational centers, etc.) makes it even more difficult for immigrant children to have access to these services. Delays in family reunification often means that children arrive in Spain when they are already in their adolescence, and in some cases it becomes impossible for them to catch up with the rest of the class in their studies. Schooling problems of immigrant children (with a high incidence of drop-outs in certain communities) may conduct them toward a process of exclusion in the future. Moreover, the resources available in certain public schools are not enough to accommodate the growing school population of foreign origin. Immigrants who are more than sixty years old run a high risk of being excluded, for most of them work in the informal sector and have no access to retirement benefits. If native senior citizens are already considered to be a group which faces a process of accelerated impoverishment, one might easily imagine what the situation is like for immigrant senior
citizens, who are even more vulnerable to this development, even though for the time being it is a relatively small group (the arrival of such large numbers of non-EU workers is also very recent).

**Case study: Unaccompanied Immigrant Minors (MEINA)**

Among the immigrant population that has recently arrived in Barcelona and its metropolitan area, there is one group that especially draws our attention because of its social impact. It is a group of Maghrebian minors who have immigrated on their own and have no family or social referents in Barcelona. They have come from different areas of Morocco, and some are not even ten years old.

Their presence had already been detected in 1995 but Barcelonian society had not been really aware of this phenomenon until 1998 when the mass media gave it much press and made the situation well known. The minors, whose situation was not legalized, lived off begging, prostitution, small drug trafficking and petty delinquency (purse-snatchings, muggings..). By 1999 there were already 300 MEINA (of the 2,000 spread across Spain) in Barcelona. At present, the phenomenon seems to have reached a stable level.

At first, the institutions and the host society did not give assistance to the members of this group, who only received support from their own fellow citizens (who offered them food and lodgings from time to time). However, this help was very limited, and the youths went back to living on the streets, engaging in petty crimes, and consuming cheap drug substances. They were soon inmersed in a spiral of exclusion, and their presence became one of the chronic problems of peaceful coexistence in the city (they are feared by both natives and their own compatriots, whom they sometimes steal from). Part of the host society came to look at the whole of Moroccan community with distrustful eyes, and xenophobia against Moroccans in general increased.

MEINA are often portrayed as youths with an innate tendency towards criminality, who should either be imprisoned or expelled from the country. Nevertheless, this viewpoint does not take into account the fact that there
were factors which induced them to take the first steps towards delinquency: their incapacity to obtain an income, their lack of knowledge of the host society and its official languages, the precarious material conditions they were enduring, and the lack of emotional support. Through the interviews held with three MEINA it is possible to deduce that these minors do not always come from marginal backgrounds. To begin with, many emigrated expecting to learn a trade or to receive some other type of occupational training so that they would be able to prosper and help their families back home. Some believed they would get assistance and support from the social services of Barcelona and were terribly disappointed to have their illusions shattered, for the existing shelter centers do not even cover their socio-educational and occupational needs (they do not always even meet minimum standards of comfort and hygiene). As a consequence of the lack of coordination among the different public services, the rights of the minors under the guardianship of the Generalitat were not sufficiently protected. In the last years, the different institutions and organizations involved in the issue have attempted to promote new policies that will help unaccompanied minors to avoid falling into exclusion. Nevertheless, these initiatives have come too late, and now it is very difficult to solve the problems of youths who arrived years ago and are now clearly stuck in a situation of margination.

2.3.3.4. Work
There are certain activities that, while integrating immigrants into the European labor market, exclude them in the long term from local society. There are certain occupations which imply basically working in reclusion during long periods of time; immigrants who find themselves entrapped in this situation may spend years living in Catalonia without knowing almost anything about the local society (this is the case of live-in domestic service or work in clandestine workshops managed by members of the immigrants’ own community which impose conditions of semi-slavery.
Those who consistently find themselves working in temporary jobs (harvesting, summer jobs in the hotel-related services, vacation-time substitute work in the industrial sector) have similar problems: frequent workplace changes and long working hours which hinder them from getting into a routine and using their leisure time in such a way as to help them integrate themselves into Catalan society.

Long periods of unemployment evidently imply a progressive degree of exclusion, not only because of the loss of purchasing power, but also because it affects the individual’s self-esteem and renders complicated his staying in the Spanish state due to the refusal of permit renewals. Likewise, the activities of the informal sector (which are at present the pillars of the Spanish economy) may in the long run condemn immigrants to exclusion by keeping them without papers.

Sexual services rely for the most part on the immigrant population (women, men and even minors). It is most often carried out within the informal sector, but even when it occurs in the formal sector (in clubs and other places with legal permits for these activities), it still generates an evident stigmatization of its workers, leading to their exclusion (despite the fact that they may have high incomes).

Given the difficult economic situation, some immigrants choose to engage in delinquent activities; some of them, such as illegal street peddling, are not necessarily perceived as a misdemeanor if they are common in their countries of origin. It is very difficult for those involved in delinquent acts to escape from exclusion because the social rehabilitation and reinsertion mechanisms are gravely lacking in many aspects.

2.3.3.5. Place of residence
The great immigrant density observed in some of the most degraded parts of the city and its metropolitan area has an ambiguous effect. While on the one hand it allows the establishment of solidarity networks (such as that of the Pakistanis in the Raval), it also causes immigrants to come in
contact with the most conflict-ridden realities of the host society (drug trafficking, prostitution, squalor, derelict housing, etc.). Living in an insalubrious setting with deficient facilities may end up reinforcing the tendency toward exclusion. Moreover, the massive arrival of immigrants in a very short time may collapse certain social services such as the public school system. Neighborhood problems are also exacerbated when the immigrant population density is very high in a certain area while little public resources are provided to this area.

2.3.4. Effects of policies on exclusion trajectories in Barcelona

2.3.4.1. Survey of immigration services in Barcelona
The resources available to the foreign population in Barcelona can be classified into two main groups: those that depend on Government Services, and those supported by non-profit organizations (NGOs). The City Council nevertheless does provide financial resources as well as municipal space to those NGOs to which it has delegated certain immigrant-assistance services. In fact, even some official public services are run by non-profit organizations.

The sectors in which these entities intervene tend to be more varied than those of government services. An association established to intervene in a specific field of work (health, education...) often diversifies its activities and also participates in initiatives vindicating immigrants’ rights or in immigration document-processing tasks.

Solidarity and defense of rights
These organizations are involved in detecting factors of immigrant population-exclusion, and in raising the awareness of the population at large concerning these issues, as well as in generating solutions to overcome these problems. In this group one would find immigrant associations, organizations such as SOS Racism, and the immigration
sections of the main labor unions (CITE of CC.OO. *Workers’Commissions*, AMIC of UGT *General Workers’ Union*, etc.), as well as other entities such as the Bar Association (lawyers) and other solidarity platforms that group associations and individuals not specifically involved in immigration to carry out initiatives on specific issues (Law on Aliens, racist attacks, etc.).

**Reception, information and document-processing**

The Offices of Citizen Assistance, which are located in all of Barcelona’s districts, generally are the first to assist newcomers. However, the newly arrived immigrants often speak neither Spanish nor Catalan and in certain cases need specific services that are not available in these Offices. When these problems crop up, the immigrants tend to be addressed to SAIER (*Servei d’Atenció a Immigrats, Estrangers i Refugiats* (Assistance Service for Immigrants, Aliens and Refugees)). This is a municipal resource in which Workers’ Commissions, UGT, Red Cross, SOS Racism and the Bar Association all cooperate together. It is the benchmark for alien immigration reception: it provides legal counsel on document-processing and guidance as to the different resources available to newcomers. It also offers specific assistance to immigrants who have no legal domicile document in registering in the census list. This service provides them with a document stating the date of their arrival and it gives them counsel on the steps to take in order to register.

Apart from SAIER there are various associations in the city which provide information on resources available to aliens. Some, like Cáritas, have the possibility of offering a more complete service, for besides information, and depending on the immigrant’s needs, they can facilitate food, lodging, legal counsel and job offers. Despite the aforementioned, the human, material and economic resources of Cáritas are very limited and it is unable to meet the demands placed on it, especially because these keep growing with every year that goes by. It is therefore of utmost importance that they be able to direct those seeking their help to other services. In keeping with this line of thought, both the City Council of Barcelona and
the Generalitat of Catalonia have published various guides on issues affecting newly arrived immigrants (registering in the census list, health, education, information on available resources, history and cultural traits of the host society, etc.). Although these guides do not always reach potential users of these services, they are still useful for professionals and volunteers of the different entities working in this field. Nevertheless, the distribution of these guides/brochures should be improved and the information they provide on the different services updated; sometimes an organization or institution has little information on the activities carried out by other entities and does not direct the person seeking assistance to the correct place. Immigrants frequently receive information from unreliable sources and are further confused by this. Moreover, some have problems due to the circulation of erroneous information; for example, the periodical rumor that a process of legalization is about to begin tends to cause a massive inflow of petitions which block the services of the information and document-processing offices.

Instruction and training
One of the elementary needs common to all immigrants is that of being able to communicate with the host society so as to circulate therein. Since quite a few immigrants speak neither Spanish nor Catalan as a mother tongue nor have studied it in their countries of origin, they start off with a handicap in adapting to Catalonia, as well as finding their independence impaired. To solve this problem, one of the first initiatives in the field of immigration was the organization of Spanish and Catalan language classes for aliens. Adult public schools in the districts play an important role in this sector, although they have some grave deficiencies both on a material level and on a human resource level. These entities have been organizing courses for aliens for over a decade, and they try to adapt to the work schedule of each community (for example, classes for Chinese immigrants tend to be given in the very early afternoon so that those working in the restaurants can be present). Concerning adult instruction by official
government institutions, it has been verified that the Escola Oficial d’Idiomes (Official Language School) offers very few places for aliens who wish to study Spanish, and the number of students entering the school is absolutely insufficient considering the city’s needs.

Lately there has been an increase in the number of foreign students who wish to study Catalan (in the last two years the number of foreigners registered in schools offering this language has triplicated). They are mainly Latin American people who, since they already speak Spanish (the language which tends to be more necessary in their work environment), improve their all-round training by learning Catalan. There is a variety of Spanish and Catalan classes offered by diverse entities. Some are very well organized and boast noteworthy teaching ability as well as sufficient educational resources, but there are also projects run by volunteers with very little preparation; these courses do not manage to teach any language, basically limiting their scope to helping newly arrived immigrants and indigenous individuals to maintain contact with each other. Similar deficiencies can be observed even in classes taught in public high schools; there, reinforcement classes of Catalan to immigrants (held during teaching hours) are not given by professors registered in the Department of Education, but rather, by assistants who have no training as teachers, and few resources at their disposition.

A fact that should be remarked on is that in the last five years the occupational training alternatives offered to foreigners have increased significantly (although some immigrants are not aware of this). Immigrants who have an adequate working knowledge of Spanish or Catalan are able to participate in general courses in these two languages, whereas for those who speak neither Spanish or Catalan, specific courses are offered in foreign languages in the areas of hotel and food services, construction, computer training, maintenance work on buildings, etc..

Training in intercultural mediation is also offered. To combat gender discrimination, some courses are specifically addressed to immigrant women. Nevertheless, those whose legal situation is undefined, who tend
to be the foreigners most in need of occupational training and counselling, are not able to obtain regulated occupational training. Finally, there are programs addressed to children and youths, and these are channelled through the school system and recreational activity centers. The participation of alien immigrant children in recreational activity centers and extracurricular activities is strongly promoted because in this way they come into contact with the host society’s culture and they mingle with other foreign children as well as with native ones, a contact which is positive for all involved.

Health
The Law on Aliens stipulates that any non-EU immigrant who is registered in the census list has a right to a health card which gives him/her access to public health services. Some immigrants have a difficult time registering, and therefore are denied access to public health care. Even health card holders face certain difficulties in availing themselves of these services due to language problems, the lack of knowledge of the health care resources which can be used, and their own individual understanding of health and sickness. To meet immigrant needs, certain services within the general health care network have been created to specifically address their problems. These services train health care assistants, devote themselves to the prevention of AIDS and other contagious diseases, do follow-up monitoring of certain chronic diseases, and redirect urgent cases to other specific services. An example of this is the Tropical Diseases and International Vaccinations Unit, a benchmark for health care professionals and the immigrant population. Other varied proposals on health care for alien immigrants have arisen from diverse associations. Some, like SAPPIR, offer immigrants support as well as psychological and psychiatric treatment, whereas others specialize in different areas. These organizations train professionals, help to detect rising needs among the population – including cooperating in the search
for a solution to the underlying problems – and facilitate the interaction between health care professionals and patients.

**Culture and civic participation**

The participation of the foreign population in the general social and cultural activities is not significant and is mostly centered around programs related to their cultures of origin or around events (such as the annual Diversity Celebration and the Maghreb Conference) meant to increase the awareness of the population at large towards alien immigrant problems. As far as religion is concerned, Muslims have serious difficulties in living a full religious life. Muslim prayer centers are small, so that women cannot attend prayer services. There is not one mosque in Barcelona, a city that takes in one of the most important Muslim communities within southwestern Europe.

The majority of immigrants do not have the economic means to have their own centers for meetings and reunions, so that they have to meet in bars, shops and private dwellings, a fact which sometimes generates problems with neighbors due to noise and the concentration of many people. They are increasingly using public resources such as civic centers for these activities, but the City Council’s grounds cannot be used for certain religious or private ceremonies (weddings, baptisms, and funerals). If this situation does not change and cultural activities continue being carried on in semi-clandestine conditions, it will be very difficult to speak of adaptation and exchanges among immigrants and natives, and will instead face a multicultural landscape in which people will live next to each other but not with each other.

### 2.3.4.2. Implementation of immigration policies in Barcelona

One of the principles of municipal policies on immigration is that of promoting the adaptation of general services to the new social configuration without creating specific services for immigrants aside from
SAIER, devoted to informing and counselling immigrants. The challenge is to achieve that immigrants have access to and benefit from municipal services as much as the rest of the population. In reaching this objective, certain obstacles are detected, such as language barriers or the deficient adaptation (at least so far) of these services in the face of the cultural diversity of the immigrant population.

It is possible to establish mechanisms which tend to smooth this situation: for example, assistance to users who speak certain languages could be concentrated within a specific timetable, and during this schedule a translation service could be offered. Assistance could also be improved by hiring municipal professionals originarily from the countries of origin of the new immigrants (there are still too few such professionals). It is also essential to give professionals from different fields intercultural background training so that they can better assist users.

The achievement of a good level of intercultural training benefits users on the whole, and also makes it easier to implement one of the principles of municipal government planning - transversality. It would be very difficult to attain an egalitarian approach on the immigration issue if all areas of Government are not involved. Up until now the areas of Social Services, Education, Civic Participation and Work Insertion have been those most sensitive to the demands of the immigrant population; now it is absolutely essential that the rest of governmental departments approach immigration as an issue they also have to deal with. If this course of action is not followed, the City Council will lose its internal balance because it will have limited the immigration phenomenon to an issue for social services. For example, one of the immigrants’ main concerns is access to decent housing. Despite the fact that the City Council has limited authority in the real estate terrain, it does have a certain power to facilitate access to housing. In other towns of Catalonia, programs have been implemented which consisted of information and mediation services directed at youths; these could also be used to benefit foreign immigrants. The City Council
could also levy taxes on empty dwellings and lower taxes on rental lodgings. On certain occasions, the factor which limits the development of horizontal policies such as housing is simply the lack of sensitivity or awareness of those in charge. It is disappointing that in all of the city of Barcelona there are only two support services which search housing for non-EU immigrants and for other marginated groups (unemployed, drug addicts, senior citizens, battered women, etc.) The oldest one is Xenofília, which groups together different associations; the most recent is Probens. Both work in Ciutat Vella (historical center) and have great difficulties in carrying out their work due to the inexistence of a rental market and the reticences of owners to rent flats to non-EU foreigners. In fact, Probens is considering the possibility of purchasing lodgings to be able to rent them afterwards.

The greatest obstacle faced by town councils in satisfactorily responding to immigrants’ demands (and those of the most underprivileged sectors of the population) is the lack of economic resources. The Spanish state has the lowest social expenditure per GNP of the European Union: 20.6% (whereas the EU average is 27%). Moreover the wealth distribution in Spain is more uneven than it is in other EU countries; in the last years, the number of poor people has been growing, and certain forms of poverty which seemed to be extinct are reappearing. According to Report 2001 by the Cáritas of Barcelona, poverty is especially affecting young people, women, senior citizens, and immigrants. If we look at the Barcelona City Council, we see that the last report from 2002 stated that if the city’s social services were to be on a par with those in the rest of Catalonia, 207 million Euros would have to be invested annually in comparison with the 107 million Euros currently invested. The demand continues to grow, mainly because of increasing poverty, ageing of the population, and increasing immigration. Public resources to cover the needs of the immigrant population are among the most unstable ones in the European Union.
One of the pillars of municipal immigration policies is the cooperation which the tertiary sector has shown with the associations which give support to alien immigrants and with immigrant associations themselves. This civic involvement is channelled through the Municipal Immigration Council, which groups together City Council representatives, NGO members, immigrant associations, and specialists in immigration issues (in the investigation and opinion-forming fields). This Council is an advisory organ which limits its scope of action to making recommendations to government services. Within the framework of participative democracy which has gradually spread throughout municipal governments, it would be wise for the City Council to follow through with the agreements reached in the Municipal Immigration Council in a more thorough manner.

One must also bear in mind an idea which is succinctly expressed in the words of Rafael Campalans, a Socialist leader during the Second Republic of Spain: “to make politics is to make pedagogy”. The Administration and political parties must fulfill a teaching function with respect to local population by offering trustworthy information that checks rumors which spread the idea that immigrants take up all public aids and cause a fall in the quality of the social services available to the indigenous population. The unanimous ratification of the city’s immigration plan by all political parties is a step in the right direction, because it can help to avoid political manipulation of the immigration issue, which would consequently promote xenophobic attitudes.

The instruments to reduce immigrant exclusion are already at work. One of the most important ones is the Charter of Human Rights Protection in Cities which was subscribed by various European cities, among them Barcelona. This document speaks about the need to foster a different notion of citizenship different from that which is state-linked, and it proposes doing so by promoting the rights of citizens in accordance with their place of residence and not their place of origin.
2.3.4.3. Conclusions and recommendations

The investigation has highlighted the fact that many immigrants are excluded or run the risk of falling into exclusion. Immigrants are very vulnerable just because they are non-EU foreigners, and not because of having been excluded in their societies of origin. Some immigrants who were well integrated in their own countries in terms of their educational level, housing, work and social relations end up as outcasts when they arrive in Spain and suffer the same hardships that other originally less privileged compatriots do.

The exclusion of the non-EU immigrant population has its origins in the segregation between inhabitants who possess the condition of citizen (those who have a passport of the European Union) and aliens, who have fewer rights than citizens. Both groups share the same space, but a socio-economic barrier is established which will continue to exist while the number of possible ways by which an alien can reach the condition of citizen continues to be reduced.

The condition of being “illegal” directly pushes the individual so portrayed into a situation of exclusion (this is the fate of thousands of people in similar circumstances). The lack of work and residence permits impairs the possibility of having access to a decent job and dwelling, and moreover blocks all possibility of family reunification, condemning the individual to a lonely life. There are also, however, many immigrants whose situation is legalised but who nevertheless run the risk of becoming excluded. Immigration documents have to be renewed periodically and many cannot do so due to either social or work problems. Having a permit does not guarantee a normal, regular life because it is not always possible to bring the whole family over due to economic reasons; thus, many individuals suffer from emotional instability, inadaptation and other psychological problems because they are far away from those they love. There are other groups, such as women with domestic problems and adolescents, who run an even greater risk of exclusion.
Spanish society often assigns immigrants marginal occupations and lodgings, while on the other hand it reserves the most decent spheres of work and residence to national citizens and EU foreigners. In this way it comes to be considered as normal that immigrants be living in extremely precarious conditions. Even some immigrants end up believing that their terrible situation is the norm: immigrants who accept this point of view are not likely to escape from exclusion because they do not fight to overcome their situation. The image which mass media give of immigrants is often negative and reinforces the stereotypes which native citizens have of this group. Alien immigration policies which give priority to police interventions rather than to social action also end up reinforcing the idea that immigration is a source of problems for the host society. It is thus that xenophobia is fostered and exclusion ensured.

Finally, it is necessary to remark on the fact that some of the immigrants’ main problems, such as housing, also deeply affect the most underprivileged native population. Spanish social expenditure is very low and social inequalities are on the rise. Because of who they are, immigrants are especially vulnerable and are the first to fall into exclusion due to the lack of greater commitment to immigration rights on the part of social policies.

Here follow a series of proposals of actions to be taken by the municipal administration of Barcelona in order to counteract the developments enumerated in the study:

- In general terms, the mechanisms of immigrant population reception and sheltering must be reinforced to facilitate their adaptation and to preclude possible slips into exclusion;
- To accomplish these objectives, town councils must receive more support from the organisms above the municipalities: the autonomous (regional) government, the central government and the European Union;
- The coordination among public services and entities assisting immigrants and excluded individuals must be improved;
• Immigrant participation in projects that directly affect them must be actively fostered. Moreover, it is necessary to promote their inclusion in spaces and organs of civic participation on an equal footing with the rest of the town’s inhabitants;
• Certain precepts of citizenship should be extended to the concept of residence. This would imply granting non-EU immigrants the right to vote and to run as candidates in municipal and autonomous elections. These policies have already been carried out in other states of the European Union (e.g. Holland) as well as in Denmark.

Recommendations concerning the MEINA (unaccompanied maghrebian immigrant minors)
Regarding unaccompanied Maghrebian minors, it is worth remarking on the efforts made by the City Councils of Barcelona and Santa Coloma de Gramanet to come up with initiatives to facilitate their social and occupational insertion and to improve their situation in general. Despite this, the political response of the Generalitat (autonomous regional government) came too late. Thus, some of the interventions were implemented when the situation was already greatly deteriorated, with a significant number of minors involved in petty delinquency. This evidently provoked a rise in the costs of socio-educational interventions. Thanks to the intervention of specialists, the situation could be stabilized before it got worse.
One of the main problems of these minors is that when they reach their majority of age they are no longer wards under the guardianship of the autonomous administration, and their legal situation is undefined. Some manage to obtain a residence permit quite quickly, whereas others have to wait up to 25 months to have their record processed. In some cases they become “illegal” aliens as soon as they reach their majority of age, and this circumstance is further aggravated by the fact that police control of immigration increases the risk of exclusion.
The main needs of those who have been under the guardianship of the Generalitat can be summarized in three points:

- **Getting work**: to legalize their situation, they need a job offer with a contract based on 40 hours a week and lasting one whole year;
- **Obtaining housing**: a difficult goal to achieve in the Barcelonian context;
- **Managing to form part of non-marginal relational networks and overcoming emotional deficiencies**: many of these youths show violent behavior. It is therefore important to emphasize socio-educational work with these minors and to widen the scope of their social relations. Some recent initiatives along these lines have produced positive results.

Despite the difficulties encountered, public services and some entities such as Casal del Raval or Càrites have generated new initiatives addressed to the MEINA, such as the DGAM’s plan for those over 18 years old. These proposals will have to be assessed in the near future to find out whether the projects have really satisfied the needs identified in this study.
NOTES

1 For a more comprehensive vision of the quantitative dimension of immigration in Spain and Barcelona, see the 1st Partial Report of the present study, which was carried out by the Centre d’Estudis Africans (Center of African Studies) in May 2002, only available in Spanish.

2 For a more global perspective of Spanish policy on aliens, see Torbisco, 2003.

3 The official statistical sources are: Population census INE-Instituto Nacional de Estadística (National Institute of Statistics), Migration poll (INE), Register of foreign residents (Ministry of the Interior), 2000 Statistical Yearbook on Aliens (Ministry of the Interior), Migrations Yearbook (Ministry of Work and Social Affairs), Statistics on work permits (Ministry of Work and Social Affairs), Departament of Statistics and Census List of inhabitants (City Council of Barcelona).

4 People pertaining to over a 100 different nationalities live in the municipalities of the metropolitan area of Barcelona.

5 In 1900, Catalonia’s population numbered 2,000,000 people; given Catalan low birth rates, the vegetative growth of this figure would have meant that by 2002 there would have been fewer than 3 million inhabitants, and yet the reality is that at present the population is of 6,400,000 people. Thus, immigration and its descendants have contributed more than 3 million Catalan men and women. For a greater insight into the Catalan immigration phenomenon, see Cabré (1999).

6 EL País, June 20, 2001.

7 Autonomous Government of Catalonis.

8 Centro de Estudios e Investigación Sindical (Center of Labor Union Studies and Investigation).

9 Catalonia and Valencia, holding 25% of Spanish population, produce 41.5% of the commercial movement of the Spanish state.

10 This point has been drawn up based on the information contributed by Zapata (2001:111-112).


12 Main references regarding unaccompanied immigrants minors are:

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