
Treball Fi de Màster

Immigrants' employment and integration in Barcelona: a qualitative study

Patricia Schappo



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Abstract

The research addresses the role played by *employment* in the *Integration* process of immigrants in Barcelona, Spain. It regards two main identified aspects of Integration: 1) *legal insertion* (related to the institutional 'right to stay'); and 2) the *sociocultural integration* (development of bonds and a 'sense of belonging' with the host society). Integration became a growing concern throughout European countries since the 1980s, due to the meaningful demographic changes caused by the arrival of 'new' foreign collectives in those 'culturally consolidated' nations. Neoliberalism advent resulted in a 'migration boom' to regions understood as economically central and concentrating work opportunities, e.g. Western Europe. The fact led to the development of migration regulatory frameworks that, on the intention of containing harmful migration effects, define ideas of 'legitimate belonging' and 'deserving integration' in the mindsets of host societies. Those oftentimes, drawn on the basis of immigrants' economic contribution. The research draws on ethnographic methods, delivering a qualitative study that complements a body of quantitative researches over the immigrants' reality in Spain. The findings support the literature indication of *socioeconomic segmentation*, where different immigrants' collectives tend to be driven to specific sectors of society, according to their 'national profiles'. Conversely, the research advocates for 'less deterministic conclusions', once the influence of the fruitful cosmopolitan environment and progressive Integration policies of Barcelona.

Keywords: Integration, Employment, Migration Policy, Barcelona, Immigrants

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1. Introduction

"The human migrations had contributed positively to the development of the cities and the big metropolitan areas of the world".

(Barcelona Declaration, p. 2)

1.1. Research Topic & Case Study

Migration to economic leading countries became a remarkable reality since the 1980s, through the effects of Neoliberalism advent. Europe, established as one of the major trading areas and concentrating labour opportunities, started receiving a considerable collective of overseas' foreigners, which due to the deepening of the inequality *centre-periphery*, saw no other option than fleeing the (economic) desperate conditions (Sales & Gregory, 1996; Toomey, 2015). Simultaneously, the creation of the European Union resulted in increased mobility of citizens among the belonging countries, who could now choose to easily establish their lives abroad. Meaningful demographic changes resulted (and keep evolving) from the converging of such mobility trends throughout Western Europe (Caponio, Hunter & Verbeek, 2015). In Spain, the foreign collective grew from approximately 600,000 (1.5% of the total population) in 1998 to more than 5.7 million (12.2% of the total population) by 2011 (Carrasco & García-Pérez, 2015, p. 1039), with trickle-down concentration in 'magnet cities' as the current case study: Barcelona (Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006 - *Refer to Annex 1 for more detailed numbers*).

The effect of such a 'migration boom' was praised on one side, as a way to sustain the economic growth regardless of the low birth rates or limitations of the autochthonous populations (Lyalina, 2014). Notwithstanding, concerns about impacts on European cultural identities and security are identified ever since, turned into everyday debates, due to the perceived more acute ethnic, religious and cultural diversity brought by (mainly) the 'new' migrant groups (from e.g. Middle East, South Asia). To address such concerns, as well as control (*filtering the 'desired' migration*), a series of migration policies were developed in recent years. Furthermore, European Union countries are 'advised' by the EU integration framework (Phillips, 2010; Toomey, 2015) to include in such the development of 'actions' targeting integration of foreign and indigenous collectives, on the basis of employment and social inclusion.

Integration, however, is an elusive concept understood and enforced differently throughout EU countries, which have historically diverging formulations of 'legitimately

belonging'. Those deliver different sets of citizenship rights and cultural formulations in relation with (foreigners) 'diversity'. Nevertheless, integration broadly encompasses two elements: *legal* insertion (on the institutional recognition of the 'right to stay') and *sociocultural* integration, on the development of a resulting 'cohesive society' in the host country. As indicators of Integration 'success', assessments try to measure *equality* in: levels of educational qualifications, language domain, employability prospects and 'sense of belonging' of autochthonous and immigrants.

The present study focuses on the relevance of *employment* on integration trends of immigrant collectives in the city of Barcelona. First, employment is chosen from the set of integration parameters due to its core relevance on the decision to migrate: expectations of "better jobs"/"improved quality of life" are oftentimes the decisive reasons to one's choice to leave its country. Second, it is a meaningful element to be analysed in a cosmopolitan city as Barcelona: commonly praised by its 'inclusive' and unusual planning, and imagined as 'internationally open' to other cultures. Despite these features, the decisions of the municipality are constrained by the restrictive migration policies adopted by the Spanish central government, to which Barcelona despite the independence claims of Catalonia, still has to obey. Third, the Spanish migration regulatory framework defines the right to admission and stay on *employment* grounds (Chauvin, Garcés -Mascareñas & Kraler, 2013), while not granting political rights to non-Spanish citizens (Però, 2007). Last but not least, as the researcher's residence city, the case enables the development of ethnographic investigation over the topic, delivering a qualitative study that complements a perceived limited amount of such works, towards a fairly comprehensive assessed body of *quantitative* studies (e.g. Carrasco & García-Perez, 2015; Colectivo Ioé, 2008; Errico, 2013; Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006; Miguélez, Alós, López-Roldán, Molina, & Moreno, 2012).

1.2. Research Objectives and Question

The objectives of the study include tentatively responding the overarching question about the (determining) role played by *employment* on the integration of different immigrant collectives. It regards both 1) *legal* and 2) *sociocultural* aspects of integration, answering on the grounds of the provided and analysed *qualitative data*. Moreover, the study envisions complementing and widening the academic understandings through the development of an analysis that merges primary findings with the produced body of knowledge at European and Spanish level (*acknowledged and roughly compiled in the Annex 1*). An important element of the study is the insights about the impact of *informal labour practices*. Such activities are the

only possible venue of income generation for undocumented migrants, which are reasonably understood as the most vulnerable ones, but which conversely, are seldom included in the quantitative studies, once institutional databases over informality 'simply' lack.

From the emerging trends, a last intention was to understand the effectiveness of the municipalities' approach and support to migrants' (integration) needs, once the '*Ajuntament de Barcelona*' provides a wide range of resources in its institutional structure. Policy recommendation emerges in the conclusions, addressing both municipal as national spheres.

The following chapters develop the narrative of the investigation, containing respectively: 1) the theoretical and factual background over *immigrants, employment and integration*; 2) a short description of the investigation methodology; 3) the case study data findings and analysis; 4) the conclusions, recognising the limitations of the work, as well as drafting suggestions of further policy modifications.

The research chiefly supports the secondary data reported tendency, i.e. socioeconomic segmentation, once overseas immigrants' employment prospects and realities are on average limited to specific kinds of activities, representing the construction (or maintenance) of a stigma which hampers integration (e.g. Miguélez et al., 2012; Van Leeuwen, 2008). Employment is perceived as both *cause* and *consequence* of constrained and segmented integration, a sort of vicious cycle hard to be broken. Conversely, the findings advocate for less 'deterministic narratives', once inequality trends can be softened and bridged by the observation of individuals' features (i.e. *human capital*) and choices. These variables, in which *qualifications* are remarkably meaningful, seem to have a fruitful environment to emerge in the cosmopolitan Barcelona.

2. Literature Review

“Human mobility creates diversity (...) constitutes a feature that renders cities richer and more competitive spaces, with more prosperity.”

(Barcelona Declaration, p.2)

2.1. Migration decisive elements

Meaningful changes in the economic structure worldwide since the 1980s led to a more acute perception of migration (Sales & Gregory, 1996; Toomey, 2015), especially in regions where a centrality role became more pronounced. These locations (EU, North America and East Asia), got established as major trading areas (Sales & Gregory, 1996), concentrating capital and opportunities, while further marginalizing already poorer areas of the world, as considerable parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The exacerbation of long-term poverty and underdevelopment, stretched to chronic indebtedness, resulted in a considerable collective seeing no other alternative than fleeing the economic desperation conditions (Sales & Gregory, 1996), while others were forcibly displaced by military conflicts and persecution (Toomey, 2015). Furthermore, the dismantling of Socialist Regimes also led to an increase of migration to Western Europe (Sales & Gregory, 1996).

The fast increase of foreign collectives' presence in Europe was perceived throughout the countries (Caponio et al., 2015; Carrasco & García-Pérez, 2015; Toomey, 2015). On the one hand the change was welcomed, allowing countries to keep up with the market's demand for labour force (Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006), despite the low birth rates (Lyalina, 2014) especially in North Europe. Conversely, the perceived more acute ethnic, religious and cultural differences of the 'new' migrant groups led to (ever since) concerns about the demographic, cultural and even security impacts caused by the permanence of those collectives in 'well-established' European nations (e.g. Phillips, 2010; Van Leeuwen, 2008; Valentine, 2008; Watson, 2006), which, as framed by Statham (2016) *“do not see themselves as ‘immigrant societies’, even if a demographer or historian could make a good factual case that they are”* (p. 2323).

2.2. Migration Policies

The perceived irreversibility of migration and its consequent diversity resulted in an increasing awareness about the need to discuss and take political attitudes regarding the integration of immigrants in host countries (e.g. Chauvin et al., 2013; Phillips, 2010; Rodriguez-

Garcia, 2010; Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010). Devoting attention to Europe, with the creation of the European Union, an overarching framework of integration was developed, including the *Common Basic Principles* in the *Common Agenda* for Integration (Phillips, 2010) and strategies such as *Europe 2020*, where the policy objectives include *employment* and *social inclusion* (Toomey, 2015, p. 259, emphasis added), regarding also the long-term (i.e. further generations) participation in political and cultural life. The EU also set integration policy modules focused in 1) *labour training and language courses*; 2) *raising interest and involving the host society in migrants' integration*; 3) *active participation of migrants in all areas of public life*. Furthermore, it created fund venues to support countries facing economic difficulties to bring the national immigration legislation in accordance with the European set standards (Lyalina, 2014, pp. 103-105). Such 'positive' EU framework comes from the recognition of migrants' contribution to e.g. increasing economic competitiveness, skills, and demand for labour workforce (Commission of the European Communities 2007, in Toomey, 2015, p. 259).

The advent of the EU, conversely, also resulted in the stark polarization of the kinds of opportunities and rights the different foreign collectives, now understood as *belonging* or *not*, are entitled to. The access to those was previously available on an equal foot to all nationalities (Sales & Gregory, 1996). Moreover, the EU countries despite the establishment of international principles, once international legislation is not legally binding, adopt diverse legal approaches to deal with the overseas' collectives presence (Lyalina, 2014). Such variations are acknowledged as consequences of the host countries' history, colonial ties, the process of national identity construction and the resulting inclusive or exclusive patterns of 'legitimately belonging' (i.e. with citizenship rights) (Rodriguez-García, 2010). The resulting national migration policies then intrinsically have legal aspects, but *may or not* have an integration component. Lyalina (2014) states that 12 out of 27 EU countries adhere to a policy of partial integration of migrants, Spain being one of those (p. 106).

On the legal sphere, two principles are historically applied for the attainment of citizenship: *jus solis*, the right to be granted nationality once born in a state – e.g. France; and *jus sanguinis*, literally the 'blood principle', where ancestry is used as criteria. Naturalisation in this framework is a stringent process, if there are no such roots from the parents – applied in e.g. Germany. Within both frameworks, there are perceived variations of required features to provide legal rights to foreigners, and the extent of those. A common granting feature is *legal residency* in the country. In the case of Spain, it can be even used as an element to grant nationality, with the permanence time prior to the application varying, depending on the

nationality of the applicants (e.g. Ibero-Americans after two years of legal residency, while generally ten years are requested) (Spanish Ministry of Justice, n.d.). These legal frameworks' adoption impact integration outcomes: in countries where access to citizenship rights is easier, immigrants feel more encouraged to engage the host country's political life (Maxwell, 2010, p. 29).

2.3. Framing 'Integration'

Participation and political engagement in the host society (Maxwell, 2010) are definitely important elements of integration. Nevertheless, they are not exhaustive. It is important now to come up with a tentative definition of *Integration*. There is an on-going controversy of what defines integration, once it is a holistic state which different elements contribute to (Samper & Moreno, 2009). The lack of straightforward parameters and the difficulty in evaluating the performance of those, especially in quantitative terms, results in the common confusion of *Integration* with *Assimilation* and *Adaptation* (Lyalina, 2014; Phillips, 2010). Far from intending to be conclusive, the following definition and elements are developed as a framework for the analysis of the findings of this investigation.

As a starting point, *Integration* should lead to overall *equality*. After the assessment of a considerable body of literature addressing the theme (e.g. Jong, 2016; Lyalina, 2014; Phillips, 2010; Rodriguez-García, 2010; Sales & Gregory, 1996; Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010; Valentine, 2008; Van Leeuwen, 2008; Watson, 2006), it can be said that *Integration* relates to two sets of elements, similarly to the defined by the Russian sociologist A. Prokhorova: 1) legal insertion; 2) socialisation (Lyalina, 2014). The first subgroup is related to residency permits and citizenship rights' acquisition, while the second encompasses more subjective features, as the development of a 'sense of belonging', social bounds with the autochthonous society and peaceful conviviality with *difference*. The second may also include 'measurable' elements as local language knowledge. Regarding both aspects, the advised way of performing integration would be through a *bidirectional effort* of adaptation to difference: from both the host society and the migrants (Lyalina, 2014; Phillips, 2010). In sum, integration *should lead to equal access to opportunities*, in practical and subjective senses, where groups, regardless of the origins, feel legitimate, with the capacity of satisfying living standards and findings ways of dwelling in the host society context.

On the application of such ideals to the reality of unequal contexts, more than questioning if the immigrants manage to integrate in society, the question is *in which stratum*

they do manage to do so, leading to society transformation. Integration, with its positive connotation, also comes imbued with elements of broadly shared and agreed values of peaceful conviviality, the appreciation of difference, and a resulting cohesive society (Samper & Moreno, 2009, p. 6).

2.4. Integration National Approaches and Downfalls

On an academic sphere, two main integration approaches were identified from the governments' responses to migration: Assimilationism and Multiculturalism:

Assimilationism is normally associated to the idea of a "melting pot". It is based on a homogeneous culture and often described as a *one-way* process of acculturation and spatial dispersal of immigrants. Social equality is thought to be achieved through a clear undifferentiated legislation and the acceptance by immigrants of the dominant society's culture. Diversity concerns are regarded as venues of discrimination and as hampering social cohesion, therefore are neutralised. France is a strong example of such approach, where the roots are found in the French Revolution principles (Giménez, 2009; Lyalina, 2014; Phillips, 2010; Rodríguez-García, 2010; Sales & Gregory, 1996).

Multiculturalism, as a response to Assimilationism, is considered the first version of a *cultural pluralism* approach (Giménez, 2009). It is based on the idea of shared belonging, respect for and even promotion of cultural diversity, as noticeably found in cosmopolitan large cities around the world. The host country is given the responsibility to lead the generation of a multicultural society, where all ethnicities and religions are considered legitimate and are equally promoted. The Netherlands and the UK are taken as examples of it (Lyalina, 2014; Phillips, 2010; Rodríguez-García, 2010). Scandinavian countries, in the institutional recognition of minorities and what is called a 'positive discrimination' could also be taken as multicultural; (Sales & Gregory, 1996).

Recent disruptions have called both approaches to a revision of principles and strategies, inviting for a shift of paradigms. The hijab debates and *banlieus'* strikes in France demonstrate the frustration from minorities, spatially and culturally segregated. Conversely, the rise of a stark right-wing movement in the Netherlands and terrorist attacks in London (2005) brought attention to the perceived lack of social cohesion within multiculturalist countries (Rodríguez-García, 2010). Consequently, concerns with national security arose, even among 'tolerant' countries (Lyalina, 2014, p. 101). Within the matter, the recent election of Donald Trump (USA), and the increasing political relevance of conservative parties in

historically more 'progressive' countries (e.g. France and Netherlands) reveals the rising levels of host societies' fear and animosity regarding the presence of (specially) some groups, regarded as 'non-integratable', e.g. Muslims (Jahanbegloo, 2009; Statham, 2016), developing a collective 'belief' that the limits of multicultural societies were reached (Caponio et al., 2015).

Unfortunately, as might be imagined, opportunities to different individuals and collectives of immigrants depend, besides on their *human capital* (i.e. individual qualifications/skills), on the limitations posed by the host society (*structural features*) (Artiles, López-Roldán & Molina, 2011). Xenophobic sentiments associated to evidences of 'white flight', this hardly ever addressed in integration policies (Reijndorp, 2009; Valentine, 2008; Van Leeuwen, 2008; Watson, 2006), make integration harder, once allowing for discriminative practices, as further constraining citizen rights' attainment (Maxwell, 2010). As a consequence, the lack of a developed 'sense of belonging' encourage some migrant collectives to remain socially bounded only to developed 'migrant communities' understood as a locus of protection and co-ethnic reciprocal support towards a harsh surrounding environment (Hack-Polay, 2008; Kalter & Kogan, 2014)

Within the overarching Integration debates, the present study clashes the 'conservative' mindset of the Spanish central government, framing Integration as *cultural assimilation by minorities and spatial dispersal through the territory* (Phillips, 2010), with the institutionally and broadly assumed 'progressive Barcelona' that recently claimed the right to host refugees, despite the slow and impeding national government. The city since 2008 adopts *Interculturalism* as the Integration framework (Samper & Moreno, 2009). This new approach is in sum defined as an 'evolution of multiculturalism', addressing its pitfalls through actively building cohesion (Giménez, 2009; Jahanbegloo, 2009; Rodríguez-García, 2010). The approach is further explored in section 4.2.

Before moving towards specific considerations over the role of *employment* (*here a term interchangeable with 'jobs' and 'work'*) for one's Integration, it is important to acknowledge the importance of social networks. Rodríguez-García (2010) makes use of Putnam's ideas of different sorts of 'relationship ties' within social capital (*bonding ties*, among similar individuals; and *bridging ties*, among different ones) to argue that both types are essential for a healthy society and individuals' maturation. The second type is especially important for integration, once enables the exchange of knowledge, social mobility and social cohesion of the society as a whole (Samper & Moreno, 2009). For immigrants, the presence of *bridging ties* may result in faster development of local language knowledge (Hack-Polay, 2008), facilitated access to information over educational and employment opportunities, increasing

not only the participation in public life, but also enabling a more efficient matching between persons' qualifications and corresponding jobs. Notwithstanding the social connections one has the chance to develop in the host society *impact* and *are impacted* by both the immigrants' human capital as the structural features of the host society.

2.5. The Employment parameter & its impact in Immigrants' Integration

When approaching the relevance of *employment* (a taken short term to define the broad universe of income generating activities that the immigrants pursue in host societies), a first and straightforward fact is that the very own perspective of employment is a (if not *the*) main factor in the decision of the majority of third nation citizens to migrate. Immigrants arriving in Western Europe are generally pushed away by necessity, and search for economic means of achieving a better life quality (Kalter & Kogan, 2014; Sales & Gregory, 1996).

Employment is furthermore an element of individual fulfilment, alongside its importance as an *enabler of other human rights* such as access to food, clothing and housing. Work activities also directly affect the extent of education access and freedom of movement (Toomey, 2015, p. 253, emphasis added). As a result, the labour activities developed by immigrants play an important role in the two previously broadly defined spheres of integration: *the legal one* (regarding regulations, citizenship rights), as well as the *sociocultural one*, on facilitating or hampering the development of bonds with locals, the acquisition of language skills and the development of a *sense of belonging*.

Academic literature oftentimes stresses the importance of employment for integration through paraphrasing policy documents (Joppke, 2007; Lyalina, 2014), which in all scales of action (i.e. international to municipal) refer to its relevance. In framing the EU level policies, Joppke (2007) reports that according to the EU common basic principle number three, *employment is a key part of the integration process and is central to the participation of immigrants, to the contributions immigrants make to the host society, and to making such contributions visible* (EU common basic principles, 2004; in Joppke, 2007, emphasis added). The last sentence addresses the 'unconscious' development of a 'collective mindset' in the autochthonous inhabitants, of the ones who *deserve being integrated*, and the *ones that not*, translated by the immigrants' capacities to sustain itself economically and the sort of labour activities they pertain (Chauvin et al., 2013).

The Integration policy of The Hague, in the other extreme of institutional spectrum, with more than half of the residents being foreigners stresses that the enforcement of the

integration policy should lead to a state where all citizens *feel at home and everyone can participate in society*, thanks to and despite the differences. Enhancing integration through *employment* is described as the main practical goal because ***the work environment is a setting that can enable active participation in society*** (Baldewsingh, 2015a, my emphasis, in Schappo, 2015).

However, the presence of such principles in policy is not directly materialised in efficient labour market integration results (e.g. Carrasco & García-Pérez, 2015; Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB; Kalter & Kogan, 2014; Miguélez et al., 2012 Toomey, 2015; Sales & Gregory, 1996). The presence of employment segregation resulting from non-existing policy, unclear frameworks or inefficient enforcement, leads to immigrants' perception of living in a degrading situation, not making complete use of their capacities and forced to accept low-paid positions below their qualifications (Toomey, 2015). Jong (2016) reports a quote from the European Commission 'Agenda for the Integration of Third Country Nationals' (2011) where "*over-qualification of third-country nationals for their jobs, especially of women, is noticeable in all Member States where data are available. Unemployed migrants or migrants employed in positions for which they are overqualified are an underutilised resource and a waste of human capital* (EC 2011, 5, in Jong, 2016).

In scrutinizing the gap between *outlined policies* and the *practical results*, a first step is the analysis of employment's legal relevance for immigrants in Europe. The development of regularising schemes, which institutionally allow the permanence of foreigners, was born from the perception of large groups of illegal immigrants after the 1990s throughout the countries. Two kinds of parameters are currently used to justify the status' regularisation: *employment* and *humanitarian grounds*. In South European Countries the most common approach is the first, born from an economic concern with the existence of enough financial means for the local population, as well as the fear of immigrants becoming a 'burden' for public expenditure. Employment is the core criteria ensuring admission in the territory, and is given only to the ones able to support themselves. For Spain specifically, access to legal employment is stringent, allowed by the government only for positions not covered (*or desired*) by the Spanish autochthonous workers, where the application of permissions is forwarded by the prospective employers (Carrasco & García-Pérez, 2015). Notwithstanding, even for the Northern European countries emphasising the *humanitarian elements*, employment has a strong connection with the construction of civic membership levels, and a positive social image of 'good citizen', one 'deserving integration' (Chauvin et al., 2013).

As one may perceive, the legal employment condition delivers a series of potential ‘vulnerability traps’ for work relations developed under a political framework where employers are given such primacy over the *right of permanence* of one (Sales & Gregory, 1996; Toomey, 2015). The consideration is especially meaningful under realities of economic crisis, labour deregulation (e.g. abolition of wages councils and weakening of unions) and casualization, consequences of Neoliberalism advent. Sales & Gregory (1996) twenty years ago, already presented evidences of the disadvantage impact of such policy approaches for minorities and generally vulnerable collectives (e.g. women), which face discrimination and are continuously seem as cheap and disposable labour force (p. 339).

The legal binding between employment and residence permits may further harm employees, forced to accept abusive behaviour (e.g. lower payment than the stated in contracts; extenuating working journeys) or to be obliged to remain in a job for a minimum (*not so short*) period, regardless of the possibility of achieving better positions, due to the need of applying again for permits. The lack of knowledge about the host country labour market, language limitations, unknown job-hunting schemes, and issues in the validation of professional qualifications may result in even more vulnerable foreign collectives, trapped in specific roles, with constrained upward mobility (Sales & Gregory, 1996; Toomey, 2015). For some, the impossibility to be unemployed turn the development of skills, as local language knowledge, a ‘secondary concern’ due to the urge of providing resources to respond to daily-basis needs (Hack-Polay, 2008).

2.5.1. Informality

Furthermore, the aforementioned regulation does not encompass concerns about informal labour activities, its depth, and conditions. Informality is oftentimes the only option for a remarkable contingent of immigrants with irregular status, constrained by the lack of legal opportunities, discrimination and stringent processes of formal market insertion in host countries. Saskia Sassen (1998) points out that the end of the Fordist capitalist era led to stronger social polarization and an increase in the presence of informality, which adopt different levels, but is more frequently perceived within the low-skilled and low-paid workers. The deregulation over labour positions leads to increased employment vulnerability, while conversely, also facilitates the incorporation of less-advantaged collectives (women, youth, migrants), creating space for social enterprises and small autonomous business developments (Sassen, 2008). The phenomenon is then not directly translated as ‘social exclusion’; it may be something tolerated by some through the flexible arrangements (as women and

autochthonous young workers) and the hope of labour insertion for immigrants. (Colectivo loé, 2008).

A definition of 'informal economy' to be adopted in the present investigation regards the labour activities which are not illegal (e.g. drug dealing) per se, but *that are not declared to one or more administrative authorities which ought to have knowledge about it* (OCDE, 1986, in Colectivo loé, 2008, p. 7). The main concerns related to the shortcomings of informality are the features perceived under the umbrella of labour *precariousness*, which the above-stated groups have fewer opportunities to leave, developing a stagnated dynamic. *Precairousness* is defined in comparison with a situation regarded *ideal or desirable*; one that, in sum, provides stability, social protection (e.g. access to unemployment pension) and enables upward mobility. According to the classification developed by Sánchez & Cano (1998, in Colectivo loé, 2008), four features are related to precariousness, to which the perceived extent is an effect of the accumulation of: 1) *the uncertainty of keeping in a job* (related to the incidence of temporary contracts); 2) *Insufficient salary for developing a "normal life"* (regarding also the fluctuating periods of employment and unemployment, as well as the bad wages); 3) *Labour conditions below the minimum standards* (related to e.g. working hours, exploitation, labour accidents); 4) *Insufficient social protection regarding labour regulations* (also in a context of reduction of welfare states and welfare rights) (Colectivo loé, 2008 pp. 20-22). Such precariousness elements serve here as part of the analytical framework to assess the impact of the employment conditions pertained by the immigrant collectives.

As a conclusion, employment lies in this paradox of being possibly "*a source of dignity and fulfilment; or conversely a source of exploitation and frustration. While international migration can be a positive experience for some, for others it can mean poor working and living conditions* (International Labour Conference in 2004 in Toomey, 2015, p. 250). The previously mentioned shortcomings for third nation immigrants with the creation of the EU are also reflected in the employment realm, and in the above quote. It deepens the already perceived inequality on the basis of race discrimination through the adoption of now legitimate 'protectionist' measures for a set of foreigners. The result is the emergence of two large subgroups of migrant workers: highly skilled European (looking) workers accessing good employment positions; and low-skilled and low-paid ethnic migrants on the other, more prone to unemployment (Toomey, 2015), temporary contracts, and precarious labour conditions (e.g. Colectivo loé, 2008; Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006). Equality concerns are forgotten at the sake of economic growth and international performance (Sales & Gregory, 1996), while segmentation increases and is promised to endure.

2.6. Summary

The provided discussion showed the growing awareness about the need to *Integrate* immigrants and host societies in European countries; the resulting approaches and policies to deal with this perceived need, as well as the already noticed pitfalls of such. The present research focus the role played by employment on the Integration paths of immigrant collectives, analysing both the *legal* as the *sociocultural* spheres of Integration. Within the provided information, the parameters of nationality, qualifications, salaries, precariousness (and informality) of job enrolments will be observed. The relevance of 1) immigrants' *human capital* and 2) the *structural features* (Artiles et al. 2011) of the Barcelonese/ Spanish society and its regulatory framework will be also paid attention to.

3. Methodology

"The cities also fight against segregation and inequality"

(Barcelona Declaration, p.2)

The definition of the adopted methods stemmed from the research acknowledged objectives, stated in section 1.2. For providing the envisioned qualitative data, three methods were combined under the umbrella of an ethnography strategy of fieldwork investigation. The methods are now described, with details about its performance and further analysis given:

3.1. Ethnographic Observations

Through living in Barcelona, from September 2016 to May 2017 the researcher was able to consciously observe and engage the life and dynamics of city, analysing the patterns of immigrant employment, especially on service sector roles (e.g. commerce and catering), as well as the informal visible practices to generate or complement income.

Observations were conducted on routine and spontaneous locations the researcher passed through: e.g. public transportation, the appropriated public spaces, touristic and not. It allowed the perception of a 'background scene' that complements the 'punctual' narratives given by the in-depth interviews.

3.2. Semi-structured Interviews

The researcher performed ten semi-structured interviews with informants of 'different' migrant collectives living and working in Barcelona, during April and May of 2017. The method was adopted due the *depth* of the information provided, and the *variety of elements* touched through individual qualitative narratives (e.g. their reasons to migrate, the sort of life they have in Barcelona and their satisfaction with it), developed around the core topics of *employment* and *integration*.

The selection of informants was done through *Snowball sampling* technique (*i.e. finding potential informants among the acquaintances and their networks, as a chain effect*), which is per se insightful about integration and social bounds' constructed patterns. The informants resulted in a diverse group regarding gender, age, provenience and time of permanence in the city. More details about each of the interviewees are given in Annex 3, stating their demographic features, most recent professional activity in Barcelona and their time of residence in the city.

The interviews were conducted taking a set of questions as base, but freely evolving according to the flow and direction guided by the informants. Each narrative was registered by the researcher immediately after the respective interview. The resulting compiled reports were further coded, matched for the identification of main emergent variables, and later complemented through combining the set with the material from other methods and literature.

3.3. Surveys

To complement the data generated with the previous methods, surveys were performed with immigrants working with commerce and other 'public contact' related roles. The choice of such profiles was due to the 1) 'easy' approachability by any not acquainted resident/ visitor of Barcelona; 2) expected local language sufficient domain. In addition, literature informs that such sorts of jobs are commonly found through social networks, employing co-ethnic workers or family members. They may even be small enterprises of autonomous migrants. Last but not least, it was a not comprehensively covered profile by the in-depth interviews' group.

The Survey attempts were performed in three different locations, in three occasions during April and May of 2017: Raval, Gracia and Sant Andreu. After a perceived difficulty to approach one Chinese bazaar owner, further trials were done, to understand if the 'suspicion' showed by the first attempt was a 'cultural feature'. The other three attempts were also unsuccessful, delivering fifteen trials and 11 respondents, all men. The provided data was matched and traced, complementing the other method's findings and confirming some tendencies informed by the literature.

Furthermore, some respondents spontaneously developed more detailed accounts of their employment path and life in Barcelona. Among those, three gave very insightful individual accounts, as valid as the interviewees' ones. For such reasons, they were given 'identification labels' in the narrative of Chapter 4. More information about these key informants, and the used Survey set of questions, is compiled in Annex 4.

3.4. Consultation of secondary data

As a backbone element of the present study, the secondary data consulted guided the fieldwork performance, as well as clarified the findings. Two types of material were consulted: varied publications from the municipality, addressing immigrants and employment; academic research articles about immigrant workers in Spain. A list of the assessed publications, with

short descriptions is given in Annex 1, while a comprehensive set of the findings is roughly compiled as an 'additional chapter' in Annex 2. This material is acknowledged in the analysis of the case study findings (section 4.2) and the punctual consultation of the referred annex is recommended for more in-depth understandings.

3.5. The Natural History of the Research

Most of the methods compiled above were done simultaneously, due to the relatively short time for the investigation performance. The graph below explicitly shows the timeframe and order of the research development

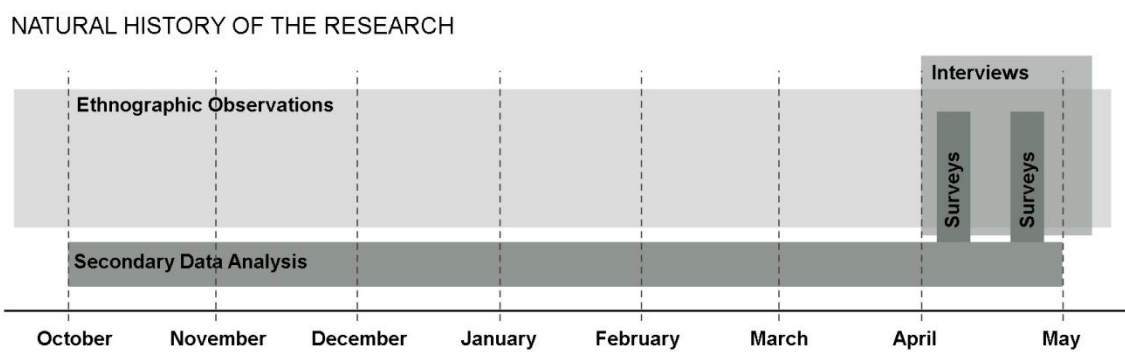


Figure 1: Natural History of the Research, with the timeframe of conduction of the investigation methods. Author's archive.

The following chapter now presents the case study findings.

4. Case Study

"...the cities are the ones in charge to achieve the integration processes and guarantee the social cohesion. These are processes that start at the neighbourhood, district and city levels, in the public spaces, in the schools, in the work environments".

(Barcelona Declaration, p.2, emphasis added)

Barcelona is taken as the case study, as explained in the Introduction, by: 1) the recent experienced migration boom and demographic changes; 2) mandatory compliance to the Spanish migration regulatory framework, although advocating for multicultural and inclusive cities; 3) residence locus of the researcher, enabling ethnographic investigation. This chapter is divided in two main parts, covering the findings of the fieldwork performed in the city. The first *reports* main emergent elements, also revealing unexpected 'details'. The second *analyses* the provided material, juxtaposing it with the scientific literature and secondary data assessed.

4.1. Results

A heterogeneous group of immigrants was approached for interviews, as explained in Chapter 3. The diverse features include nationality, gender, educational levels and age. Such enable the development of considerations over the impact caused by different individual variables, on the resulting employment paths and integration of the informants. Furthermore, the interviewees' accounts were merged with the provided data by survey informants, and the ethnographic observations.

Firstly, it is important to state that there was neither one main trend of insertion in the labour market, nor a unique tendency over the impact of the activity for the immigrants' integration. The reports rather point to different employment trends and city integration, which result from the combination of *individual features* and the *different work roles* each person developed. The following topics' subdivision, nevertheless, express core identified *determining* elements for the resulting traced diversity on the professional and social Integration.

4.1.1. The Decisive factor

An essential element to start the description is ***the decisive factor for immigration and the choice of Barcelona as destination***. The majority of answers had some direct connection with the *search for better life quality*, taking into account the intrinsic expectations of developing a prosperous economic life in the new country. Those sorts of answers were given

by mainly male respondents, which arrived in the city in an early stage of their economically active life (around the twenties) and had acquaintances in the city. They were oftentimes driven to specifically 'Barcelona' because of the co-ethnic acquaintances in the city, which encouraged their migration or could provide support.

That was the case of José, for instance: on its early twenties, the inexistence of a promising professional development in the Philippines (where he had worked in car pieces' stores), associated with the event of a family trip to Europe, including the meeting with a cousin settled in Barcelona, culminated in his choice to not go back home. José was encouraged by the relative to remain, through the promise of support and the argument of better employment prospects here. The promising life and work conditions seemed so appealing, comparing with the perceived in the Philippines, that the attempt was judged to be worthy, even though: having to cope with the (initial) situation of being an 'illegal migrant'; having to fully learn a new language, and having to rely only in informal job opportunities in the beginning.

A noticed trend for the ones reporting *economic pulling factors*, regardless of the oftentimes long-term permanence in the city and the improvement of stability in employment (associated to the *precariousness* elements listed in section 2.5.1), no meaningful upward mobility was perceived, with mostly a change of employment sector ('*horizontal mobility*' e.g. Artiles et al., 2011). Eleonora's case is quite explanatory: she is Dominican and resides in Spain for twenty-five years, from which twenty-one were in Barcelona. She, who was never employed in Dominican Republic, has always worked with domestic services in Spain. The current position, with a unique family, is a role she has for over two decades. The enrolment started as a part-time arrangement which further evolved for a fulltime job. She works on average six to eight hours a day/ five days a week.

Despite appreciating the life here, satisfaction with the city, and family bonds developed after migrating (*Eleonora is married to a Dominican and has two children, born in Spain*), she acknowledged that she came, as many other women from her country in those years, with an agreed job intermediated by a private agency; the kind of activity "the people here did not want to do". She further added that "it is not a kind of job you feel proud of having", even though she likes the family for which she works, being this one of the reasons why she keeps working for them for so long.

Mohamed's case is also insightful: despite inhabiting Barcelona for thirteen years and appreciating e.g. its urban spaces, the mentality of the 'European people', he is currently

planning to go back to Morocco, due to his constrained work prospects. Mohamed has always worked as a butcher, and after some time saving capital and adapting to Barcelona's market requirements, he managed to open his own butchery. Due to the hard times brought by the crisis, however, he was forced to close his business and once again look for a paid position. After now working for two years in a halal meat store, he has plans to shortly go back to his country and try a new enterprise there. The paradox lies in his reasons for having not yet left Barcelona: he wants to leave due to the stringent bureaucratic conditions to open a new butchery (e.g. sanitary requirements, high taxes), but conversely, remains because of his job here, which allows him to save capital for the new plan.

In other cases, when the informants reported migration as sort of compulsory, for 'family reunification purposes', there was still an essential economic element present: the parents or partner have chosen to move (or remain) in Barcelona due to the economic prospects. Ali, a Pakistani of twenty-one years old, arrived in the city at the age of fourteen. He, his brothers and mother moved to Barcelona to join his father, which first came alone and established the basic legal and economic conditions to bring the family. Although employment was not *his* personal reason to come, it became evident it is an essential element of concern in the family life, which reunites individual wages to ensure the family sustenance. Ali expressed that "the livelihood of one is the core thing in life".

4.1.2. (Un)documented Immigrants

A second implicated element for the ones emphasising employment as immigration determinant, is ***the matter of residence legal status in Spain***. Two interviewees detailed the difficulties related to the unavoidable vulnerability caused by the status of 'undocumented migrants'. They both entered the country as tourists, and had to wait to request a residence permit. Not to have a legal status results basically in non-assistance from the state when facing abusive behaviour (e.g. discrimination, exploitation) or unemployment. Furthermore, reduces the range of job options to individuals (*that can only take informal enrolments*), especially the ones with low-qualifications, and creates an impasse: the need to work to have means to remain *versus* the exposure of working and drawing attention to your (illegal) presence.

José's account is once again very informative: he reported that Filipino "feminine jobs" (*within the informal economy*) are comparatively easier to find, since the women "traditionally" engaged domestic services for families in Barcelona. For the Filipino men, catering jobs would be the common option, but as an "illegal", to work in a restaurant implies *being exposed*. On José's case, he found employment in a restaurant's kitchen, with other

Filipino colleagues. Since the beginning, there were issues with the Italian employer, which always found ways to abuse his power. Harassment practices included: the non-allowance of (meal) breaks during the long labour journey; aggressive behaviour with the employees specifically on salary payment days. José told that the job became unsustainable after a violent disruption of the boss, when a dish was accidentally broken. He insulted the employees and accused them of robbery. Unfortunately the situation could not be closed in the event, because the boss recused to pay the last worked days: A Spanish friend was asked to help negotiating with him, but the boss physically attempted against her with a slap. The police was then called but, due to the illegal status of all the Filipino employees and the risk of deportation, they had to leave before the officers arrived. Consequently, no denounce was registered in that very night.

The examples of Maria and her husband, from Dominican Republic, are also meaningful: she had remained undocumented for six years in Spain. Despite not facing traumatic experiences as José, Maria reported having very constrained options of work in that period, forced to take basically “the first one” that appeared through acquaintances’ indication. She accepted to develop domestic services and caretaking roles in shifts that not fully matched her preferences nor the need to assist her two little children (e.g. divided shifts, 4h in the morning and 4h in the evening). Her husband, on the other hand, was so uncomfortable and scared during the one year of illegal status, that did not worked and “barely left the house for doing something outside, on the fear of being caught.”

The *Informant 1* further reported that worked two years informally with parties and music events. The official job enrolment was achieved just at the age of eighteen. He, a Pakistani of twenty-one, said he now managed to get a position where he can “work as a Spanish”, implying the diverging ‘requirements’ he noticed being applied to him and his co-ethnic colleagues in the sector labour journeys - much longer and extenuating to the Pakistanis. The permits matter is so essential, that another survey respondent (*Informant 2*), working in the store of a co-ethnic friend, told there are employers abusing their regulatory power and offering (illegally) to issue a “false ‘formal’ employment evidence” to undocumented migrants, if receive ten thousand euros for it.

Conversely, some other nationalities may have a comparatively easy process, rendering the topic absolutely secondary. Ana, of French nationality, did not even mention the relevance of “a right to stay” in her narrative. When asked about, she just remarked about the complex of inferiority Catalonia has with France, and that “it should be a nightmare for the

ones constrained in the allowed range of work activities authorised". Nevertheless, even among overseas foreigners, a diverging trend was reported: Alicia is American and works with child education. She, who decided together with the husband to migrate "for having a life experience abroad", chose Barcelona by the convergence of: 1) the acceptance of the husband for a master; 2) the facility of getting a job in an international school 3) the weather and food, which were better than in Amsterdam. Not just her job application process was smooth (Alicia was invited to a *Skype* interview after writing an introductory e-mail to the school, and in it was straightforwardly offered work). Besides the job, the school took full charge of planning her required residence permit process. Not just the lack of a previous permit hampered any professional interest, as well as she was granted a sort of 'special' visa, one that rather than stating *employment enrolment* as acknowledgement, explicitly argues on the grounds of the "cultural interests" Spain has with her permit provision: "It is like I am coming to work or expose in a museum". She concluded saying that her visa process was easier than her husband's, which moved to Spain with a status of *self-financed student*.

4.1.3. What beyond (non-)Communitarian?

Scientific investigations over the developed employment trends of immigrants tend to consider a set of identified determining parameters e.g. nationality, qualifications, and gender. Besides those, another feature was traced as important in this study: *the venue of legal insertion* in the country. Elena and Teresa, for example, arrived in the city to follow master studies in distinct economic moments of Spain: Elena in the late 1990s, sponsored by an Argentinian scholarship; and Teresa from Venezuela, three years ago on a self-funded basis. In both cases they had only a 'third nation citizenship' status when claimed a permit. Regardless of such, the insertion path as university students, with no other regular activity in the first year, resulted not just in a fair time to look for further employment, but also in the achievement of an 'adequate job' in both cases, in less than two months and in their professional targeted areas.

Despite the need to initially accept an entering position as "intern" in the company (while actually working as a fulltime junior employee), the perspective of upward mobility is way more concrete to Teresa and Rosa, which just joined the Spanish market, than to Mohamed and Ali. The fact, it must be further clarified, probably also results from the educational level of the regarded informants, as well as the labour sector in which each pertain activities. Both Rosa and Teresa work with marketing and technology, an expanding niche in Barcelona.

4.1.4. Gender (Reversed) Inequalities?

A curious emergent fact from the interviewees' employment features and accounts is a gender 'reversed' trend of inequalities. Men and women were indeed found developing unequal roles, but at odds to what is normally reported, men were the most disadvantaged ones. Parameters as: the stability of the positions; the labour journeys' length; and the resulting salaries were regarded. While most of the male informants currently work on a basis of 10h to 12h/ day, six days a week, women were found in roles where they have maximum journeys as the common fulltime enrolments (8h daily/40h week). Eventually a pressing event/ deadline may demand more.

Ali, for example, envisions an own business to his future, a solution to his income and professional aspirations. Despite the young age, he already copes daily with strong pain on his backs, a result of his long-standing journeys. Currently he not only cannot treat the health problem appropriately, since the need to work, as has to expend part of his (short) income in medicines, which enable him to keep going. He described the job of his older brother in a Chinese bazaar in Badalona ("8h a day, fair payment") as a real achievement and upgraded situation.

For Ana, conversely, who came to Barcelona for a relationship, the presence of a stable husband's job, and her own entitlement to unemployment pension, allowed her to choose twice to be "unemployed" and rethink her further professional preferences. The account she gave not only points to a sort of gender 'privilege', similar to what can be found in the path of married autochthonous female workers, but also draws attention to the secondary role employment has for such a group. Most of the male interviewees, on the other hand, simply *had* to be *always* generating income.

4.1.5. Employment and Social Bonds

Employment was recognised as an important activity to meet people and develop relations. Notwithstanding, the associated collectives found in the work environment as the strength of the bonds developed, differed according to a set of variables. A considerable part of the informants in low-skilled positions reported that (some) social bond existed prior to the job, implying labour related ties with co-ethnic or migrant collectives with similar cultural profiles. The surveys' respondents in Raval were clearly a predominant masculine group, where jobs were commonly found through acquaintances. Even though not necessarily targeting co-ethnic workers, the trend of having employees or colleagues from a same

nationality was noticed. Those result in a considerable number of e.g. Pakistanis working with Pakistanis. Even the Chinese collective, despite the lack of direct reports, was observed to be working mostly for co-ethnic bosses.

The trend of developing (some) bonds with autochthonous residents through employment, conversely, generally converged with people that had other migration motivating factors than work. Furthermore, the trend developed similarly for people with more studies, a perhaps not direct parameter but which impacts the jobs or sectors of activities one can access, and the nationalities found developing such works. Elena, Rosa and Teresa, all Spanish native speakers living for respectively 20, 2 and 3 years in the city, mentioned that the jobs (*all the three of them had more than one*), allowed meeting people and developing some friendships. This environment was also indicated as relevant to meet Catalan individuals and relate with them. Nevertheless, despite the cooperative relationships developed with autochthonous colleagues, the three interviewees implied that the Catalans were harder to develop 'strong' friendships with, less "opened to new people". The feature however, was also hypothesised as an effect of them being the *indigenous* collective, with long-term family and friends' connections and resulting lower 'availability'. Teresa stated that the meetings with her Catalan friends happen on the basis of "once-a-month", for a life update and a drink. Afterwards they go back to their routines.

Another seldom touched element is not directly related to the work environment/activity, but the amount of time and energy it 'consumes', related to the possibility of developing other activities that increase the relation with the city and its inhabitants. A majority of the male informants working in long-daily-journeys reported being exhausted on their (little) free time, also with "no time" to e.g. study local languages, follow a qualification course, or simply develop some hobby that could result in interacting with new persons.

4.1.6. Interesting findings seldom mentioned

A fact not recorded in the assessed literature acknowledges the urgency of start and keep working **by the responsibility of dedicating part of salaries to assist relatives here, or in the original country**. Maria developed a comprehensive account of the "imaginary collective idea" in Dominican Republic, over the lives of Dominican emigrants living in 'richer countries'. She reported that is almost instantaneous: once you moved abroad, people believe you are better off, regardless of the jobs you actually have. And more: they expect you to support the more vulnerable ones there, almost as a "moral duty". She said that the responsibility is especially heavy in times of economic downturn, and that in her case she is "lucky" that her

husband close-ties also work abroad, and that she can share the duty of assisting her (biological) mother with a sister now also living in Barcelona.

Maria's account was similar to José's (explaining the common practice within the Filipino community of sending money back home), and other surveys third nation informants. Informant 2 stated he has a hard time trying to bridge the gap between *informal* and *regular* employment because the positions offered to his characteristics in the formal market pay *too little*. And he needs to generate wage to sustain not only his (basic) life in Barcelona, but also assist the father in Pakistan.

A second fact revealed unexpected unequal employment mobility prospects between Spanish and overseas professionals working for a same employer. The find is however, counter-intuitive: the immigrant has not only a better job, despite the similar qualifications with the Spanish personnel, as has the chance to reach positions that her autochthonous colleagues "will never be allowed to take". Alicia explained that even her Spanish colleagues working for some ten years in the school that she recently joined, will never be offered a position like hers (of *teacher*). They can only take teaching *assistant* roles, regardless of their "perfect American accent and knowledge of the English language". The reason: they are not native English speakers, and that is an American school.

Alicia further added that this is the first international school she works for (so that has no threshold to judge the statement), but basically all her foreign colleagues are in Barcelona because it is "an exciting place to live". It is not because of the employment conditions they have, since the salaries are lower than in other European cities' international schools. The lack of perspective of improving the wages through permanence is discouraging to a contract renovation, resulting in most of the teachers choosing to leave, after the initial two years compromise terminates. That is a very different account than the given by some salesmen responding the surveys. Informant 3 sounded clearly demotivated, although recently managing to bring the wife and children from Pakistan. He said he would rather go back home, if was not the employment matter: "*while I have work here, I stay*", even not yet with a contract after eight years in Barcelona.

Moving to the impressions of the approach of the municipality of Barcelona to immigrants, the huge majority reported had not made any use of the support resources, only language courses or children recreational activities, when used. No job-search services or databases were explored. The interviewees reported that they either found their jobs 1) through their friends/ family; or 2) through current mainstream venues of findings jobs (i.e.

internet portals, as *Linkedin*). Notwithstanding, the municipality was always described positively (“*they are respectful*”; “*people say good things about them*”).

4.1.7. (A parenthesis: perceptions of an observer)

The development of observations through inhabiting Barcelona informs considerably about the *visible* informal work practices developed by (ethnically identifiable) immigrants. When one walks through Barcelona’s public spaces, or even while commuting in the metro, it can perceive the presence of beer, bags, flowers, balloons and beach towels’ sellers, as well as street artists, which perform its shows ‘itinerantly’ or appropriating a corner in metro lines’ access. Each niche of products seems also to have a more or less identifiable ethnicity profile performing it, indicating ethnic networks of goods provision and perhaps mutual support. For instance, the bag sellers are ‘Africans’, beer sellers are ‘Hindu-Pakistani’.



Figure 2: a (top) Easter Sunday in Ciutadella Park. Highlighted the migrant beverages' salesmen; b (bottom) Open shop, foreign workers, Sunday 21:00h; c (right): Gas containers salesman in Sant Andreu neighbourhood. Author's archive.

What the ‘strolling around’ observations about the immigrants’ employment trends show, is in sum: 1) the presence of overseas’ immigrants is undeniable, as the relevant amount of people with an irregular status facing poverty, which ‘turns’ them visible; conversely, European immigrants and the highly educated ones from other backgrounds seem to be comparatively so well merged, that one does not notice them; 2) these “overseas salespersons” looking for means of living through selling or providing services in public spaces are not accessing similar labour opportunities as the locals; 3) they do not seem to be encompassed by the ideal

promoted by the municipality of Barcelona, i.e. having an *intercultural equalitarian* society, one that praises differences as something positive (Samper & Moreno, 2009); 4) the obviously 'ethnic immigrants' are the ones found in the neighbourhood stores open on Sundays and on physically more extenuating roles.

4.2. Analysis

The findings' analysis, in the light of the assessed literature, tends to confirm the segmentation of labour opportunities previously reported. Both immigrants' *human capital*, as the *structural elements* of the Spanish context impact the labour paths observed and narrated (Artiles et al., 2011 - see section 2.4). Such lines of segmentation in employment lead to the understanding that both the *legal* as the *sociocultural* integration of immigrants are affected by their respective range of work opportunities. The non-communitarian immigrants were on average the most disadvantaged; where employment is simultaneously a *cause* and a *consequence* of their constrained integration. Notwithstanding, the findings are not conclusive, due to the limitations of the research, to be acknowledged in Chapter 5.

The analysis now continues by first exploring the *structural* Spanish and Barcelonese features, to gradually include the *human capital* features' relevance. Consequently, the narrative addresses initially the labelled *legal* insertion, to further encompass the sociocultural integration. As a starting point, the migration policy adopted in Spain clearly works as a first 'filter', *facilitating* the access and stay of some, while *constraining* the others. The European Union, with its 'belonging border lines' (Sales and Gregory, 1996 - see section 2.2) indeed overlaps most of the cases. However, 'exceptions' as the provided by the case of Alicia (American teacher), imply that *institutional legal boundaries* and the *enforcement of such* do not always converge, with privileges' definition basically reproducing the recognised 'global advantage patterns'.

The findings also reinforce the idea that permits' regulation on the basis of *employment* indeed delivers some 'expected' shortcomings (see section 2.5), e.g. the abusive behaviour of employers, on their status of 'migration gatekeepers' by 1) exploiting undocumented migrant workers due to expected impunity (*José's case*), or even 2) trying to profit over the offer of bridging to the legitimate status by issuing a false 'proof of formal work' (*Informant 2*).

The trends of immigrants' insertion in the Barcelonese labour market generally match the definition given by the *Structuralism* approach, which focus on the impact of the host

countries' socioeconomic features, for the resulting immigrants' possibilities to integrate and develop their economic potential. The 'success' of integration depends of the society stratum absorbing the immigrants (Lyalina, 2014, p. 102). Additionally, the *Segmented Assimilationism* details the two most common perceived 'integration realities' of the research. The first subgroup (combining EU immigrants and the overseas ones with superior education) follow on average the trend A - *growing assimilation and parallel integration into the middle class*, while subgroup two (with the majority of overseas low-educated immigrants) tends to 'fall' into *irretrievable poverty and assimilate into the poorest layers of the host society* (Lyalina, 2014 p. 103).

The general economic opportunities' of each identifiable collective forms a structure as follow (Figure 3), where immigrants are strongly concentrated in the extremes of the Barcelonese 'society spectrum'. The presented trend is also acknowledged through the salary averages provided by Calvet (2006) and the numbers from the municipal statistics of 2016 (*consult Annex 2, p. 45*). The graph below presents a tentative simple explanation of the perceived reality. It nevertheless does not intend to be conclusive, but rather illustrative, for easier understanding.

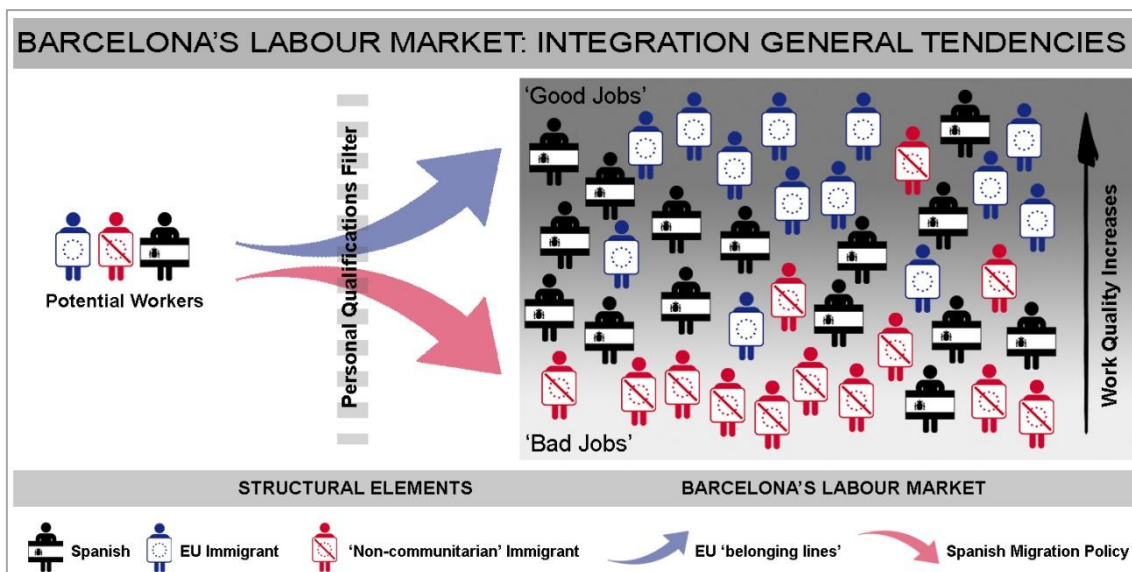


Figure 3: Barcelona's Labour Market: Integration General Tendencies – drafting the findings of the research about the general socioeconomic segmented structure. The three main perceived collectives according salary lines were identified, as well as the two main segmenting elements. Author's design & archive.

Despite the considerably constraining initial element that the Spanish migration framework poses, for the non-communitarian foreigners who overcame it (e.g. through the acquisition of a Spanish nationality), the posterior jobs and upward mobility prospects did not change significantly. The fact reveals that other individual features, as well as the *primary*

venue of insertion in the Spanish society, have impacts perhaps 'on an equal foot'. Both the Dominican interviewees got the status of *citizen* in a relatively early stage of their total permanence in Spain. Nevertheless, that did not result in sector changing or the access to better salaries. The only improvements were related to the previous more remarkable precariousness (see section 2.5.1), which reduced through the increase of labour security (e.g. social welfare entitlement). For Elena citizenship rights also just provided advantages on other spheres of life (e.g. political participation).

Among the individual features, the strongest emergent one was related to the *educational levels*. People with reported superior studies had recognisably better employment conditions. Curiously, *employment* for those was not even the motivating factor to move to Barcelona, revealing their sorts of life patterns before migration, as the 'secondary relevance' of *work* for their general life development and satisfaction. Moving to sociocultural integration elements, these same persons were on average the ones reporting hobbies' interests and plans of developing other routine activities in the city.

On acknowledging the perception of other determining factors for employment inequality, the *how to search/find jobs* also emerged as a related element, reinforcing findings of previous researches (Samper & Moreno, 2009). Firstly, the municipality support services were not explored, what indicates some possible weak matching in service-demand or, perhaps, issues of public advertisement. Secondly, the role played by the social networks is worth commenting: for the most 'labour-disadvantaged' individuals, the social networks' impact over economic and sociocultural integration evolves in an unclear cause/ consequence dynamic. Most of the ones reporting searching and finding jobs through their acquaintances were also the ones 1) with previous connections living in Barcelona; 2) migrating because of economic reasons; 3) with lower qualifications. In all those cases, very meaningful among the Hindi-Pakistani informants and undocumented migrants, it is undeniable the value of co-ethnic networks, especially by the 'logistical' support given at the moment of arrival. The investigation findings supported the results of several studies (e.g. Errico, 2013; Hack-Polay, 2008; Kalter & Kogan, 2014) that confirm the meaningful role played by *migrant communities* in labour-market allocation. However, it also converges with the remarks of 'shortcomings' of relying on a long-term basis just in the co-ethnic ties. The 'comfort zone' of migrant communities can lock and alienate individuals, as also hamper both the economic and sociocultural integration (e.g. learn local language) processes of one (Hack-Polay, 2008; Kalter & Kogan, 2014).

Furthermore, the invitation to leave a 'comfort zone' is also directed to more advantaged individuals which, as Alicia recognised, may "live a very (*original country's*) life in Barcelona". She gave the statement on a perceived self-awareness of the *personal willingness* element impact. Leading to a conclusion of the analysis, it is important to refer to persons' choices. To mention such is not to diminish the relevance of continuously acknowledged structural conjunctions, which strongly influence the flow and pace of an individual's integration: work activities provide the opportunity of getting to know new people and relate with them, in the extent of the activity's nature. Moreover, undoubtedly extenuating working journeys reduce the likeliness of developing other continuous activities in the city, as well as further professional qualifications, which may allow one to break through the *vicious cycle of poverty*.

Nevertheless, in this point lies the relevance of individual's *will* and *awareness*. The cosmopolitan Barcelona has governmental and demographic features to 'soften' deterministic predictions of immigrants' employment prospects, on the basis of pre-existing local socioeconomic structure *or* immigrants' (prior to arrival) qualifications. Barcelona, as an *ode to the urban* is an ever-changing-effervescent environment. Not by chance since 2008 it chose to adopt an *Intercultural* integration framework (Samper & Moreno, 2009). The approach claims to be an advancement of Multiculturalism, addressing its pitfalls (Rodríguez-García, 2010). In the model, cultural and ethnical diversity are praised features; elements enriching urban life, reason why the interaction among different collectives should be *actively promoted* by governments. Giménez (2009) furthermore indicates three elements grounding its philosophy: 1) citizenship principle – which implies the recognition and continuous search for *real equality* of opportunities, rights and duties to all citizens of a society, as well as continuous fight against discrimination; 2) right to difference – the respect of the identity and rights of each ethnic/cultural groups within a society; 3) unity within the diversity – a unity that is not imposed, but constructed and voluntarily adopted. These features, it is acknowledged, makes *Interculturalism* more adequate to deal with the complex and dynamic conception of culture(s) of contemporaneous societies, a fact to be verified through its application in real contexts.

The conclusions, on the next chapter, reflect over the analysed findings, indicating recommendations of future modifications to address the perceived inequality on immigrant collectives' integration opportunities.

5. Conclusions

"The cities experience the human mobility inherent complexities, but have little or no voice in the global forums where the priority agendas over human mobility are determined".

(Barcelona Declaration, p.2)

Employment is for a remarkable part of the immigrants recognised as a core element in both migration plans and resulting life prospects in a new land. In the light of the literature assessed, the current study responds to the overarching question posed in the introduction by generally reinforcing the trend of *socioeconomic segmentation* of immigrant collectives' integration perspectives. Employment is a directly related element, perceived both as a cause and consequence of (maintained) segmentation. Despite no evidence of 'direct discrimination' on the basis of ethnicity or nationality is given, *segmentation may be understood as only another more subtle form of discrimination*, a perhaps even more evil, once it legitimizes the social mechanisms that explain the e.g. salaries, professional recognition, collective negotiation delivered to different groups within a geographical context city and country (Calvet, 2006, in Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006, p. 129).

Segmentation is undeniably a fostered consequence through the adoption of such a stringent regulatory framework as the Spanish one, granting access to immigrants on the grounds of Employment. Here one can argue that two extreme subgroups of workers are targeted: either the very low-skilled, or the very-qualified ones. For the first, even though their wages may be recognisably very low, the journeys physically extenuating, and the 'cultural conflict' enormous, such opportunities are understood as worthy 'migrating for'. On the other extreme of the labour market and society spectrum, the highly-skilled foreign migrants are so 'privileged' that they are normally given a special label: *expat*.

Regardless of the dictionary definitions of 'immigrant' (*a person who has come to a different country in order to live there permanently*) and 'expat' (*someone who does not live in their own country*) (Cambridge Dictionary, 2017a & b) being quite similar, the terms are commonly used to classify two collectively perceived different *statuses*. This reveals a first 'straightforward' judgement of the ones *who deserve* being integrated and the ones *that not* (Chauvin et al., 2013). As a domino effect, reproducing patterns of vulnerability, the most disadvantaged at arrival are not only institutionally hampered on integration, as well as the sort of 'drawer' in which one is clearly driven to, commonly determines the *social bounds* one

will have the chances to develop in the host countries. In extreme cases that leads to the formation of 'ghettos' or 'gated communities'.

Before moving on to the recommendations, it is important to open a parenthesis and acknowledge the limitations of the present research: first, the population of informants (both through surveys as interviews) does not constitute a comprehensive sample of the foreign total collective residing in Barcelona. As such, the results and the consequent emerging conclusions may be biased by the 'tendentious' set of information. In addition, the nature of the research, requesting spontaneous (and immediate) answers from the informants, depended in the existence of a common language ground between both parts involved in the dialogue: the researcher and the informant. Due to the partial proficiency in Spanish from (sometimes) both parts, when the language common ground depended on it, communication gaps or misunderstood statements may had led to biased conclusions.

Nevertheless the identified possible biases, some results that are in full consonance with the assessed literature allow the development of policy recommendation. The Spanish national migration framework, through the resulting 'placing equals with equals', not fostering interaction among diverse groups, shows a paradoxical institutional response to diversity and integration than the one developed by the municipality of Barcelona. As a recommendation to address such 'conflicting views', although the apparent lack of interest from the national government to improve its policy on *equality* grounds, the Swedish employment permit system seems to be a possibility to address the traced abusive behaviour of employers, current 'migration gatekeepers'. Toomey (2015) explains that such a system "*gives full ownership of the permit to the employee, does not distinguish between high-skilled and low-skilled workers, allows movement between employers and sectors within less than 1 year and ensures that loss of employment does not necessarily have a negative impact on residency rights*" (p. 258). Notwithstanding an apparently good policy measure, the decision to invest on its adoption in Spain should be evaluated by professionals with clear expertise in the field related.

Furthermore, the municipality of Barcelona should keep working under the umbrella of an Intercultural Integration framework, while fighting for more political institutional *voice*, as claimed in its "Barcelona Declaration" (2014, *from which extracts were selected as headers of each chapter in the present work*). However, it should concomitantly reflect on to which extent either 1) the services of support provided by the e.g. CMIB (*Municipal Council of Immigration*) & SAIER (*Service Centre For Immigrants, Emigrants and Refugees*) actually match the needs of the foreign collectives they try to address; or 2) how those support resources are

being publicly advertised, to reach the information venues consulted by the immigrant collectives, once the current 'very little use' reported.

A last 'multiscalar' suggestion of improvement to the migration framework is over the bureaucratic process of recognition of foreign diplomas. There were clear evidences, backed up by the assessed literature (*see Annex 2*), that the acknowledgment of one's work competencies on the grounds of *educational qualifications* represented a meaningful borderline on the opportunities granted to different non-communitarian immigrants. On reducing the barriers to foreign diploma's recognition, a further encouragement to invest in *human capital* is given.

The features that an individual is empowered to change can be extremely important to soften the impact of structural segmentation border lines. As perhaps a concluding 'motivational statement', it is not because one is victimized by the 'system' that it should 'choose' to behave as such. In Barcelona, the cosmopolitan environment provides a positive context to foster individual 'empowerment' as well as the development of its skills and qualifications.

Annex 1

List of consulted secondary data reports

To produce a well-grounded basis of knowledge, as well as to understand the compromise of the Municipality of Barcelona in developing investigations and providing serious data and analyses over the employment realities of immigrant collectives in Barcelona, a series of documents were analysed.

The list of assessed written material (including research reports, policy statements, statistics and informative flyers) follows. The titles were translated from Catalan and Spanish to English, for a more straightforward understanding of the content. The full bibliographic information of the cited sources is further provided in the *List of References*:

- a. *Immigration and Labour Market in the city of Barcelona (2006)*: The study developed by the Jaume Bofill Foundation and the Economic and Social Council of Barcelona, is till date the most comprehensive study performed over the theme in the city.
- b. *Informal Labour, Precariousness and Immigration in Catalonia – a First Approximation (2008)*: The investigation performed by the Colectivo Ioé research group was a courageous attempt to respond to research gaps recognised in the previously mentioned study from 2006.
- c. *Barcelona Society - magazine of Social Knowledge and Analysis (June, 2009)*: the sections over Interculturalism and Integration were in depth analysed, from which the introductory chapter, with research findings over the migration trajectories and subjective integration of the overseas foreign collectives in the city of Barcelona, by Sarai Samper and Raquel Moreno.
- d. *Statistical Report – The foreign Population in Barcelona (2016)*: The report, produced in the statistical department of the municipality contains the most recent compilation of information collected through the City registration process (“empadronamiento”/ “padró”) of foreign residents in Barcelona. The account, which includes meaningful demographic information, provides insights about the events’ impacts in labour trajectories of immigrants in the city after the period covered by the 2006 report.
- e. *Reception and Monitoring/ Supportive Guide of Barcelona 2017 (2016)*: The brochure developed by the Attention and Reception of Immigrants Directory of the municipality of Barcelona provides detailed information about the different support services for assisting the immigrants in settling and develop their lives in Barcelona.
- a. *A New SAIER – Care Service for Migrants and Refugees (n.d.)*: The leaflet provides information about the kinds of support services delivered to the population through this branch of the municipality government structure as well as how to access those.
- b. *CMIB Plan – Action Plan from the Municipal Immigration Council of Barcelona (n.d.)*: The document, developed by the referred city council reports the further actions development from the Immigration Council of Barcelona.

**All the content and quotations used in this thesis from the sources in Catalan and Spanish were translated by the author.*

Annex 2

Compilation of Secondary Data

This Annex presents a compilation of the findings of the approached municipality reports. A list with a short description of each consulted source was given in Annex 1. This material provides a detailed 'picture' of the reality in which the present research is inserted. The topical consultation of this summary is recommended for more detailed understandings.

**graphs from Catalan sources are used here for illustrative purposes. They were not edited and translated to English due to the 'additional' nature of this section, as well as due to time limitations.*

Immigration: a remarkable shift in Barcelona's demography

Barcelona has a long history of attractiveness for outsiders, a fact first related to regional migration and the industrial cycle in the nineteenth century. Later, from the 1960's, migration to Barcelona became quite massive, with Spanish nationals coming from regions like Múrcia, Andalusia and Galícia. This wave led the city to expand its territory and new neighbourhoods appeared. Notwithstanding the historical attractiveness, it was not until the 1980s that Barcelona started attracting considerably the attention of foreign individuals.

The main recognised international pulling factor to the city was the transformation in its economic development structure, which impacted the amount of opened labour positions and the kind of activities developed. From the industrial past, Barcelona's recent formula of economic growth became based on intensive workforce jobs (as the construction and the services' sector activities). With such a shift, associated to the globalisation and the polarisation North-South, international migration started happening.

Despite the trend of receiving foreign populations coming from poorer countries being quite common when regarding most of the Western European nations, in Barcelona the intensity of their arrival was strongly felt, especially from the late 1990s. Through analysing the records of the city registration (the *Padro Municipal d'Habitants*), a mandatory procedure to newly arrived people, it becomes evident the fast change caused by migration to the city's demography. The mentioned records do not demand foreigners to have residence permits in the moment of enrolment, what allows the consideration of illegal migrants and informal workers in the counting. The numbers reveal that the foreign population living in Barcelona grew enormously in just ten years: from 2.7% to 18.1% of the total number of inhabitants, i.e. from below 50.000 people in 1999, to over 290.000 by 2009. That characterizes a real migration boom to the city (Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006; Municipality of Barcelona, 2016). Table 1 shows the evolution of the trend, as well as the most recent records, encompassing the economic crisis of the last decade.

When analysing the last ten years, one can see that the total amount of immigrants in Barcelona started decaying after the records of 2009. They reached a more or less stable level from 2014, with around 265.000 foreigner inhabitants, representing around 16,5% of the total population.

What is not evident through the simple consideration of the presented numbers, however, is the change in the characteristics of the foreign collective through the last decade. The predominance of nationalities was a noticeable shift, revealing for example that the South-American groups, predominant by 2006, reduced significantly their presence in Barcelona,

being replaced in numbers by the Asiatic and European groups. To discuss the nuances within the immigrants' population, as well as to develop understandings of the reasons for the shifts, the features of *Nationalities, Gender, Educational Level* and *Ages* will be now presented.

Evolution of the Foreign Residents in Barcelona 1				
Year	Foreigners	Spanish	Total Population	% of Foreigners
1999	40.903	1.462.548	1.503.451	2,7
2000	53.428	1.459.543	1.512.971	3,5
2001	74.019	1.431.306	1.503.884	4,9
2002	113.809	1.413.381	1.527.190	7,5
2003	163.046	1.419.692	1.582.738	10,7
2004	202.489	1.376.057	1.578.546	12,8
2005	230.942	1.381.295	1.612.237	14,2
2006	260.058	1.369.479	1.629.537	15,9
2007	250.789	1.360.179	1.610.968	15,6
2008	280.817	1.345.836	1.626.653	17,3
2009	294.918	1.335.562	1.630.480	18,1 (max.)
2010	284.632	1.335.115	1.619.747	17,6
2011	278.320	1.333.781	1.612.101	17,3
2012	282.178	1.334.942	1.617.120	17,4
2013	280.047	1.328.572	1.608.619	17,4
2014	267.578	1.335.428	1.603.006	16,7
2015	262.233	1.343.165	1.605.398	16,3
2016	267.790	1.342.637	1.610.427	16,6

Table 1: Authors' production combining data from the reports by Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006, and Municipality of Barcelona, Departament d'Estadística, 2016

Profile of the Immigrant Population in Barcelona

National Collectives

A first approximation to the theme can regard the subdivision of immigrants in *EU citizens* and not. For understanding purposes, the term 'overseas immigrants' will be employed when referring to the second group, interchangeable with 'third nation immigrants. When comparing the population records of these big subgroups in the last decade, it becomes evident that the first one grew, with a slight reduction in 2010 and 2011, a fact that matches the strongest unemployment rates in Spain. After that, however, the growth is being steady, with a population counting nowadays with 30.000 more people than in 2007, before the crisis. It is also important to mention that by 2006, the European group (regarding also countries outside the EU block) were just 24,3% of the foreigners in Barcelona (Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006). Currently it is the largest continental collective in the city, with over 96.000 people, a 36% of the immigrants total. From those, only 14.000 are not EU citizens. (Ajuntament de Barcelona Departament d'Estadística, 2016). Among the non-EU Europeans, the Russians and Ukrainians are the most remarkable collectives, with around 10.000 inhabitants together and a growing trend. The United Kingdom was still considered part of the EU when the analysis of the records was performed. Table 2 reports the populations of the two aforementioned big collectives of immigrants.

On the other hand, the overseas immigrants' numbers are still lower in 2016 than they were one decade before, indicating possible negative impacts of the crisis. The Latin American group reduction was the most remarkable, responsible for the overall decline in the foreign population after 2009. To have an idea of the impact, the Latin-American immigrants represented 50,6% of the total amount of foreigners in the city. Within this, the Ecuadorians were a remarkable majority, with 31.423 registered persons in 2006, almost the double of the

second highest collective at the time, the Peruvians, with 16.115 inhabitants (Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006). Nowadays the Ecuadorians are only 8.108 inhabitants in Barcelona, what may be partially a result of the hardening in their immigration procedures to Spain since 2003. Nevertheless, the population numbers of the previously predominant South American collectives (i.e. Ecuadorians, Peruvians, Colombians, Bolivians and Argentinians) have been falling continuously since 2008 and 2009. The fact is most likely a consequence of the crisis' employment impacts, but may be as well, a partially biased understanding, if those previously counted as 'foreigners' are currently included as 'Spanish', due to the acquisition of the Spanish Nationality, which is comparatively easy for people coming from Ibero-American countries and other previous colonies of Spain.

Evolution of the Foreign Residents in Barcelona			
Year	Total Foreigners	From EU countries (28)	From overseas' countries
2007	250.789	59.820	190.969
2008	280.817	71.529	209.288
2009	294.918	76.169	218.749
2010	284.632	75.404	209.228
2011	278.320	69.715	208.605
2012	282.178	72.833	209.345
2013	280.047	77.428	202.619
2014	267.578	79.741	187.837
2015	262.233	80.656	181.577
2016	267.790	82.924	184.866

Table 2: Authors' production combining data from the reports by Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006 and Municipality of Barcelona, Departament d'Estadística, 2016

The other continents have diverging representations: The Africans, which despite growing in numbers had lost representativeness from 1999 to 2006 (from 15,3% to 8,6% of the total immigrants) (Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006) kept an overall stable population over the last ten years. The most representative nationality is the Moroccan one, with currently the fifth biggest collective in Barcelona. The Asians grew considerably in the last decade, not suffering reductions in any year. Their representativeness is a consequence of the presence of mainly Pakistani and Chinese, both with around 20.000 inhabitants in Barcelona and being the second and third largest groups in the city, just behind the Italians (approx. 26.000). The presence of other nationalities as the Filipinos (seventh largest) Indian and Bengali is also meaningful. Oceania, at last, detains less than 0,5% of the total of foreigners (Municipality of Barcelona, 2016).

Gender

When framing the immigrants through gender, the percentages are quite even: 50,8% men; 49,2% women. There are however strong differences within nationalities. The Latin-American groups are predominantly feminine, while the Pakistani and Moroccan collectives, for instance are strongly masculine. The recent tendency towards balancing the percentages within nationalities is a result of measures of family reunion for long term gendered collectives, as the ones just mentioned. Furthermore, for women, the gender has a more direct correlation with the kinds of jobs they perform, commonly in caretaking and domestic services roles (Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006). Gender trends associated to employment inequalities will be explored ahead.

Age

There is a remarkable predominance of the 'between 25 and 39 years old' age range (46,6%) among the immigrant inhabitants of Barcelona, followed by the group 'between 40 and 64' (27,7%). That shows a clearly majoritarian economically active population. If compared to the autochthonous trends, the average age among the immigrants is of 33,4 years, while among the Spanish is of 46,1. The percentages of children (until 14 y.o.) and teenagers/ young adults (15 to 24 y.o.) are relatively similar for both autochthonous and foreigners, varying 3% points at most. The elderly (over 65 y.o.) percentages, however, vary considerably: they represent 25,3% of the Spanish population, while only 3,1% of the immigrants.

Such an increment in the economically active population of the city results in an increase in its production capacity, while implicating no further public expenditure for education and professional training (Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006). The feature was highly appreciated in the years prior to the economic crisis, when the autochthonous labour force was not enough to cover the market's demand.

Educational Level

That is very hard to measure, first by the lack of an adequate way of evaluating the equivalence of degrees and educational systems, and second due to the inaccuracy of the databases regarding this parameter. The city registration records, for instance, just take the information in the moment of the registration in the city, not accounting for further changes. All the considerations done over the matter are then overall, approximations (Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006).

When comparing the immigrants' records with the Spanish population ones, it becomes visible that there is a somewhat counter-intuitive concentration of people with superior studies among the immigrants (38,7%), which is higher than among the Spanish. That is, however, clearly due to the strong presence of EU foreigners living in Barcelona (where more than 60% has university degrees). This collective counterbalances the 28,6% of overseas immigrants. Some other 'isolated cases' (e.g. North America and Oceania) also have very high percentages of highly educated persons (over 70%), which opposes the lower percentages from African (12%) and Asian (19,2%) migrants (Municipality of Barcelona, 2016).

Other interesting trends

Besides the general demographic information, which provide a ground for further discussions related to the relevance of employment for immigrants' integration in Barcelona, there are other two features described in the analysed reports that are worth mentioning: the residential geographic patterns of the immigrants in the city, and the time of enrolment in the municipality (i.e. number of years living in Barcelona).

The impact of international migrants' settlement through Barcelona's territory developed unevenly. Regarding the ten districts of Barcelona (Ciutat Vella, Eixample, Sants-Montjuic, Sant Marti, Les Corts, Sarrià-Sant Gervasi, Gracia, Horta-Guinardó, Nou Barris and Sant Andreu), the first four concentrate more than 60% of the foreign population in the city (Municipality of Barcelona, 2016). The district of Ciutat Vella (where the neighbourhood of Raval is located) was traditionally the one with more foreign registered residents. By 2001 it contained 18,2% of the immigrant population in Barcelona, while the other nine districts had only percentages varying from 2,9% and 5,4%. The following years witnessed a deconcentration of immigrants, with a more balanced distribution through the territory. Nevertheless, in the last decade the predominance of Ciutat Vella, Eixample, Sants-Montjuic and Sant Marti kept stable, from

concentrating a 56% of the immigrants in 2006 (Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006) to a 60,8% in 2016 (Municipality of Barcelona, 2016).

It is important to mention that within this general pattern, there are territorial clusterings regarding some nationalities. For instance, Eixample has a higher concentration of European migrants (Italians, French, Germans), at the exception of the Chinese nationals. On the other hand, Ciutat Vella, where 43,2% of the inhabitants is from outside Spain, the concentration of Pakistani, Filipino, Bengali and Moroccan is the highest, with the exception of the Italians' presence. The concentration is normally related to (one of more) of three elements: the presence of support networks at the time of arrival in the city, the price of housing, and the location of work.

The second interesting fact to mention is the time of enrolment in Barcelona: there is a predominance of immigrants living between 1 and five years in the city. More in depth research would be needed to assess the impact of the following variable, but the possibility of having a Spanish Nationality may lead to a bias in the understanding of such number. At odds to what it imply, i.e. that the immigrants in majority decide to leave Barcelona after five years, it actually may present the impact of the Spanish nationality acquisition. With such, despite oftentimes keeping the same economic patterns of life, immigrants start being counted as *locals*.

The Spanish law frame Nationality as "*the maximal legal expression of a person in a State community, something more than the residence or work permits donate*" and allows foreigners to request the citizenship in the basis of legal residency in the country. The time ranges to be living in Spain with a regular situation at the moment of application vary according to the provenience of the applicant. For people coming from Ibero-American countries (Brazil and Portugal included), Andorra, Filipinas, Guinea Equatorial and with Sephardi origins, the time to be residing in Spain is of two years; For all other nationalities, the demanded is ten years (Spanish Ministry of Justice, n.d.). Despite the discrepancies, residency is undoubtedly the most common venue through which the nationality is achieved. The frame applied to the Latin-American and Filipino immigrants, for instance, matches the findings of the city registration records, once within five years in Spain they can become legally Spanish citizens. The findings may shed light over the fact and indicate the need to regard biases related to foreigners that achieve the Spanish nationality.

Employment trends of Immigrants

What is the relevance of Employment on the decision to immigrate?

A study developed in 2009 posed the question about the reasons for ones' choice to move to Barcelona. The majority of the answers had clearly an economic-related aspect (54%), with the most common answer being "looking for a job" (38%). Figure 4 illustrates the given answers and percentages (*in Catalan*).

This fact per se shows the core relevance of *labour* for ones' immigration decision, leading to the consequent concern of integrating in the local economic structure and stabilising the material means of a new life in host country. The search for better life quality standards is a recognised reason for the migration decision of overseas' collectives. The choice of a specific location, however, is generally more related with the presence of family members or friends.

The previously mentioned international attractiveness of Barcelona is coherent with the majority of the given answers in the above graph. However, it is important to locate this fact within a scenario of Spanish development and regulations, which helps to explain the

employment and influx trends generated thirty years ago. Some aspects of labour segmentation among collectives persist ever since (Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006).

The Migration Regulations in Spain since 1985 turned harder the legal entry of immigrants through the incorporation in the labour market, following a South European policy trend. From then a series of proofs to argue the non-fulfilment of specific positions by the autochthonous labour force is required (Chauvin et al., 2013). On the other hand, the demand for external workers grew strongly, especially from the end of the 1990s, to which the local labour force, even incorporating its previously inactive potential workers, could not respond enough. To translate it into numbers, between 1995 and 2005 6,4 million new jobs were created. From those, the Spanish population could fulfil only 4,2 million.

Gràfic 1. Motiu de l'emigració. Panel sobre l'assentament de la població immigrant a Barcelona, 2005

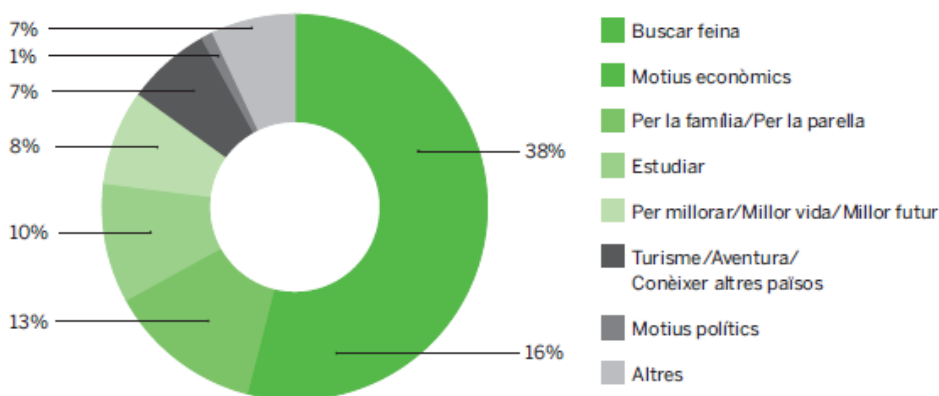


Figure 4: Graph about “Reasons for immigration. Panel about the settlement of the Immigrant Population in Barcelona, 2005”. (The biggest percentages are related respectively to “look for work” – 38% & “economic reasons” – 16%). Source: Samper & Moreno, 2009.

The acceptance of foreign labour force, was then hypothesised as the only option to fulfil the remaining 2,2 million positions and keep with the ongoing economic growth of the period pre-crisis. Nevertheless, considering the long and bureaucratic labour-related residency permissions application process, the resulting trend was the one of overseas immigrant workers, both in Barcelona as in the rest of Spain, making its labour market insertion through irregular jobs, and remaining at least an initial period in the informal economy. The fact also matches the voluminous demand for workers in sectors that have traditionally high rates of informality, as construction and services’ functions (Alonso, 2006, in Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006).

The construction sector was the predominant within the Spanish strong economic growth period (1995-2005). The second, less obvious, was the domestic services one. This relates to the growing incorporation of Spanish women in the labour market, without a meaningful transformation in the dynamics of Spanish families, which kept demanding a woman to take care of the house tasks (Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006). That results in the strong reception of Latin-American female workers, which had already the needed language skills. The fact also leads to another meaningful perception: the 2,2 million positions covered by immigrant workforce were mostly the unappealing ones to the Spanish, characterised by low salaries, temporality of contracts, low social recognition, and undesirable working journeys. This leads to the development of a model that tends to polarise and segregate on social and economic grounds (Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006).

Barcelona follows the perceived pattern of the rest of the country: the relevance of the foreign workforce grew roughly five times front the local collective within the mentioned period. Nevertheless, a clear distinction of the kinds of incorporation jobs: among the Spanish approximately 80% of the new jobs were white collar ones, while for the immigrants they were almost 70% blue collar ones (Colectivo Ioé, 2008).

To understand the level of labour segregation it is needed to consider the related elements of precariousness, which results is social and economic vulnerability. To understand the depth of inequality between Spanish and Immigrant workers, three features shall be regarded: 1) The Salaries' differences; 2) The level of precariousness/ security in job (through observing the incidence of temporary contracts, unemployment and informality); 3) The incidence of labour accidents (Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006).

Salaries

What all the observed investigations over immigrants' employment patterns reveal (Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006; Colectivo Ioé, 2008; Samper & Moreno, 2009; Municipality of Barcelona, 2016), is a strong salary differentiation between Spanish and Foreign workers. Among the second group, a stark contrast between the EU workers, especially the Western European ones, and the overseas migrants is perceived, a trend that is only not followed by collectives from wealth countries as the US and Japanese citizens. These tend to have similar records to the EU immigrants.

The data of the observed generated groups leads to a pyramid with the Spanish workers in the middle. Table 3 presents the salary ranges of the three identified aforementioned main groups.

Salary Averages of Population groups (Calvet, 2006)	
EU immigrants	14,5 €/h
Spanish workers	10,7 €/h
Overseas immigrants	7,3 €/h

Table 3: Source: Calvet, 2006)in Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006, p. 127)

Even though these differences are systematically kept within economic sectors, size of companies each group has opportunities of accessing, level of studies and jobs, there is no statistical evidence of a salary discrimination based on *nationality*, a practice that is forbidden by law (Calvet, 2006, in Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006). It is nevertheless a clear signal of different migration processes, which despite not directly related to *discrimination* are related

Gràfic 10. Tipus de feina segons el sexe. Panel sobre l'assentament de la població immigrant a Barcelona, 2007

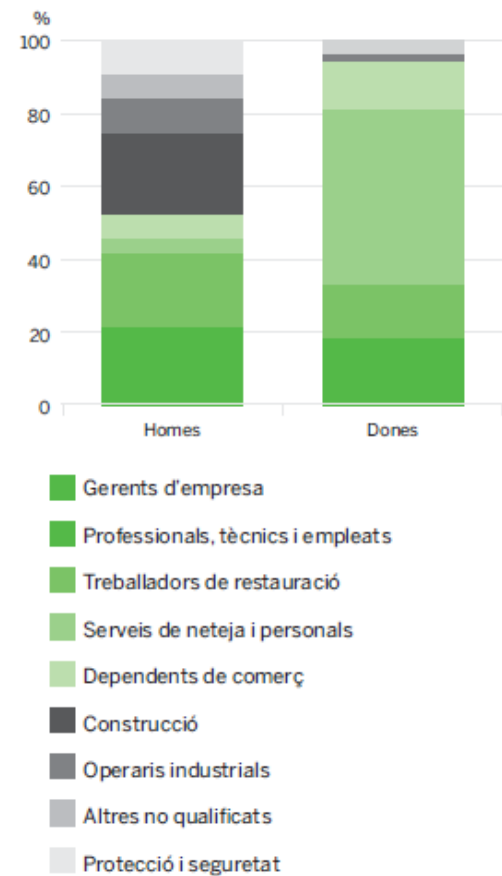


Figure 5: "Types of jobs according to gender. Panel about the settlement of the Immigrant Population in Barcelona , 2007. Source: Samper & Moreno, 2009.

to an initial (regarding the arrival profile of immigrants) and continuous *segregation*. Such delivers different labour opportunities to different national/ continental collectives.

Immigrants from the European Union, especially Western Europe, are more commonly found in directive positions and have more labour stability than the Spanish workers, being less-prone to unemployment. The overseas group, conversely, is generally situated in the labour sectors with lower wages and more intensive working journeys (i.e. functions in construction, catering, domestic services, hospitality, commerce, repair) as well as tend to occupy the lowest hierarchical position in companies and are the ones most prone to have temporary contracts (which generally have lower salaries than undetermined contracts). They receive in average 45% less than the Spanish contingent.

A counter intuitive sad finding is that, even when pursuing the same educational level, the non-EU immigrants tend to earn less, since have access to different job opportunities, a fact called *status inconsistency*. That is determined by features as local languages knowledge, non-recognition of foreign diplomas and lack of contact networks (Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006). The most alarming finding, however, is that within such model, the chances of upward mobility are very limited, indicating a long-term labour segregation trend.

The study developed in 2009 brought some more detailed findings about the overseas' immigrants group salary patterns. The most common earnings stayed within 900 to 1200 Euros per month, followed by the group earning from 600 to 900 Euros. Only one within four would manage to access salaries higher than 1200 per month. When observing the immigrants residing for five years or more in the city, there is a small increase in the rate of immigrants with monthly salaries over 1200 Euros. Nevertheless, the group stuck with earning from 600 to 900 Euros is still very large, tending to comprise women and men with low educational formation (National Immigrant Survey data, 2007 in Samper & Moreno, 2009). Through the years the ranges of salaries tend to vary, oftentimes related to professional qualifications. Roughly, the ones with superior studies have an average of 1400 Euros/ month, while secondary studies deliver an average of 1000 Euros and primary education 800 Euros.

Contracts: Sectors, Length...

For introduction the matter of contracts, it is important to regard the general volume of those. On the study performed by the research institute Fundació Jaume Bofill (2006), it was stated the considerable increase in the number of contracts for foreign workers, keeping however the sectors' distribution of those (with a massive concentration in the third sector of economy).

When framing the features within the universe of contracts, the service's sector detains the huge majority of enrolments: 91,9% of the total (Municipality of Barcelona, 2016). The numbers, nowadays more stable, grew from 80,47% by 1999. This fact, however, is similar among indigenous and foreign workers. Conversely, the incidence of temporary contracts is kept continuously higher among the immigrants than among the indigenous workers in all other sectors than services, where the numbers are relatively balanced. The incidence of temporality among immigrant workers is considerably higher in construction, industry and agriculture functions, leading to an overall disparity, kept around 2% points (Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006; Samper & Moreno, 2009).

Around 15% of the temporary workers are kept stuck in such temporality situation throughout the years. The most affected sectors by this trend are exactly the ones concentrating a higher presence of immigrant workers (e.g. construction, hospitality services, commerce). Moreover, there are inequalities about seniority even within temporary jobs between autochthonous and

foreign workers (here only the overseas ones), the first stay on average 18 months, while the second 13 (Colectivo Ioé, 2008).

Another feature to be considered are the part-time jobs incidence: they had increased in all regarded groups. The difference however lies in the possibility or not of choosing such employment status: for the autochthonous workers this was mostly a chosen sort of enrolment, to combine labour with other dedications. For the immigrants, on the other hand, the majority had to mandatorily accept such circumstance (59%), for having not found full-time positions. What a considerable part ends up doing is combining different jobs to access enough income. The rates of moonlight jobs, for instance, increased much more among immigrants than Spanish workers (respectively 3,9% and 1,5% by 1999 to 17,5% and 4,5% en 2007). The numbers by 2007 inform that 18 among each 100 of overseas' workers had more than one job (Colectivo Ioé, 2008, p. 98). Unfortunately updated information was not found to confirm the maintenance or not of the trend.

A paragraph should be also dedicated to the possibilities of upward mobility. Drawing on data from 2007, an 80% of the overseas foreign population was developing labour activities. The ones within the first five years in Barcelona concentrated in functions of catering, caretaking, personal services, construction or commerce (75%). After the five years parameter, a half kept working in the same sectors, while the others develop activities in the industry, social security, management of companies (own business or of others). (Samper & Moreno, 2009). This shows that despite of the strong trend of labour segmentation, there are evidences, through the length of permanence in Barcelona, of activities' diversification, which implies the presence of *horizontal mobility* (Artiles et al., 2011) and perhaps even of the *vertical* one too.

Besides the time of permanence in Barcelona, features as the local languages' knowledge, the level of studies and the quality of established relations with autochthonous people impact the possibilities of upward mobility. Similarly, one cannot deny that the language knowledge facilitates the development of connections, and generally, besides the Spanish native speakers, the ones with higher educational achievements pursue more knowledge of the language. The Colombians, Peruvians and other South American smaller collectives (e.g. Argentinian, Brazilian, Chilean and Mexican) present better results (Samper & Moreno, 2009, p. 10). Figure 6 shows the salaries increase in combination with the level of studies and the time of permanence in Barcelona.

Gràfic 8. Ingressos mensuals segons el nivell d'estudis i el temps transcorregut des de l'arribada. Panel sobre l'assentament de la població immigrant a Barcelona, 2007

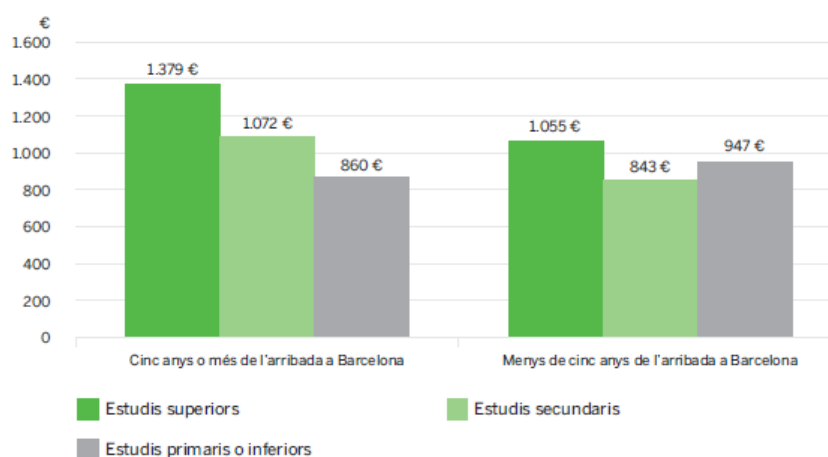


Figure 6: "Monthly salaries in relation to the level of studies and counted time from arrival. Panel about the settlement of the Immigrant Population in Barcelona , 2007". (First set of columns = "five or more years from arrival"; Second set = "less than five years of arrival"; first column in each set = superior studies; last = Primary studies).Source: Samper & Moreno, 2009.

Another spectrum of the contracts' matter is related to the very straightforward reality of 'having' or 'not having' a job, or 'having' or 'not' a *legal* job. To address those features, unemployment and some reachable aspects of the informal economy will be presented now.

Unemployment

Unemployment kept higher among immigrants than Spanish workers, even though descending since the most noticed inequality, recorded in 2011 (22,2% against 77,8%). The evidence comes from the disparity in percentages related to the representativeness of each group in relation to the whole population of Barcelona (i.e. the foreigners represent 16,6% of the total and have greater percentages of unemployment than such). Notwithstanding, It is important to regard that the immigrant population is massively concentrated within the productive age ranges, a feature discussed previously. That would justify higher proportions of unemployment among foreigners, once they most likely represent more than 16,6% of the total economically active stratum of the population. Table 4 shows the percentages of unemployment distribution among the regarded collectives.

Unemployment rates in Barcelona (2011-2015)			
Year	Total Unemployment	Spanish Workers	Foreign Workers
2011	107.521	83.651 (77,8%)	23.870 (22,2%)
2012	112.471	88.951 (79,1%)	23.520 (20,9%)
2013	110.934	89.225 (80,4%)	21.709 (19,6%)
2014	103.466	84.713 (81,9%)	18.753 (18,1%)
2015	93.714	77.331 (82,5%)	16.383 (17,5%)

Table 4: Source of statistics: Municipality of Barcelona, 2016

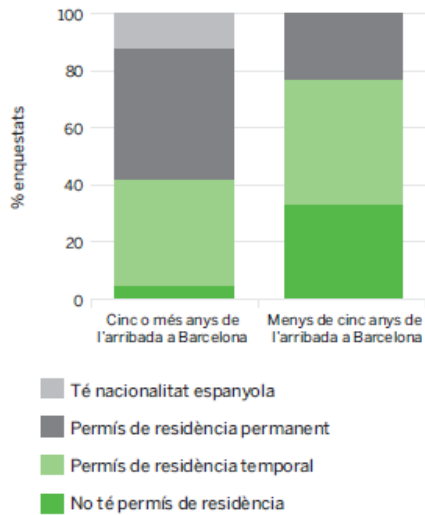
Nevertheless, previous researches as the one performed by the Colectivo loé (2008), regarding data from before the economic crisis, inform that the immigrants detained higher unemployment rates than the locals, while also shorter periods in a jobless situation. That would indicate a greater rotation between employment and unemployment, submitting the workers to more or less temporary phases of part-time or partly informal, as well as fully irregular labour conditions (p. 98).

Informal Economy

This is a section of the theme which once well accessed, would most likely inform about the highest levels of precariousness related to overseas' immigrants labour patterns, since *Informality*, even though not a synonymous of *Illegality*, is characterised by a series of vulnerability elements. Moreover, to work within the informal economy is the only option for irregular migrants ('undocumented') to sustain a living in the host country, once the impossibility to rely in family or friends' networks (Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006). Informality, however, exactly by the lack of records, is especially hard to trace from official data.

If we start by tracing the rates of irregular migrants in Barcelona, the reports indicate that the massive arrival of foreigners in the early 2000s resulted in a 42% of them staying without papers. The situation was addressed by the 2005 and 2007 regulations, and through its measures, the rates decreased to an approximate 20% of irregularity among the immigrants, right before the crisis started (Colectivo loé, 2008; Samper & Moreno, 2009). A group encompassing a 1/3 of the ones residing for less than three years in the city (Samper & Moreno, 2009). Those are undoubtedly the most vulnerable, in the sense they lack local knowledge and normally have smaller (or inexistent) networks of contacts.

Gràfic 2. Situació legal de residència en funció del temps transcorregut des de l'arribada a la ciutat. Panel sobre l'assentament de la població immigrant a Barcelona, 2007



Gràfic 4. Tipus de contracte laboral de la persona immigrada segons el temps transcorregut des de l'arribada. Panel sobre l'assentament de la població immigrant a Barcelona, 2007

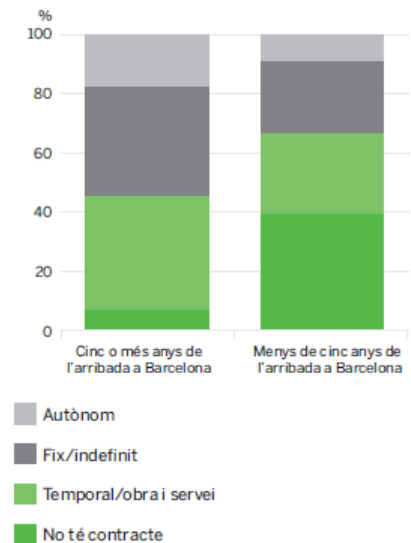


Figure 7 (left): “Legal Residency situation related to the time since arrival in Barcelona. Panel about the settlement of the Immigrant Population in Barcelona, 2007” (First Column = Five or more years since arrival; Second Column = Less than five years of arrival; Dark Green (bottom) = Does not have a residence permit). Source: Samper & Moreno, 2009.

Figure 8 (right): “Sorts of Work Contracts of the Immigrant according to the time of arrival. Panel about the settlement of the Immigrant Population in Barcelona” (First Column = Five or more years since arrival; Second Column = Less than five years of arrival; Dark Green (bottom) = Does not have a contract). Source: Samper & Moreno, 2009.

Despite the challenges of tracing information, an effort was done by the Colectivo Ioé, in 2008, partly to respond a claim for further investigation in the matter, done by the Fundació Jaume Boffil (2006). To develop better understandings of the sort of labour standards the immigrants working informally have is extremely important, especially when Spain is still feeling the effects of a recession period; one further constraining the non-communitarian immigrants’ possibility of having access to long-term residence permits.

Through the matching of previous years’ researches estimations, the conclusions of the study are that there is a meaningful amount of black jobs, although there is no way of giving exact proportions of it, which stay around a 24% in Barcelona (jobs with no contracts). The irregular jobs are mostly offered in the caretaking, construction and commerce positions (Samper & Moreno, 2009). Rates tend to increase together with cycles of economic growth, especially those where there is a higher insertion of migrant workers in the labour market. Nevertheless, what is noticed as well is a general tendency of decrease of ‘fully black jobs’, but a growth of functions partly irregular, delivering more labour vulnerable conditions (Colectivo Ioé, 2008).

The incorporation of the immigrants in the formal labour market does happen with time and has a strong connection with the length of permanence in the city, and the achievement of legal residency status. The rates of informality of people living for more than five years in Barcelona, around 8%, is reduced by distinct means of incorporation in the market. Oftentimes it does happen initially through temporary contracts (27% to 38%), with a relevant incidence of the choice for autonomous work (5% to 16%). The graph gives also more evidence about the

increase in the rates of long-term employment contracts (24% to 38%), following the chain tendency, most likely incorporating previous temporary workers.

Legal residency and formal working enrolments provide a sort of 'virtuous cycle', once labour contracts enable legal long-term residence and legal residence enables more criterious job search. As intuitively one may think, people under irregular labour conditions are on average earning less than formal employees. The autonomous workers tend to earn the most, at the expense of dedicating much more hours than the paid workers (Samper & Moreno, 2009, p. 9).

Labour Accidents

The observation of labour accidents provides evidence of jobs' precariousness. In the context of a country with one of the highest rates of work accidents within the European Union the reports accessed express that basically, the overseas migrant workers are in comparison more prone to accidents than the other provenience groups (EU immigrants and Spanish workers). Construction is the activity concentrating the highest rates of accidents, where the proportion of affected overseas foreigners is higher than the average. That would indicate the presence of what is called *ethnostratification*, where even within a same sector activity, immigrants have access to worse positions or to companies of smaller scale and protection structure (Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006). The sectors' propensity to accidents is related to other common precariousness features as low wages and low-demanded qualifications. In sum, positions concentrating high amounts of overseas immigrant workers (Colectivo Ioé, 2008).

Autonomous X paid workers

According to the observed researches (Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006; Samper & Moreno, 2009; Municipality of Barcelona, 2016), the majority of foreign workers is enrolled in paid positions. The predominance of such, rather than being business-owners is related to the social class, fewer resources and less access to credit, common situations among the immigrants, as well as a lack of knowledge over the local market. Finally, immigrant women, tend to remain strongly in paid positions (EPA analysis - Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006).

Despite the initial facts for some national collectives the autonomous activities have a high relevance, a primary part of their migration plans. That is the case for instance of the Chinese and Pakistani, where the commercial practice is a common feature of the countries they come from. Besides the mentioned 'commercial culture' of some nationalities, the tendency of developing autonomous activities is connected to educational levels (a 33% within people with superior studies, while only 5% among people with primary studies) (Samper & Moreno, 2009). The choice for entrepreneurship also relates to the conditions found in the host society. A considerable part of the foreigners choosing such do so to try avoiding the *ethnostratification* of the labour market, and as such reach upward mobility possibilities. These "businesses out of necessity" may also establish under the context of unemployment and precariousness, resulting oftentimes in small generated income.

Another important feature is the misguided imagination of immigrants' enterprises (mainly the ones managed by overseas' foreigners) as marginal business, with low chances of future growth and connected to illegality. Conversely, records show that business activities developed by autonomous foreign workers expanded considerably in the years prior the crisis and still occupy a very relevant place among their income generating activities. Moreover, such little commerces, established generally in less-privileged zones of the city, help to rescue the vitality and social/physical quality of such neighbourhoods, at odds of the common imaginary (Serra, 2006 in Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006).

Moreover, although the visibility of the commercial activities, the analysis of the IAE records (Economic Activities' Taxes) reveal that other niches predominate among these businesses, which include repair, hospitality and catering companies (Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006).

Notwithstanding, the findings of the report by the Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB (2006), reveal an average of businesses of small dimensions, long labour journeys, and the presence of family or co-ethnic workers. There is little job creation within those enterprises, providing evidence of the "businesses out of necessity" trend (Colectivo loé, 2008). In addition, a strong identification of niches of activities with nationalities (i.e. Chinese and the bazaars; Moroccan and butcheries) is perceived. Furthermore, the concern in providing goods/ services to a foreign collective (e.g. Halal butcheries) may lead to a saturation of markets, especially in regions that concentrate a large amount of similar businesses (e.g. Raval). The concentration of similar activities in specific neighbourhoods, however, is more closely related to the renting prices of stores, which tend to be more expensive elsewhere in the city.

To avoid the income effects of high competition, a series of measures are adopted by the business owners, related to: 1) self-exploitation and labour journeys' relaxation (low salaries and family unpaid workforce); 2) diversification of products and services; 3) lowering the prices. Such mechanisms were so tough to handle that led to conflicts between local and foreign business owners, with the consequent adoption of new opening-hours regulations for stores, forbidding for instance the opening on Sundays.

Despite the hard working conditions, most of the feedback received by the researchers was positive, of immigrants motivated to improve their businesses and satisfied with the upward mobility and autonomy provided by the self-employment choice. The access to housing property and the superior studies of the second generation are clear evidences of the accomplishments.

Gender Inequalities

After developing a comprehensive approach of employment trends for different foreign proveniences' collectives, in comparison with the performance of autochthonous workers, it is important to account for gender inequalities. Women are overall disadvantaged, even though detaining on average, and across all geographical regions, better educational levels than men. They are found with higher levels of vulnerabilities, as well as less possibilities of upward or general employment activities' mobility (i.e. even horizontal mobility is constrained in relation to the performance of the male collective). They are more prone to unemployment, the incidence of temporary contracts, to be found developing non-qualified jobs (53,1% against 42,6%) (Fundació Jaume Bofill & CESB, 2006) and receiving lower salaries. For instance, immigrant women with superior education tend to earn similarly to men with only primary studies.

Such disparities are understood as consequence of a salary structure from a *gender-segmented* labour market in which, regardless of the length of permanence, women have less diversity of possible employment activities than men; stuck in functions as domestic services, caretaking, hospitality and commerce (Samper & Moreno, 2009, p. 11).

Social Networks' Relevance for job-finding and job-matching

The study published by Samper & Moreno (2009), within the Barcelona Intercultural framework of integration promotion, showed strong evidence that the presence of acquaintances in the city (i.e. immigration networks) plays the highest impact on the decision to come to Barcelona (64%), especially for immigrants with low-qualifications. Furthermore,

there is an inversely proportional relation between *educational level* and *reliance in those networks* to find jobs.

Gràfic 23. Coneixement de persones residents abans de la immigració segons el nivell d'estudis. Panel sobre l'assentament de la població immigrant a Barcelona, 2007

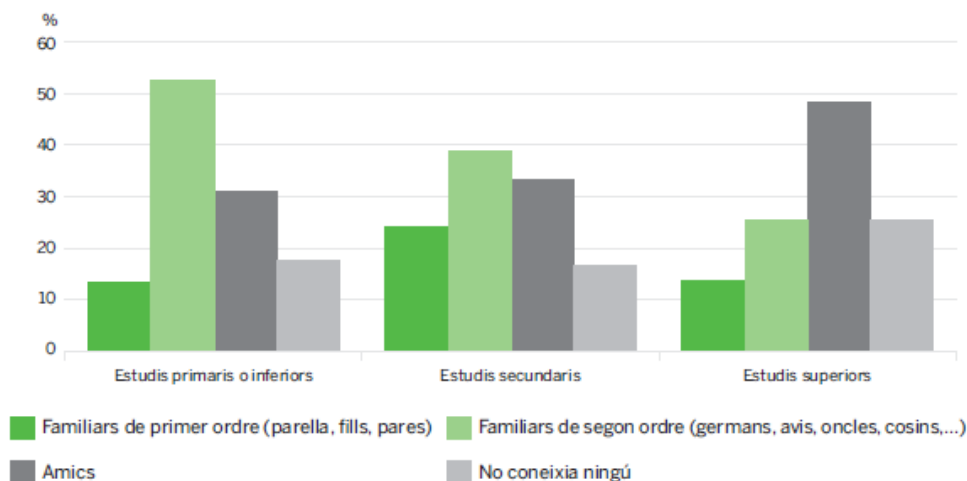


Figure 9: “Acquaintance of residents before the immigration, according to level of studies”. Panel about the settlement of the Immigrant Population in Barcelona, 2007” (First set of columns = Primary studies or less; Second set of columns = Secondary studies; Third set of columns = Superior studies. Dark Green (left) = Relatives of first order; Black (third column) = Friends; Gray (last column) = No acquaintances). Source: Samper & Moreno, 2009.

The reliance on immigration networks influences the search for housing, employment and economic assistance, impacting the sorts of opportunities one has access to. Framing specifically employment, immigrants with primary studies tend to concentrate their job search in the opportunities provided through acquaintances’ networks. For people with higher education, the path found follows more formal venues to find jobs (e.g internet portals, published vacancies in municipal databases or job search agencies).

Despite all the support given by the mentioned social networks, to rely on those tend to entrap one, turning difficult labour mobility or a more adequate job-matching between previous qualifications and the positions taken in Spain. The opportunities tend to concentrate in similar functions to the acquainted informant. On the other hand, the ones looking for jobs in formal search venues of information (e.g. internet, newspapers) present more diversified jobs. Furthermore, the tendency to find jobs without contracts is also higher. In sum, to rely exclusively in the networks to find labour opportunities ends up constraining the development of the newcomer in a long term, reinforcing segmentation. The knowledge of the local languages also has a meaningful effect on the choice (or not) to rely in the information provided through the networks (Samper & Moreno, 2009).

Considerations over the relevance of the work environment for the interaction with locals:

The work environment appears as one of the only realms where there are more relationships with locals than with persons from the same country, a meaningful potential for integration with the Spanish. In addition, the spaces for leisure activities (e.g. bars) and ‘residences’ (remembering that a considerable amount of immigrants works with home care) also play a role (p.18). Throughout the years, the main relevance of the work environment for the development of interactions with the Spanish population is kept. Bars, restaurants and the

children's school are also relevant, while general public spaces as parks and squares lose relevance.

The employment realm is, as such, a core element in long-term and sustained integration of immigrants. Figure 10 explicitly shows the prominent relevance of the working environment for foreigners to develop relationships with the local inhabitants:

Gràfic 19. Espais de relació amb persones del mateix origen i espanyoles. Panel sobre l'assentament de la població immigrant a Barcelona, 2007

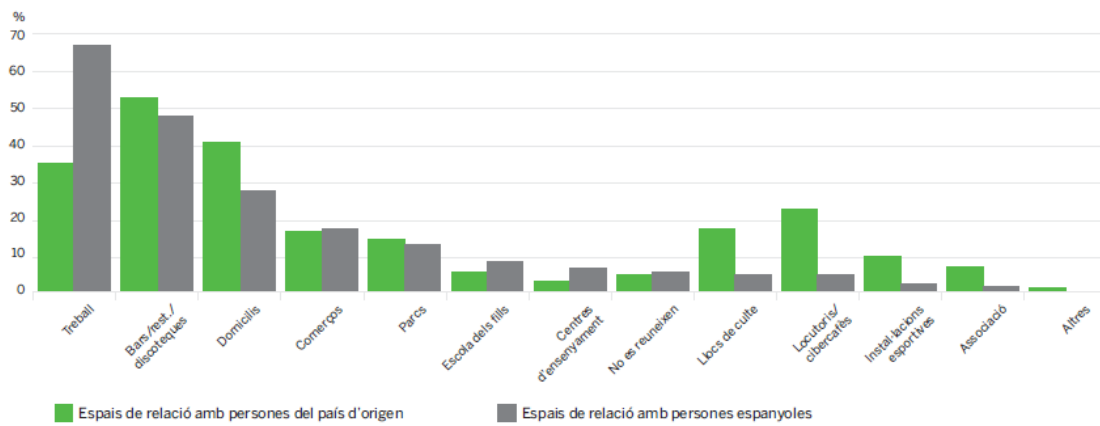


Figure 10: Spaces of relation with people from same origin and Spanish. Panel about the settlement of the Immigrant Population in Barcelona, 2007. (First set of columns = Work Environment. Green (*left*) = Space of relation with people from same origins; Black (*right*) = Spaces of Relation with Spanish people). Source: Samper & Moreno, 2009.

Annex 3

Interviewees' basic information

List of Interviewees and main information						
Name*	Gender	Nationality	Age Range	Residing in Barcelona for:	Last or Current Job*	Last activity in Original Country
José	M	Filipino	20 - 30	14 months	Assistant cook*	Salesman
Eleonora	F	Dominican	40 - 50	25 years	Domestic Services	University Student
Maria	F	Dominican	40 - 50	16 years	Domestic Services	Never worked in her Country
Alicia	F	American	30 - 40	8 months	Teacher	Teacher
Ali	M	Pakistani	20– 30	7 years	Waiter	Student
Mohamed	M	Moroccan	30– 40	13 years	Butcher	Butcher
Elena	F	Argentinian	40 - 50	20 years	Communication Expert in international NGO	Design office - Junior Employee
Rosa	F	Argentinian	20 - 30	2 years	Web Marketing Employee	Marketing Employee
Tereza	F	Venezuelan	20 - 30	3 years	Web Marketing Employee	Management Employee
Ana	F	French	40– 50	18 years	Lecturer	Student

Table 5: Interview Informants – main information. Author's Archive.

The names were modified to preserve the privacy of the informants;

* Informal enrolment (no labour contract)

Annex 4

Survey Questions

Nationality:	Gender:	Age Range:
Residence Place:	Working Place:	

1. Why did you decide coming to Barcelona? Was there any special reason to be this city, or was more like "by chance"?

- Work
- Family/ Relatives in the City
- Friends in the City
- Study
- Have been here before and liked the City for living

2. How long have you been living in Barcelona?

- Less than a year
- Between 1 and 3 years
- Between 3 to 5 years
- More than 5 years
- More than 10 years

3. If you had to rate how you like your life here from 1 to 5 (with 1 as "bad" and 5 as "wonderful") what grade would you give?

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5

Why? _____

4. Do you intend to stay in the city on a long term? (Why?)

- More a few months
- More a few years
- For the rest of my life
- No, if I could I would move somewhere else
- No, if I could I would go back to my country

5. Do you have some connection with people from Barcelona, or other regions of Catalonia/ Spain?

- Not at all
- A little
- Yes
- Most of my colleagues/ friends

6. *If no, from which nationalities are most of your acquaintances?*
7. *Do you get to know a lot of people from your work/ job/ business?*
- Not at all
 - A few
 - Yes
 - Most of my colleagues/ friends
8. *Besides work what are your main activities in the city? Do they allow you to get to know “many/new” people?*
9. *Do you think your work/ job/ business play an important role in helping/ hampering you to get to know people in/ from Barcelona/ Spain?*
10. *Did you ever had any problem with the municipality/ police of the city for being a migrant?*
- Yes
 - No
 - Why/ Other _____
11. *Do you speak Catalan? If no, would you like to learn it?*
12. *Do you have a residence permit here?*
13. *Do you have a working contract/ own business?*
14. *Do your family live here as well?*
15. *Do you have an opinion about the Municipality’s Approach to Migrants? Do you know the support services they offer (e.g. SAIER)?*

List of Key Survey Informants

Code	Gender	Nationality	Age Range	Residing in Barcelona for:	Last or Current Job*
Informant 1	M	Pakistani	20 -30	5 years	Bartender
Informant 2	M	Pakistani	20 - 30	3,5 years	Salesman*
Informant 3	M	Pakistani	30 - 40	8 years	Salesman*

Table 6: List of Key Survey Informants – main information. Author’s Archive.

*Informal enrolment (no labour contract)

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