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Does Spain have an immigrant integration policy?

Membership, Citizenship and Immigration Policy in Democracy

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Introduction

Historically, Spain has been a country of emigration, not immigration. Up until the early seventies Spaniards themselves were those that emigrated to other parts of the world, mainly to the Americas and other European destinations. Spanish Emigration declined from the early 70s almost directly in conjunction with 1973 oil crisis. In the early nineties, emigration from Spain became an almost non-existent practice through to the present time although there has been a slight but steady increase of about 200,000 Spanish emigrants since 2002 to 2008. Even so, the increase of immigration in Spain has been exponential since the year 2000.

Coinciding with EU entry in 1986, immigration in Spain steadily increased, fueled by extreme economic growth and job creation in the 1990s and into the new millennium, right up until the recent world economic crisis. The greatest increase was noted between 2000 and 2007 where the increase in immigrants both legal and illegal reached approximately 10.4% of the total population while in 2000 it was only 2.3% of the total population. As a result of the turn from an emigration country to an immigration country in the recent decade or two, Spain has found itself in a position where its adjustment to such demographic change has become more than necessary, but indeed critical. Up until the mid nineties when government bodies were first formed to address the phenomenon, policy towards immigration in real or skeletal form was non-existent as there was truly no need for it. As time went by, the sheer numbers of immigrants entering the country through documented or undocumented channels forced the Spanish government to act in several ways: amnesty being one of them, as well as barriers to further immigration that was not based upon economic need, and a continued focus upon the idea of integrating those that have become perceived permanent members of the Spanish society as a whole. Integration being the popular and unclearly

defined term of the day, before setting out its intents and limits, several other terms should be brought forth first.

First of all, the term immigrant should be defined as anyone who is residing outside his/her original national borders. Within such a wide category there other sub-categories: temporary residents (working or on extended holidays or retirement) with a finite idea as to the length of stay; residents that initially may think themselves to be temporary residents and then become permanent; and permanent residents that see themselves as settling in for the long-term. Unfortunately, the same type of residency card, or certificate in the case of EU members, is given out to all except in the case of immigrants involved in temporary work programs who may not have access to a normal residency card on a permanent basis because of the irregular stay involved in their work timetable. Generally though, those that are targeted for further integration into any society are those that wish to stay, without taking into account those from EU countries since they are allowed as EU residents to enter and leave as they please, with the exception the overlap of Romanian and Bulgarian citizens that have been stripped of the label of third-country residents (immigrant residents from countries outside the EU) to EU residents in 2007. Their entry into the EU may be recent, but their involvement in associations that have been actively part of the development of integration policy with the Spanish government in the last few years still makes them part of the immigrant population targeted by integration policies. So, with the exception of Romanians and Bulgarians, integration policy will be seen as directed to certain immigrants. Specifically, this is only part of the total immigrant population in the form of 30.5% from Latin America, 21% from Africa, (16% of that from Morocco), 6% from Asia, 2.9% from the rest of Europe, and also including the 15% from Romania and 3% from Bulgaria as of 2007. The other 21.6% of immigrants are either from the continent of

Australia labeled as Oceania, North America (not including Mexico), and along with the EU countries, are not the targets of integration policies for a number of possible reasons. This could be for several reasons: either because their numbers are insignificant; they are considered to be already part of the European family; have access to their own resources that allow themselves to reside in Spain; or they are just temporarily visiting or working inside Spanish borders with no need or want to truly integrate themselves on a long-term basis.

Secondly, the term *integration* itself will be defined as the following, disregarding individual country approaches to the contrary. Essentially, it is comprised of the following points: one being the access to social benefits in the form of social security, medicine, unemployment, pension and education in the same venue and degree of any citizen; two being that the individual adapts to not just receiving benefits but to the responsibilities that come along with them such as paying one's taxes; point three is access to extra aid and support in the form of allowing the individual to improve language skills, help if needed in employment insertion and open access to, and aid in, legal procedures etc.; fourth, an ability to move within the social web in an relatively equal manner constructed by free right to association and speech; leading us towards the fifth point of integration which is that of some sort of political involvement whether it be in the consultative sense or in the form of direct suffrage. Finally, all immigrants should have the possibility of applying for full membership in the form of naturalization procedures, if they choose to, once permanent residency has been established, while not being forced to completely assimilate if they do feel the need to. In tune with a multicultural standpoint, there is no reason why they may not continue cultural practices within their home life and even celebrate publicly as long as they do not go against any basic laws of the host society. Society must adapt along with the immigrant through

linguistic education and the upholding of all other laws that protect the rights and equality of its citizens. In other words, an approach towards a sense of equal treatment, along with extra help in gaining such treatment in the form of legal, education and employment services temporarily needed in order to breech the gap between an informed citizen and an immigrant not completely adjusted to his/her surroundings.

In order to further set out the context and towards answering the question as to whether Spain really has a clear and efficient integration policy for targeted immigrants as a whole, Part One of this study will deal with political science theories directed towards the evaluation of the concepts of membership, rights, citizenship, residency, civil society, and naturalization since such concepts cannot be ignored when faced with the their implications towards immigrant integration. After such theoretical designs have been explored, especially that of the modern role of citizenship, examples of models of immigrant incorporation in European nations shall be briefly discussed, suggesting how such models could be applied to the integration policy in Spain in the present and near future. Part Two is a historical treatment of Germany's *much* long*er* experience as an immigration country, treatment of citizenship, naturalization policy, judiciary and political party standpoint as well as welfare and Immigrant Association experiences in a hope to add a wider European historical context of Spain's very recent experience in regards to immigration. Both countries have quite different outlooks on to how immigrant integration should be approached and in regards to evolutionary themes such as citizenship and integration policy, Germany has dealt with both simultaneously, making it a prime example of the treatment of both theoretical concepts within a European context. Part Three returns to the Spanish model by going into the depths of its recent and present judiciary history as well as the functions and involvement of its Autonomous regions, including the analysis of the actual policy and

the involvement of various Immigrant Associations in the consultative representation of government bodies and institutions that have played a part in the production of said integration policy up until now.

Most importantly is the efficiency and reach of such declared integration policy that is the focus of the study. In other words, whether it currently measures up to what may be required in order to include and incorporate targeted immigrants into Spanish society and whether its promise has a future within a Spanish and European context. Broadly approached, associational involvement in institutions that allow limited access to the political process is only one aspect towards labeling Spain as a country with an outright and clear integration policy, while it should not be ignored as a window towards which one may view its efficacy in dealing with the very barriers that do not allow for immigrants to fully integrate themselves into their host society: lack of legal expertise, cultural misunderstandings, lack of language skills, or lack of proper access to social welfare either because it is denied or simply bogged down by a slow bureaucratic process. Throughout the study, a normative political theory evaluation, supported by empirical data and statistics along the way, will be used to gain a sense of the theoretical approach Spain has defined, or on the contrary not defined clearly enough, in order to explain its plan to integrate its immigrant population—those they feel that are in need of such integration for the most part—as well as its form of implementation. A political theoretical standpoint of integration policy as well as the concept of citizenship as membership will be explored, supported by a qualitative interviewing process in dealing with the Spanish approach towards integration in particular.

Along the way one will begin to see, that while those involved may have it considerably clear as to what the Spanish government's focus should be, and while the formal policy may truly allude to such a focus, its inconsistency in directly

implementing it and its lack of effectiveness in its coordination is more so reactionary than active. Given, the demographic change has been extraordinary and the government has not had much time to react, but at the same time it has also been constantly in the midst of an economic growth that has up until now been a rather steady platform to stand upon, which could have enabled it to form a more active role.

Still, the integration policy on behalf of the Spanish government is not all that lacking on paper. In fact, all points towards the definition of integration are met to different degrees. Still, the question as to whether such policy is effective in its implementation is a completely different matter, directly related to its liberal, bottom-up and therefore reactionary process of dealing with issues as they occur, as opposed to foreseeing actual difficulties. Nonetheless, such disorganization does not mean that those implementing the Spanish plan for integration on a day-to-day basis do not share the same ideals objectives and endeavors. Quite the contrary as the reactionary sense of implementation has allowed for focus upon the basic needs of the targeted immigrant population, mainly judicial, social welfare-orientated, and educational as each need has arisen and become a compound problem. In fact, the extensive need has turned most organizations and associations into entities that branch out to aid any immigrant group or individual, regardless as to their nationality, when before they were much narrower in their objectives and audience.

In answer to the proposed question of whether or not Spain has an immigrant integration policy— yes and no. Yes, what it does have is a great necessity for it, and the very policy a direct result of such necessity forced on paper in a well-rounded plan, although unclear in its ultimate goal of complete inclusion of the immigrant population as full members in society as naturalized citizens. No, in that its implementation does not reach its targeted population because of its lack of initiative and reliance upon

private entities that do not have the proper scope or organizational skills among them to address the integration process as a whole. One cannot exactly fault them in the slightest since there really is not an active direction on the part of the government and they cannot possibly be expected to somehow come together in agreement when in reality the very government pits them against one another in competition for funds. In other words, a policy does exist. Nevertheless, it is simply a policy, not an effectively applied policy, since its implementation only reaches a small percentage of its targeted population.

Part One: A Political Theory Basis for the Citizen, Society and Immigrant Incorporation Models

Citizenship and Immigrant Integration

"Citizenship is a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed."

—T.H. Marshall, Citizenship and Social Class, p 18.

In order to actually address even the concept, let alone the policy and its implementation, of immigrant integration, membership into society must first be thoroughly explored and put into some sort of historical context. One must be aware that citizenship in and of itself is the current title given to those that are seen as truly part of the workings of a society in regards to responsibilities and rights. In modern times, liberal democratic nation-states may have opened the circle up wider to include women and minorities so as they might have full rights as citizens, not just in order to assume responsibility, but as full participants through suffrage; and the concept that basic rights should be allowed to people, in the form of human rights, not just as citizens, has come to be. Even so, in practice, the permeating concept that full members are citizens has maintained itself even as populations fluctuate, moving and merging, sometimes fleeing, sometimes closing ranks as part of a migration process that supersedes borders as well as identity. At the same time, the very first-world liberal democratic societies that are generally on the receiving end of migration, those with borders that seem to be all too permeable in most cases, are the very societies that have in the past come to pride themselves in their maintenance of certain theoretical standards. Internally, the existence of present definitions of the rights and responsibilities allowed to full members of their communities has come about as the result of a process of circumstance, tied a to sequence of upheavals and gradual changes within the modern world, and leading up to the definition of equality and justice now held as evident in the same liberal democratic societies. Eventually, it has been the

citizen that is truly guaranteed such rights and responsibilities, up until the 20th century when the concept of human rights first appeared for refugees and then immigrants, sometimes linked to naturalization, and sometimes not, swerving one way or the other. Basically, it seems that our definition of citizenship, our will to hang onto its meaning and its consequence, does not allow for exception to the rule. Inclusion is inclusion and those outside its periphery either do not wish to enter the circle or are not even invited in until their very numbers demand such attention.

Eventually, this attention comes about in the form of a direct and straightforward immigration integration policy, a contradictory concept really, as it assumes that policy can be bring about integration in the first place just as a result of its very existence as such—most cases should more than likely be referred to as an immigration integration statement, not policy as policy implies effective implementation, considering that the definition of policy, political or otherwise, is a plan of action in the first place. As such, any plan of action should be in concordance with basic concepts and definitions, such as the very idea of full membership: first, who is a citizen, who is not; second, those that are citizens are credited with certain guarantees and those who are not are not. Blurring the two, whether through intention or not does not seem to improve clarity; but instead create the sensation that differences are simply ignored, to be dealt with later only in the case that some conflict allows for their reactionary attention. In the case of Spanish immigrant integration policy, such dismissal is clearly taking place, the assumption that differences can be blurred, not accurately accepted and as a result effectively addressed.

By insisting on the allowance of rights and responsibilities to all, while at the same time allocating full membership within the first two years of residence only to those considered to have cultural and historical ties, sends a message that some will

initially assimilate and that others may need ten years in order to do so. Ironically, it may be those forced to wait their ten years to vote that, being aware of their obvious differences, are more willing to adjust to their surroundings, when those that expect to be welcomed with open arms as they return to the "mother country" are thrown into the same category, similar, but at the same time very, very different from the autochthonous population. Therefore, while Spain outwardly seems to uphold the belief on paper that all those within its society are to be included, they obviously are not to the same degree regardless of their willingness to be so, transforming their integration policy into a reflection of pertinence, targeted towards those thought to become a permanent member but not in concordance with the reality of actual practice. In other words, access for everybody to everything, but full membership only to some when in its very essence, it proclaims full membership as its aim.

And so, in order to tie integration policy into the concept of citizenship, maintaining that one cannot be discussed without the other either as contrast to integration in some cases or its aim in others, lets return to focus upon the sequence of events that has allowed western societies to define who is a member and who is not in an effort to explore the origins behind present day inclusion and exclusion into liberal democratic societies. Surprisingly it seems, historically the very reason behind the creation of citizenship itself has been the same reason behind immigration—paid labor. Beginning with the idea that man is no longer tied to the land and lord within an agrarian society, but instead an individual entity, paid for his labor instead of taken care of in exchange for his servitude, allowed for mobility not just as one exiled or expelled from one's community, but as an individual setting out in search of work, pay and hopefully a better tomorrow. As a result, choice of work begins the sequence of events, followed by increased civil freedoms, as well as political and then social.

Throughout the past two centuries, the existence of modern day citizenship has been the result of a process with the following developments being: civil freedoms of person, speech, thought, religion, choice of work and justice; political rights such as the right to participate in the exercise of political power either as a member or a voter in parliaments or councils; and social rights such as access to the social welfare state. According to Marshall, these three aspects of citizenship came about successively in that order beginning with civil rights in the eighteenth century, political rights in the nineteenth and social rights on the twentieth century. In regards to this thesis, when dealing with the rather large amount of third-country nationals present in Spain as well as other European countries, it is the third, social aspect of citizenship that seems most relative. By and large, immigrant integration represents access to the social rights and responsibilities that have already been established as a result of political and civil upheavals in the past.

Even as the definition of citizenship, and the access to such citizenship changes as the result of demographic changes in each country, one must wonder as to its relationship with the idea of immigrant integration in the first place. In other words, is it necessary? If it is the a finite goal set forth as to measure one's integration or full membership into society as its definition stands, then reality may not hold itself up to its policy. In other words, is full integration into society considered to be full membership as a citizen or have we produced a second option, that of a limited version in the case of a permanent resident? Within the European Union, it is encouraged to travel, live, work and play within borders that may not be one's own nationality as a member of the European Union. Next, enters the third-country national, the true transient, the economic immigrant looking for a better life for him/herself and family. Are they expected to become full members as citizens? It obviously makes their lives

bureaucratically easier in every sense of the word, but must citizenship and integration go hand and hand, even as access to such citizenship is still biased depending upon historical relationships between countries in the form of specific bilateral agreements in the example of Spanish naturalization processes? Entire frameworks for their integration into society as permanent members have been set to paper, while European members are considered to already be integrated. Overnight, Romanians and Bulgarians are no longer third-country nationals in need of integration policy on the same scale as before as their residency card is replaced with a residency certificate, soon to be equals to the English, French and German immigrant population in 2009—on paper. But has their status really changed day-to-day? Are they still economic immigrants or just simply accepted members of the European Union? Is the pursuit of citizenship necessary for them now as a measurement towards their successful integration, or has their status has been upgraded and their bureaucratic worries lessened, has citizenship lost its luster for them? Obviously, Spanish integration policy is still directed towards this population, particularly since they have taken part in its formation since the mid-nineties, but where does full membership come into the picture, as a full citizen, EU citizen, or simply as a permanent resident?

Curiously, the term citizen is misused within Spain's national Integration Policy, as its targeted population is referred to as immigrant citizens. Not only does such terming of their role in society allow for increased inclusion, but it also allows a great deal of *con*fusion, such blurring of supposedly clear definitions implies full membership while at the same time allowing such membership at different intervals for those of different backgrounds—discriminatory in its declaration of anti-discriminatory practices. This confusion may be fueled by the government's wish to allow for municipal electoral participation for permanent residents. In fact, within the

constitution, the reciprocal exchange of the municipal vote between EU members could be extended to other nations in the near future, so as to include its immigrant citizens even further into their local settings. While such reciprocal exchange may be difficult for nations to agree upon, especially with those nations that do not allow their own citizens the right to vote within their own borders, the blur between citizenship and integrated immigrant becomes even more evident—one cannot be spoken of without reference to the other. In fact it seems that reference to immigrants as citizens, even though they are not, and supposed allowance of electoral participation is almost insulting in its superficial impossibility, allowing for the appearance of inclusion while in reality, only those that are generally included within such an experiment already have access to full membership anyway—those that could reciprocally vote are those that come from Latin American countries and have access not only to citizenship after two years of permanent residency but also dual citizenship—so why would they need yet another path towards further inclusion anyway? Also, more and more, it seems that assigning rights and responsibilities to sections of the population is somewhat confusing without really assigning them the formal title of citizen as well.

Ultimately, one must look back to the formation of citizenship, the process leading up to the rights that full membership allows in order to understand that it is the very end result of citizenship, and access to social rights, that recently has made the term citizenship an obscure title. No longer is it all encompassing. Now, whether or not such blind faith in that access to said social rights is forever guaranteed to them is a wise assumption or not, is a completely separate matter. Allowing such a large part of society not to take part in the democratic process that its population puts such pride in, considering themselves to be shining examples of democratic equality throughout the world, well yes, that could contrast in an incongruent manner to the very principles that

such a society upholds, or claims to uphold. Therefore, one must delve even further into the notion of citizenship, and more importantly, its evolution, in order to properly ascertain as to whether immigrant integration policy is directed to the formation of its targeted population—the third-country national as an economic, but permanent immigrant—into full participants and members of society. Only then can the question be answered as to the existence and effectiveness of Spanish Immigrant Integration policy by addressing what it hopes to achieve and to whom.

Already mentioned are the three aspects of citizenship that T.H. Marshall explained in his work, *Citizenship and Social Class*. In regards to civil rights, legal residents in most countries do enjoy the majority of them: liberty of person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, right to own property, contracts and right to justice. Still, not all of them necessarily enjoy the economic right to work, following the occupation of their choice, since some residence permits are restricted to certain professions in an effort to protect local employment in other sectors. Political rights to participate in the exercise of political power, whether as a candidate or a voter, are simply not allowed. While some third-country nationals have the right to be heard in local councils and even federal institutions, individually or represented as a group, they still have no direct vote in the collective action in the parliamentary, democratic system. Instead, they must rely upon third parties that are full members as citizens to represent their interests.

Simply, the only aspect of citizenship that third-country nationals have complete access to is the social rights that Marshall defined as economic welfare in the form of the educational system and social services.[1] Curiously, it is this very characteristic of modern day citizenship that has developed just recently in the twentieth century. Most importantly, one must not forget that Marshall's analysis was an internal one. In all

[1] Marshall, T.H. *Citizenship and Social Class*, pg. 8.

actuality, it was designated for those that already were guaranteed membership within a nation-state. In other words, Marshall could not have possibly considered the effect of modern mass migrations or such cultural diversity as a result.[2]

In regards to political rights, it was in the nineteenth century they had very little or no part in citizenship rights. This took place in the next century where political rights were independently attached to citizenship. Still in the nineteenth century, political rights, while attached to economic achievement, did exist and were offered to all those who were able to "earn, to save, to buy property or to rent a house, and to enjoy whatever political rights were attached to these economic achievements."[3] Thus, once again we are brought back to the point of social rights which were originally guaranteed by membership of local communities and functional associations. How then, did social rights begin to coincide with the rights of not just those in need, but the everyday citizen? Marshall contends that such a change came about by the introduction of public education defined as "not the right of the child to go to school, but the right of the adult citizen to be educated."[4] Still, while this may have started to take place in the nineteenth century, it was not until the twentieth that social rights in general fused themselves into a true definition of citizenship.

Marshall then makes it clear that one cannot ignore the relationship and development of citizenship along with that of capitalism that in the latter 17th and 18th centuries coincided. While in fact citizenship and capitalism, initially complimented each other, they have recently been at war in the twentieth century. Basically, without men as free actors and free labor, a system that citizenship not only allowed but also embodied itself in, capitalism could not come to be. At the time that capitalism started

[2] López Sala, Ana María. Derechos de ciudadanía y estratificación cívica en sociedades de inmigración, pg. 5.
[3] Marshall, T.H. *Citizenship and Social Class*, pg. 13.
[4].---------- *Citizenship and Social Class*, pg. 16.

to thrive, citizenship was embodied by civil rights, which was necessary to the survival of the capitalist system. Since each man was able to act as an independent actor that had no need for social protection, he was basically able to take care of himself. Individualism was the ideal of the day and you did have a right to property, if you could get it, as well as a right to freedom of speech, if you were educated enough to get someone to listen to you. Still, ironically, it is in the twentieth century, along with the instatement of social rights, that citizenship and capitalism have become enemies.[5]

How did citizenship come from being a necessary partner in the development of capitalism to its archenemy in the twentieth century? Simply, it was a result of improved political rights. These political rights were a clear danger to the capitalist system although it could not possible perceive how great it was: "They could hardly be expected to foresee what vast changes could be brought about by the peaceful use of political power, without a violent and bloody revolution."[6] And so, basic equality was the goal of greater social rights even though its initial impetus was public education, which in of itself is the equal opportunity to be unequal through academic achievement of 'the equal right to be recognised as unequal'.[7] Marshall believed that as a society, one must simply be aware of the consequences that education exists as a social right that stratifies the population into unequal terms, but not necessarily 'deplore' it.

This then brings one to the discussion of the importance of equality in a liberal democratic society. While its basis may have started in a system such as the public educational system that in turn stratifies our society into a sort of professional inequality, in Great Britain or any other democratic society, equality as a crucial principal in such a society cannot be denied. Seemingly, as long as things are equal, we always are much more able to accept them, positively or negatively. If in our

[5] Marshall, T.H. *Citizenship and Social Class*, pg. 20.
[6] ---------- *Citizenship and Social Class*, pg. 25.
[7] ----------*Citizenship and Social Class*, pg. 38.

workplaces conditions worsen, as long as it is equal, we are more likely to accept them, as well as if conditions improve, we would be definitely more likely to accept such improvement as long as it concerns everyone. Likewise, in regards to social benefits, basic equality is the aim. We accept longer waits to see a medical specialist or a longer line just to see our general practitioner as long as the wait is the same for everybody and the reason for such delay is the allowance of medical treatment for everyone in the population. Equality, for good or bad, is ingrained not only in our system of citizenship but in our daily lives as members of society—acceptance of our lot in life is ever so much easier as long as we are all treated as equals, even though our constant aim in life may be to be unequal professionally, in regards to job status, and personally in regards to the acquirement of possessions, the status that having a more expensive car and a bigger house with everything in it entails. Citizenship and capitalism are at war, not just within society but also within our own subconscious.

So, that brings one to the question of whether or not social rights, limited civil rights, and practically no political rights are enough in order to be equal—such equality allowing one to pursue inequality in every sense of the word to his or her heart's content. Again, third-country nationals have access to most civil rights, except for job access, to all social rights in the form of access to the welfare state and equal education. The conundrum is then if such access to equality truly makes them equal or whether or not this is simply a generic equality, like that given to children who are unable to represent themselves in a democratic society until the age of eighteen who are not considered to be fully developed enough in order to really have a valid opinion about the society they live in.

Another question is, as the quantity of third-country nationals without citizenship increases in Spain in particular, how does this quantity of the population

existing as it does go against basic principles that have founded equality in a process that has stretched over centuries? And finally, what if the process is not over, then are those that have no representation to be left out of the system some time in the future, their rights reduced socially even? Simply because they are pretty much treated as equals up until now does not mean that they pretty much will be treated so in the future, particularly if economic woes decrease employment so that conflict arises in the form of those that "belong" and those that do not "belong". There is no reason that permanent residents filling an employment void in the beginning will not be considered equals when they occupy economic and social space in an economic reality in which overcrowding is a concern, instead of a welcoming of physical laborers.

Equality and Justice

When one thinks of present day global immigration many topics may come automatically to mind—economics, cultural enrichment or threat, poverty, employment or unemployment, citizenship, integration, expulsion and justice. Entire populations are simultaneously categorized yet again into 'Us' or 'Them,' without specifying exactly where such categories gain their justifications and knowing that any justification would ultimately be futile anyway. While insisting on the merits of equality, nationally and internationally, fear that the level of equality that we enjoy may decrease, forces 'Us' to rely upon an exclusionary concept of that equality. Common sense tells us that its preservation has priority, so that self-preservation and equality become one common, yet conflicting, all encompassing goal.

Rousseau insisted on two principles that are prior to reason: self-preservation and a natural repugnance towards the suffering of fellow man.[8] Rousseau also defines two types of inequality, one natural and the other political or moral based upon society's consent.[9] When contemplating the requisites of inequality, Rousseau was focusing on civil society within a common State, not the flow of persons over a society's frontiers. Still, his brand of inequality is more than applicable to the present state of affairs regarding international immigration, especially once residents have established themselves within a nation-state. It is the nation-state that sets the limits as mediator within its own civil society between its citizens, and now its residents, in an intent to equalize the status of all its occupants, citizen or not. Citizenship may no longer be the ultimate source of rights and privileges, but instead a simple optional path towards

[8] Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Discourse in the Origin of Inequality* "…the first and most simple operations of the human soul, I believe I perceive in it two principles that are prior to reason, of which one makes us ardently interested on our well-being and our self-preservation, and the other inspires in us a natural repugnance to seeing any sentient being, especially our fellow man, perish or suffer."(p 14)

[9] Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Discourse in the Origin of Inequality* "This latter type of inequality consists in the different privileges enjoyed by some at the expense of others, such as being richer, more honored, more powerful than they, or even causing themselves to be obeyed by them." (p 16)

equality. In some cases, attainment of citizenship may offer a less bothersome existence bureaucratically while for others it may mean the difference between work and unemployment and access to social welfare or not when processing lines for plain residents congest for renewals or residency cards limit work access geographically etc.

Returning to theoretical premises, in order to explain the concept of equality and put it into practice, justice and welfare are two concepts that must be explored in both their general and specific senses. In order to define welfare, justice must first be defined and related to it.[10] Joseph H. Carens explains that society's response to immigration is framed within liberal democratic principles of justice that may not solve all questions, but "rather establish constraints that mark out the range of morally acceptable policies."[11] (Carens 10) Again, it is the preservation of equality, here based on a minimum level of welfare, which represents just one facet of the justice that is referred to in civil society. Once more, it seems that the justice we speak of is the same that is guaranteed to children, a part of the population that is dependent upon others to look after their rights. The difference with children as opposed to legal residents is that children eventually do become full members of the society when he/she reaches legal age. In some cases, immigrant residents can spend a lifetime living in their host country without being allowed access to full membership.

Returning to the topic of social rights, welfare can take the form of what is constantly referred to in today's liberal democratic societies, as basic rights allowed to members within the nation-state. What one might refer to as membership rights or

[10] "The language of justice is the language of ultimate moral judgement, of right and wrong. Justice establishes the morally legitimate parameters of public policy in three ways. It requires some actions, it prohibits others, and it establishes the moral permissibility of actions that are neither required nor prohibited…justice requires the maximization of welfare (overall or on average), or the maximization of the welfare of the least well off, *or even the provision of some minimum level of welfare to all*…the right (justice) establishes the framework within which we may consider competing conceptions of the good (of which welfare is one dimension)." (Carens, Joseph H. pg. 10) "Immigration, Welfare and Justice"; *Justice in Immigration*.

[11] Carens, Joseph H. "Immigration, Welfare and Justice"; *Justice in Immigration*, pg. 10.

goods are the following: employment, emergency services and socioeconomic resources (emergency medical care, education, housing, child allowances, social welfare, healthcare, unemployment insurance), political participation, right to movement and permanent access, immunity from expulsion, and access to full citizenship. Before such consideration, immigrants have various forms of gaining access to a nation-state as a resident: through agreements between countries based on colonization histories, geographical closeness, ethnic, cultural or religious ties, family reunion, asylum or through the necessity of temporary work programs, and professional workers or students.[12] Depending upon how each nation-state sees itself and defines its members generally effects how a nation-state will define its access to membership. If a society sees itself as an ethnic entity, membership is generally based upon ethnic composition and birth as opposed to a society that sees itself as a group of individuals that belong to a voluntary club, thus making membership easier to attain. Among liberal democratic countries, refugees claiming asylum has been a universally accepted concept since the Geneva Convention of 1951. For example, it is estimated that 30 percent of asylum seekers are granted it in Europe and of those rejected, 75 to 85 percent stay in the country where they have solicited and been denied asylum.[13] In regards to access within the other categories, countries vary greatly in their approach and necessities. Once an immigrant is admitted as a resident, his/her incorporation into society also varies, thus further discussion of the terms of rights and membership is more than necessary.

[12] Coleman & Harding. "Citizenship, the demands of justice, and the moral relevance of political borders," *Justice in Immigration*, (p 20-35)
[13] Nuhoğlu Soysal, Yasemin. *Limits of Citizenship*, (p 24)

Membership and Rights

Understanding how membership in a polity or a society is defined, and what rights and obligations come along with it, is crucial to understanding what a society expects of its current and future members. Each individual nation-state varies in its qualifications but there are general trends that have developed in liberal democratic states that may even at times contradict themselves. Such contradiction could be viewed as an impediment towards congruence or a balance. First of all, the idea that the world could exist as a global political unit leans towards impossibility as a result of the very structure of the nation-states that it is made up of. Territories validate nation-states and nation-states in turn validate the necessity for territories, making it impossible for coordination and incorporation of states into a global polity. As the world becomes more global, it also is persistently segmented.

Rainer Bauböck, defines citizenship as "a kind of membership as well as a bundle of rights."[14] As a result, the author defines citizenship by categorizing it into two aspects that he refers to as nominal citizenship and substantial citizenship. In the first, nominal citizenship simply classifies members into certain groups, giving them a legal status and a name, i.e. German, French, and Italian. From the author's point of view this label unfortunately overlaps with cultural affiliations or identities instead of a strict legal status and reminds the reader that such status does not mean that they are necessarily equal either. On the other hand, substantial citizenship is what involves the transaction of rights and obligations and stresses that such rights are recognized in a political community. By separating the society from the polity, the author ideally links the rights and obligations directly to the citizenship, beyond legal and formal terms so that they may be taken seriously. Again, limiting citizenship to its interaction within the

[14] Bauböck, Rainer. *Transnational Citizenshpi;* pg. 28.

polity, the author offers yet another definition of citizenship: "Citizenship is therefore a substantial form of equality in the public-political sphere which results from blocked translation of social inequalities into political ones."[15] At first sight, this definition disregards society as a direct influence on how citizenship is defined, but as one continues to follow the author's line of thinking throughout the book, he does admit later on the increased role of society in translating its expression into law. In other words, what the author here defines is not necessarily disregarding society and solely focusing on the polity, but instead simply concentrating on the end result of society's inclusiveness which then leads to the interaction between the public-political sphere and the citizen, insisting throughout on the political nature of rights, citizen or human. In fact, without citizenship rights, human rights would not exist as there is no all-encompassing global agency that has the power to protect them; thus if citizens are denied their state membership, then there can be no guarantee for their human rights. In regards to immigrant rights, again it is the process that has brought about the social rights. It is the evolution of a society's political rights into social rights that has allowed its transference to the permanent resident, even though such a resident does not have full membership as a citizen. Again, if the immigrant is not a full part of the structure, how can such rights be guaranteed in the future? Leaving such guarantees out of the equation, the more pertinent question is are these immigrants truly integrated into societal structure in the first place, rights or no rights, citizenship or no citizenship? [16]

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[15] Bauböck, Rainer. *Transnational Citizenship;* pg. 26.

[16] José Martinez de Pisón explains the relationship between the citizen and non-citizen with the state: "...la teoría política y el Derecho han definido la ciudadanía como el estatuto legal de las derechos y deberes atribuido por el Estado-nación al ciudadano. La ciudadanía, por lo tanto, consiste en ese estatuto jurídicamente reconocido de derechos y deberes que posee el nacional. Ciudadanía y nacionalidad se identifican, en oposición de la extranjería, al extranjero que es el no nacido o quien no ha adquirido la nacionalidad y que, por tanto, queda al margen de dicho estatuto de derechos y deberes." (Martínez de Pisón 11)Martínez de Pisón continues by noting that "frente a la condición plena de ciudadanía, la del extranjero es parcial" (Martínez de Pisón 11) In other words, a resident that has not been naturalized is only a partial member, not to mention that an illegal immigrant who, while some of his/her rights may be respected, is not a member at all.

Returning to Bauböck, he suggests that permanent residents should be offered membership in a polity, strictly termed as citizenship or not. In his opinion, immigrants live an alternate reality than that of native-born citizens as well as naturalized citizens and such a reality should be respected as such. Resident foreigners should be considered to be members of the polity in order to reduce inequalities, and automatic inclusion, or naturalization, could be oppressive especially if these residents have turned down the option to be naturalized—not consenting which is a crucial point to membership in the polity.[17] As membership and rights come along together, both existing at the same time dependently, status in a community as an equal depends upon having full membership in that community. As such, the author does not wish to make a list of rights, but instead explain how such rights contribute to equality within the polity. Overall, Bauböck is concerned with how rights relate to full membership in a democratic polity.

In order to explain how rights bring about equality within membership, rights themselves must be clearly defined. A right is categorized as "a resource provided by social institutions which protect and legitimate the existence, the needs or interests, or the action of the bearer of the right."[18] Furthermore, they need to be recognized by other human beings and institutionalized or they are non-existent. Citizenship justifies itself within its basic norm of equality and always aims at such institutionalization.

Regarding immigrants, collective rights are quite relevant since immigrants are generally seen as either independent individuals or groups of nationalities, depending upon a country's approach to their situation as will be discussed later on in this paper.

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[17] "The point is that these inequalities of membership have to be accepted in a liberal conception which acknowledges that native citizens, emigrants and immigrants face different options of membership, and respects their individual choices…Inclusion is therefore achieved by equalizing the substantial rights of citizenship and extending them to the resident population as a whole independently of nominal membership." (Bauböck 207)

[18] Bauböck, Rainer. *Transnational Citizenship;* pg. 209.

Bauböck differentiates types of rights by categorizing them as either individual, group-specific, collective or corporate. If rights are individual, group members are not beneficiaries, a group is not a collective actor and a group does not exercise collectively the right. Group-specific rights maintain group members as beneficiaries but the group is not a collective actor and they do not exercise their rights collectively. Collective rights do have group members as beneficiaries, the group is a collective actor but the group does not exercise their right collectively. Corporate rights are group-based on all three counts where the group members are the beneficiaries, the group is a collective actor and they exercise their rights collectively.[19] Republican and libertarian traditions generally do not except collective rights as a rule because it goes against their strict idea of equal rights and citizenship, but the author defends such initial inequality as long as it is temporary and it is used to eventually increase levels of equality. In other words, "group-specific and situational rights can be easily justified if it is the state which defines the groups and the situations that must be taken into account in order to equalize substantial membership in the polity."[20]Still, if it is the group that claims the rights from the state and exercises them collectively, the author sees them as a threat for three reasons. First, public reasoning about justice, not by bargaining or negotiation, should determine citizenship rights. Second, this bargaining could mirror inequalities between groups particularly when some groups are more organized or have access to better resources. Finally, the structure of rights could be different between groups and would really just tie an individual to a group, not to citizenship in itself, leaning more towards feudal estate practices instead of democratic practices. Even so, in the author's opinion, collective rights should not be forgotten since a static and overlay state-centric view of democratic structures is not positive in its extreme and collective and corporate rights

[19] Bauböck, Rainer. *Transnational Citizenship*, p 266.
[20] Bauböck, Rainer. *Transnational Citizenship;* pg. 267.

are a norm in present-day contemporary democracies.[21] This category of rights may lead to eventual advancement of equality among individuals within the democratic polity "as long as they build upon a common structure of individual liberties and rights and improve the position of specifically disadvantaged groups."[22] For example, the trade unions could be a transitional form in which equal rights have been formally institutionalized by law. Collective bargaining originally won group rights that had to be transformed into proper social entitlements of citizenship. Essentially, as long as the collective bargaining does not go to far or last too long, and it is the state that allows for the structure of institutional rights, collective rights may equalize individual rights that are non-existent for some groups. In effect, it is the institutional legalization and equalization of individual rights that the author aims toward, not the temporary empowerment of discriminated groups.

Therefore, the focus is upon the individual gaining of rights as the ultimate goal, represented solely up until now in the form of citizenship, but recently expanded towards legal residents in the form of "immigration integration policy". Rights reserved for citizens only are now considered to be human or personal rights of all those present within the society. Still, the question remains, can such rights be true forms of integration in a society if the individuals themselves do not take part in the very structure and future evolution of said society? Is a simple minimum welfare for all the sole basis of justice and equality and thus the ultimate aim of inclusion of an outsider into the fold? Again, it comes down to the ability of immigrant integration and citizenship as copartners either hand in hand or walking side by side—one cannot be addressed without discussion of the other, because up until quite recently one only did

[21] Bauböck, Rainer. *Transnational Citizenship*, p 268
[22] Bauböck, Rainer. *Transnational Citizenship;* pg. 268.

exist on its own as citizenship was the only true option in integrating oneself, at least superficially, into a society.

Citizenship vs. Residency

"To an increasing extent, rights and privileges once reserved for citizens of a nation are codified and expanded as personal rights, undermining the national order of citizenship."
—Carens, Limits of Citizenship, p 1.

Until relatively recent times, rights and privileges granted by the nation-state were considered to be limited to the citizen of a polity, exclusively and with an accepted justification.[23] In order to gain such equality, historically a foreign resident would have to denounce prior citizenship and claim loyalty towards his/her new nation-state. In fact, it was considered crucial for an individual to pledge their loyalty to only one nation-state. The League of Nations in 1930 stated that "it is in the interest of the international community to secure that all members should recognize that every person hold a nationality and should have only one nationality."[24] Even in 1963, the Council of Europe signed the "Convention on the Reduction of Cases of Multiple Nationality", in an effort to reduce the amount of individuals with more than one nationality and ensure their military obligation. Twelve countries signed and ratified it including Austria, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden while Ireland, Spain, and the United Kingdom, only were in agreement with the "Military Obligations in Cases of Multiple Nationality." Spouses of dual nationality were encouraged to pick one nationality or the other so as to simplify allegiance, taxes and military obligations.[25] In 1997, the European Council allowed for each European nation-state to decide whether to allow for dual citizenship. Austria, and Denmark still do not allow it and their allotted time of permanent residency required before becoming

[23] "The process of achieving personhood frequently requires acts of allegiance to the nation-state, which entails the rejection or down-playing of past cultural or national memberships…Citizenship is passive and active membership of individuals in a nation-state with certain universalistic rights and obligations at a specified level of equality." (Janoski, Thomas. Citizenship and Civil Society; pgs. 8-9)
[24] Morjé Howard, Marc. Variation in Dual Citizenship Policies, *International Immigration Review*, p 700.
[25] Morjé Howard, Marc. Variation in Dual Citizenship Policies, *International Immigration Review*, p 702.

a citizen is over 5 years, including, Finland, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg and Portugal. Spain also has a time period of ten years of legal residency as a prerequisite in order to apply for citizenship (disregarding marriage, birth in the territory, former colonies etc. which will be further explained later in this paper) but does allow dual citizenship to immigrants coming from Latin American countries, Andorra, Philippines, Equatorial Guinea and Portugal.[26] Even so, Spain, along with Denmark and Austria can be considered to be the most restrictive countries in regards to citizenship policy in the EU.

In the postwar period in Europe, many European countries allowed temporary workers to enter their nation-states with the idea that when unemployment grew and their need for outside workers diminished, they would simply send them home. Instead, these countries found it difficult to just send them home, especially when their length of stay became greater, even stretching over generations. Simply put, "A la vista de los lazos que establecieron con los lugares a los que se habían trasladado, los términos originales del acuerdo se volvieron irrelevantes."[27] Still, while residents are generally allowed permanent residency after between two to ten years, usually falling around five years before two,[28] citizenship may be even impossible to attain based on what each individual country sees as its requirements for membership.

For example, German membership as a citizen has historically been based on what one would consider an ethnic identity. Instead of one being a voluntary member of a club, as is the case of the US and Canada, which could be considered as countries of immigration,[29] Germany has always based its membership by ethnic terms. In fact, their post-WWII citizenship laws were based on a 1913 German law that defined the German nation not as a political entity, but an ethnic entity belonging to the "German

[26] Ley 36/2002, de 8 de octubre, de modificación del Código civil en materia de nacionalidad.
[27] Carens, Joseph. Inmigración y Justicia 13.
[28] Rubio-Marín, Ruth, *Immigration as a Democratic Challenge*, (p 25 footnote)
[29] Coleman & Harding. "Citizenship, the demands of justice, and the moral relevance of political borders," *Justice in Immigration*, (p 19)

People."[30] Until recently, generations of immigrants in Germany could live as residents for long periods of time without the possibility of naturalization. Still, in agreement with the 1990 Foreigners Law and a 1993 decree, naturalization of immigrant children between 16 and 23 years of age, born or living in Germany for more than eight years became practically automatic.[31] In 2000, immigrant children born in Germany were declared German citizens.[32] Even so, while naturalization laws may be changing, making it easier to become a "full" member of a society and nation-state, it can be argued that citizenship is not the only way to maintain basic rights in a polity, especially when most immigrants would rather not denounce their original citizenship in favor of becoming a citizen in the nation-state that they reside in. A 1990 figure showed that the average length of residency for migrant workers in Europe was more than 15 years and naturalization only 1.9 percent on average and decreasing.

Even now, as naturalization becomes easier to attain as permanent residents, is it completely necessary to possess it—at least in the immediate future? As human rights become more common and universal in describing what a person deserves, not necessarily a citizen, incorporation into a society may be attainable through simple permanent residency instead of through naturalization. Citizenship may even be in need of redefining in its content and importance. In any case, "Qué sentido tiene seguir abundando en las profundidades orgánicas de una noción de ciudadanía que no es realista, que no asume los cambios y que ha perdido el contacto con un mundo que es ahora radicalmente distinto."[33] Disregarding everyday discrimination and actual acceptance of cultural discrepancies, a third-country national really may have no good reason to denounce citizenship of their country of origin in order to have the same rights

[30] Hampton, Jean, "Immigration, Identity and Justice," *Justice in Immigration*, (p 74)
[31] Rubio-Marín, Ruth. *Immigration as a Democratic Challenge*, (p 26)
[32] Howards, Marc Morjé. *Variation in Dual Citizenship*, *International Immigration Review*, (p 709)
[33] Seco, J. & Rodríguez, R. p 17.

and privileges in their country of residence. Even if such denouncement occurs, native citizenship is either returned or not lost from the point of view of the country of origin. Also, if the gaining of citizenship did not entail bureaucratic advantages, but instead simply allowed the immigrant o take part in the electoral process, would the said immigrant even bother to denounce anything or even accept dual nationality? Within the EU, such an existence is even encouraged. While double nationality is the preference in a nation-state that is not one's 'own,' it is very commonly not an option for most foreign residents. Instead, it is an individual's treatment as a person that is the concern as being a member of a society and polity.[34]

Here, citizenship as the only means to full incorporation is a priority, since immigrants are maintained in a category apart, with human rights, but not the same rights as those considered full members. Even so, incorporation of millions of persons into the society in which they choose as their home may also be seen as a priority from the points of view of both the foreign residents and the nation-state. Curiously, incorporation into a society is a relatively new and completely ill-defined term. In order to gain some sort of proximity to its true definition in the present sense, the most logical means is to observe the nation-state's intent in regards to the term incorporation. In other words, how they define it, to what extent do they wish to attain it, and what steps are being taken in order to achieve it, if any?

[34] In regards to the treatment of immigrants, Javier de Lucas somewhat ironically explains how citizenship can be preserved as a distinctive bundle rights, as a population still maintains its necessity for the immigrant worker as a priority also.
"Ahora se trata de 'tratarlos bien,'de respetar los derechos que tienen como
seres humanos (un enorme gesto de progresía este de tomar en serio lo que venimos proclamando como obvio), incluso de reconocerles algunos derechos en los mismos términos de los ciudadanos, pero, por supuesto, dentro de un orden: porque si reconocemos que pueden tener los mismos derechos que los ciudadanos plenos, ¿cómo vamos a mantener la distinción?" (De Lucas 81)

Civil Society and Citizenship

Before analyzing different forms of incorporation by civil society, I would like to define what civil society is so as to keep clear the actors in which incorporation may take place. Thomas Janoski, in his work, Citizenship and Civil Society, offers a clear definition of civil society and its relationship with the state. "Civil Society represents a sphere of dynamic and responsive public discourse between the state, the public sphere consisting of voluntary organizations, and the market-sphere concerning private firms and unions." Janoski then proceeds in presenting his readers with a conceptual diagram of the public and private spheres and how they overlap. The first is the state sphere, which consists of the legislative (law-making) branch, the executive (law-implementing) branch and judicial (law and constitution-evaluating) branch. Next, the private sphere consists of family life, networks of friends and acquaintances and personal property. Third, there is the market sphere, which mixes both state and private and public spheres through private and public organizations that create income and wealth through the production of goods and services. Finally, there is the public sphere, and like the market sphere, it overlaps with all other spheres through five types of voluntary organizations: political parties, interest groups, welfare associations ('communities' such as the Red Cross or United Way), social movements, religious bodies and of course the Media.[35]

Most importantly is the author's definition of the relationship between citizenship and civil society. All actors within civil society have an effect on what state legislation comes to be. In fact, state legislation originates in this complex and

[35] Janoski, Thomas. *Citizenship and Civil Society*, pgs. 12-17.

conceptual diagram of civil society.[36] So, it is civil society that provides the impetus for citizenship, molds it and then turns it over to be defined through state legislation. Over the years, citizenship has clearly over gone quite a change for various reasons. The author provides four approaches to its development.

The first approach is termed as the 'power resources theory' and consists of internal non-citizens that prepare the way for new citizenship rights by eliminating property as a requisite, as well as gender, ethnicity, race, disability and sexual preference. Each group demands different solutions to their varying problems. The second approach involves the state structure, which "focuses on constraints and opportunities afforded by state structures." This 'state-centric theory' "allows differential modes of state mobilization for leaders' and bureaucrats' interests with the effects of political institutions on their identities, goals and power." (Janoski 143) In effect, the state institutions are used as a tool to either constrain or offer opportunities regarding citizenship rights. The third approach deals with ideologies and political parties connected with interest groups and how such ideologies 'mesh' in governments as the result of compromise. Different solutions are found based on different social problems seen in the interest of the public. Finally, the last approach comes about through war, colonization and migration to colonizing and settler countries where diverse cultures and nations come together, allowing for further naturalization of natives. Therefore, there are four means of the extension of Citizenship according to the author. In regards to the first approach, non-citizens, in this case foreign residents,

[36] "While citizenship and civil society are quite different—the former refers to state-enforced rights and obligations, and the latter focuses on groups in concert or opposition—they are empirically contingent. Civil society creates the groups and pressures for political choice and state legislation, and many ideas of citizenship originate in civil society rather than in the state…It[Civil Society] is not the state sphere and cannot be the home of citizenship rights…most claims for and defenses of citizenship are made in civil society through the motivating interests of class- and status-based groups. As such, civil society provides many of the independent variables that explain citizenship. However, the actual citizenship rights themselves reside in the state sphere with bureaucratic and political implementation through official protections using legal sanctions." (Janoski 17)

could serve the purpose of not only preparing the way for new citizenship rights, but by preparing the path for an alternative way to gain rights without citizenship. First, state institutions could serve as an extension of personal rights, not just citizenship. Second, ideologies and political parties could have a direct effect in forming policy in regards to residents. Third, veterans, voluntary military members and survivors and their family members of terrorist attacks can be offered residency or citizenship. The fourth effect has already allowed preferential treatment to foreigners if they are from a former colony by most post-colonizing states. So, there may be a fifth means of "extension" of citizenship: third-country nationals and residents with a separate but practically equal set of rights as an alternative to actual citizenship. Still, as they are not allowed direct political participation, they must depend upon the will of full members, or citizens, to fight the represent them. Will such full members show themselves to be sufficiently altruistic and selfless in their representation? Could such representation belittle the democratic system by converting it into a negotiating and bargaining system between interested, organized groups only, while the others are lost along the way, instead of a system of representation where very vote is worth as much as every individual. Or, is even this theoretical observation of the current contract in between citizen and state overly ideal, untrue and outdated. Is not the system more akin to a negotiating and bargaining of organized groups anyway? Even so, the difference is that access to the floor is still open to any individual, regardless of affiliation to any organization although there is always strength in numbers—mobilized numbers that is. This question, individual versus group or corporate incorporation into the political sphere, will be further explored when the associative movement in Spain is taken into consideration later on in the third part of this paper.

Models of Incorporation and Different European Approaches

According to Yasemin Nuhoğlu Soysal in her book, *Limits of Citizenship,* citizenship is not necessary in order to incorporate oneself into membership in a polity. Instead, "entitlements are legitimized on the basis of personhood." Now that migrants are not expected to be molded into national citizens, "The recent guestworker experience reflects a time when national citizenship is losing ground to a more universal model of membership, anchored in deterritorialized notions of people's rights."[37] In other words, it is no longer citizenship with what one is concerned, but the personal rights of the resident existing within a polity that takes center stage. Since people are no longer bound by frontiers as their defining identification with the nation, it is their rights as humans, not citizens that are the concern. Ironically, along with the identification with the nation-state as the legitimate political entity after the final breaking up of the empires in the early 20th century, at the same time migrants have been enabled to identify with one's original nationality while living in a different nation-state altogether. The building of the nation-state has logically coincided with the immigrant's increased rights as non-citizens. After the French Revolution, the nation-state was established as the political organization and nationality as a condition of its membership[38] Lately, while citizenship has been increasingly defined, foreign residents have attained more and more equal rights in tune with each nation-state's citizenry. Again, full membership in regards to participation and representation on equal terms is not present.

Nuhoğlu Soysal outlines four models of incorporation and bases them upon five separate but correlated variables of how a nation-state may approach this incorporation, the five variables being: stated policy goals and language; specific policy instruments and budgets; administrative and organizational structures for the formulation and

[37] Nuhoğlu Soysal, Yasemin. *Limits of Citizenship*, (p 3)
[38] Nuhoğlu Soysal, Yasemin. *Limits of Citizenship*, (p 17)

implementation of policy; legal framework defining the status and the social, economic, political and cultural rights of migrants; and migrants' associational and participatory schemes. The author then defines and elaborates on four membership models: the corporatist model (Sweden and the Netherlands), the liberal model (Switzerland and Britain), the statist model (France) and fragmental model (Gulf oil countries).

In the Corporatist Model, membership is organized around corporate groups and their functions. Occupational, ethnic, religious or gender identities are the source of action and authority that assume "natural" right vis-à-vis the state, the definition of action and authority being the following: "The legitimized locus of action and authority in a polity specifies to whom the action is oriented and from whom the action is expected in a given social situation."[39] In this model it is public interest and the welfare of social groups that act upon their needs and collaborate and even elaborate state structures or state-sponsored structures in order to provide public social services.

In Sweden and the Netherlands, migrants are seen as corporate groups and are defined by their collective identities as such. In turn, the states generate elaborate, highly organized policy in regards to the incorporation of these groups. For example, Sweden adopted an immigration policy in 1975 with three objectives: equality between immigrants and Swedes; freedom of cultural choice for immigrants (mother-tongue education, ethnic radio and TV broadcasting, literature in migrant languages that receive state subsidies); and cooperation and solidarity between the native Swedish majority and various ethnic minorities. Migrant organizations are expected to act as channels between migrants and Swedish institutions as a collective ethnic minority. An ethnic group can be considered to be such a collective with at least 1,000 members or more.[40]

[39]Nuhoğlu Soysal, Yasemin. *Limits of Citizenship*, (p 37)
[40]Nuhoğlu Soysal, Yasemin. *Limits of Citizenship*, (p 48)

The Dutch are a bit different in their ordering of migrant groups but they do have collective categories nonetheless. While it is not based on ethnic characteristics, they have the following groups: Moluccans, residents of Surinamese and Antillean origin, migrant workers and family members, gypsies, and refugees. In contrast, the Chinese or Pakistani are not a migrant group because their incorporation is considered to have already taken place and "they are assumed to have no problems with their participation in Dutch Society The term used until the late eighties was "emancipation" within their own communities, rooted in the religious emancipation that the Dutch experienced in the early twentieth century. "Emancipation has meant the organization of social, cultural, and political function along denominational "pillars"—Catholic, Protestant and Secular—each with a separate system of schools, welfare and health organizations, and unions." In the late eighties, policy shifted from the term "emancipation" and turned toward the phrase "reduction of disadvantage and discrimination."[41]

Regardless of the terms or phrases used, what defines the Corporatist model in Sweden and the Netherlands is its organizational means of grouping migrants into collective entities that are then expected to mobilize and act in their own interests. Minority budgets are granted in both countries in various categories. In Sweden, state spending is dedicated to Swedish language instruction, study allowances to students participating in such instruction, language support in schools for children of immigrant or linguistic minorities and grants to national immigrant organizations including religious groups (1987/88). In the Netherlands the 1988 minorities budget was split into the following categories: general policy instruments, employment, education, housing, social welfare, health and culture. The importance of such specific budgeting is quite clear, proving that "migrants constitute separate, formalized categories in central state

[41] Nuhoğlu Soysal, Yasemin. *Limits of Citizenship*, pgs 48-50.

programs, and that they are incorporated into legal and formal organizational structures *as collectivities*[42] In the end, the state is responsible for the public good and creates top-down policy for the incorporation of migrant groups even as they are themselves expected to mobilize as collective groups and participate in their own interest.

The second method of incorporation is the liberal model in which the individual is legitimized and seen as the source of action and authority. In these countries, most political action is effected by individuals and private organizations where individuals and their interests "supersede institutions in society." There is a weak central authority and loosely organized state apparatus where local authorities play a larger role in regards to policy and implementation. Basically, it is the labor market that is considered to be the main instrument of incorporation. Overall, migrants are seen in these polities as individuals, not collective groups.

For example, Swiss policy is guided by three principles: stabilization/equilibrium [numerical regulation] of the foreign population, improvement of the labor market structure, and integration. Their main concern is to control the size of the foreign population in regards to labor market demands. In essence, all individuals are meant to co-exist and there is not much involvement besides regulation of migrant flows. The Swiss society is separated and organized at a canton or commune level, which are highly autonomous and separate linguistically, but not defined along ethnic lines so that individual identity is defined regionally, not ethnically. On the other hand, British policy is based upon "racial equality" where integration is aimed at through the enhancement of "equality of opportunity" and the promotion of "good race relations." The 1976 Race Relations Act prohibits discrimination in education, housing,

[42] Nuhoğlu Soysal, Yasemin. *Limits of Citizenship*, pgs. 51-52.

and employment. While there is a budget allowed to support anti-discrimination, migrants are treated as individuals, not collective groups.[43]

The third approach is the statist model, best represented by the example of France. In this model, the complete opposite of the liberal model, the central state is the 'locus of sovereignty' and organizes the polity as the main provider and initiator of most public services, intervening actively in societal functions with a centralized political process and decision-making apparatus. Still, it has in common one aspect with the liberal model in that, "Statist polities are like liberal ones in terms of interacting with the citizens as individuals, but their mode of operation is top-down." (Nuhoğlu Soysal 39) The central state in this case is more responsible for the migrants, not because they are migrants, but because most social functions are already centralized and organized by the state in regards to all individuals. Most importantly, equality is valued as a concept in regards to all individuals, immigrant or not. "Moreover, within this framework, the concept of incorporation acquires a very state-centric meaning; it assumes uniformly equal individuals vis-à-vis the state. This assumption disallows specialized action or intermediary structures on behalf of migrant groups…special treatment or institutions for migrants would be considered *a breach of the relationship between the state and the citizen.*" French integration is therefore in favor of integration through equal access to services and institutions that are already centralized in the state in order to create equality, not through collective groups. Indeed, when interviewed about immigrant policy, a FAS (Social Action Fund) director stated, "In fact, the concept of community has no relevance in the French system."[44]

The final model, fragmental, is explained only briefly as the partial incorporation of immigrants when families, clans and churches dominate social and public life in

[43] Nuhoğlu Soysal, Yasemin. *Limits of Citizenship* pgs 52-58.
[44] Nuhoğlu Soysal, Yasemin. *Limits of Citizenship*, pgs. 58-59.

countries such as those in the oil-exporting Gulf. While the author considers the study of these countries to have the utmost importance in comparing immigration policies, her focus is on European countries. That being so, she also goes on to explain an example of the combination of two models, corporatist and statist, in the German case. In Germany, immigrants are not referred to as "ethnic minorities" but still, a centralized and corporate incorporation pattern has developed. The welfare of foreigners is the responsibility of trade unions and major social service organizations, along with a highly central state. Migrants are assigned to agencies according to religious and national orientations while migrant policy and implementation differs among local states due to federal political and administrative structure. While collective groups are not targeted in that they are expected to organize themselves, they are formally put into groups by the centralized state whether or not policy varies or is implemented in different channels in different localities.[45]

Unfortunately or not, in many respects a non-national is opened up to the alien environment whether he/she wants to be or not. Maybe it is not so much that the immigrant is open to its environment, but whether or not he/she is capable or even allowed to be open to the possibility of incorporating that environment into his/her everyday life in a positive manner, at the same time being allowed to choose what he/she sees as the most beneficial aspects to include into what he/she sees as functional. If a foreigner is to incorporate, he/she has to be allowed the possibility of incorporating and rejecting certain aspects of the nation-state in which he/she lives. It is up to the incorporation model of each country to clearly outline what is considered to be required

[45] The Berlin Commissioner for Foreign Affairs is in fact quoted,
"The underlying concept from which the Senat proceeds…is that, for many non-nationals, adherence to tradition represents a necessary component of the integration process. For, only if one is secure in the knowledge that one's cultural identity is unchallenged can one have the inner self-assurance to open oneself up to an alien environment." (Nuhoğlu Soysal 64)

as incorporable and what each immigrant may consider as 'rejectable' also. Cultural identity has to be challenged to a certain degree and if it is professed not to be, immigrant individuals or communities may be rudely awakened as well as host countries. To deny that an immigrant does not live in a state of conflicting identities is to deny the relative importance of his/her very culture and ultimately falsify his/her everyday reality. Quite clearly put by Juan Carlos Velasco, "…el individuo a menudo salta entre los diferentes códigos culturales que se le ofrece, sin permanecer anclado a ninguno en exclusiva…" A possible solution to the jump from one identity to another would be that of an Republican Model of Political Community as opposed to the Liberal or Communitarian Models, the first being focused upon the individual and multicultural and the latter on the communal ethno-cultural or nationalist. In such a Republican model, so that the jump from one collective identity to another could be facilitated, such identities are made even more abstract as civic identity and compromise.[46] Back to the Spanish case of Immigration Integration Policy, there is a definite lack of conciliation in regards to the reality of an immigrant's situation in that the idea of molding both immigrant and society into altruistic cultural exchange where nobody gets hurt may not be quite as easy as simply becoming a citizen—at least for those that are even directly allowed early access to such citizenship in the first place, let alone those who are not.

[46] Velasco, Juan Carlos. "Pluralidad de identidades e integración cívica" pgs. 725-728.

Combination of Civil Society Interaction and Models of Incorporation

Throughout the paper I have been referring mainly to legal residents as third-country nationals, not to illegal residents without documentation. Within this category there exists two realities for legal residency: permanent and temporary. Permanent residency in Spain is defined as the following. "Se halla en situación de residencia permanente el extranjero que haya sido autorizado a residir en España indefinidamente y a trabajar en igualdad de condiciones que los españoles." In order to gain permanent residency, a foreigner must reside continually and formally in Spanish territory for five years, absences allowed as long as such absences do not make a total of one year of the five years of residency. [47] There are some clear exceptions to the rule[48] and practically all of them involve some form of legal, formal residency. Temporary residency is based upon a "contigente" or economic pool, which is analyzed each trimester by the Comisión Laboral Tripartita de Inmigración by province, including Ceuta and Melilla, and are given out as an initial authorization for a period of one year, limited to an economic sector and geographical area. Such temporary permits are based upon labor needs in each area and businesses must present solicitation of the authorization for residency and work to the corresponding province along with the work contract.

[47] Acceso de los extranjeros al trabajo en España, *Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales* http://migraciones.mtas.es/Guia2005/texto/guia_8_21_7.htm

[48] •Residentes que sean beneficiarios de una pensión de jubilación, incapacidad permanente absoluta, o de gran invalidez, en su modalidad contributiva, incluida dentro de la acción protectora del sistema español de la Seguridad Social, o de prestaciones análogas a las anteriores obtenidas en España y consistentes en una renta vitalicia, no capitalizable, suficiente para su sostenimiento. •Que hayan nacido en España y al llegar a la mayoría de edad acrediten haber residido en España de forma legal y continuada durante, al menos, los tres años consecutivos inmediatamente anteriores a la solicitud. •Que hayan sido españoles de origen y hayan perdido la nacionalidad española. •Que al llegar a la mayoría de edad hayan estado bajo la tutela de una entidad pública española durante los cinco años inmediatamente anteriores de forma consecutiva. •Apátridas o refugiados que se encuentren en territorio español y a quienes se les haya reconocido el respectivo estatuto en España. •Extranjeros que hayan contribuido de forma notoria al progreso económico, científico o cultural en España, a a loa proyección de España en el exterior.

In order to classify Spain as a liberal state in regards to immigration with definite corporate tendencies, one may imagine a combination of the two theories, that of Janoski in regards to the state, public, market and private spheres[49] and that of Nuhoğlu Soysal's Corporatist, Liberal, Statist and Fragmental models.[50] The state sphere overlaps with the public sphere through political parties and public welfare, state, media, and education. Both public and market spheres come together through union federations, employer associations and consumer associations. Finally, the private sphere overlaps the public sphere through people's private lives disclosed in the media and the courts and with the market sphere through family firms and elite club networks. The Statist Model of course coincides within the state sphere while the Liberal Model exists within both the market sphere and the state sphere. On the other hand, the Corporate Model operates between both the state and public spheres. Finally, the Fragmental Model primarily acts within the private sphere, leaning towards the public sphere. Regarding Spain, I would like to focus primarily on the following aspects: judiciary, political parties, public welfare, education, and voluntary associations. So as to classify Spain as Statist, Liberal or Corporate, focus will be upon the following factors demonstrated in Table 1.7.

[49] Janoski, Thomas. Citizenship and Civil Society; Figure I.I. p 13.
[50] Nuhoğlu Soysal, Yasemin. *Limits of Citizenship* pgs 37-40.

Table 1.7 - Classifying Factors of Incorporation Models

Relationship between state and individual?	Statist	Corporate	Liberal
Type of right assigned as?	Individual	Group	Individual
Who organizes the relationship?	State through the state	Private group through the state	Private group/individual through private group/individual
How is the right exercised?	Individually	Individually and *collectively*	Individually

From a bird's eye view it seems that the Spanish system may be a combination of mainly liberal and a bit of statist when dealing with immigration as a whole. Again, its *Foro para la integración social de los inmigrantes* as well as its *Plan Ciudadanía e integración 2007-2010* is not only encouraging collective ethnic groupings, but using them as representatives through associations that have a formal political influence, while they as of yet have no vote, in the evolution of immigrant integration policy. Generally, the Spanish approach leans quite a bit towards the liberal standpoint as immigration is based upon market necessities. "Lamentablemente, en España y todavía en la UE (aunque hay atisbos de cambio) el modelo de gestión de la inmigración consiste en eso, policía de tráfico y adecuación de contingentes." [51] Each year, the government releases information on how many immigrants are needed and in what areas.[52] Restriction of entry is consistently more and more restrictive, despite the two Regularization Processes in 2002 and 2005 Brought about in restrictive necessity of

[51] De Lucas, Javier. "La herida original de las políticas de inmigración," Isegoría/26 (2002), pg 69.

[52] Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales, http://migraciones.mtas.es/Guia2005/texto/guia_8_21_8.htm

the illegal immigration reality, the first one was under the conservative regime, and the second even more restrictively under the social regime. By legalizing already existent immigrants and at the same time restricting further legal entry and access to new residents, Spain has contributed greatly to the building of the walls of what has long been known as the European Fortress. As already noted, even its naturalization laws are considered to be the most restrictive in Europe along with Austria and Denmark.[53]

First of all, I would like to outline the manners in which the Spanish government has addressed the incorporation of its immigrants through its judiciary, public welfare and educational approach in the state sphere. As the state sphere tends to blur with the public in regards to voluntary associations with NGOs, that would be the second sphere to be looked into—the public consisting of NGOs and political parties. While this outright handing over to the private sector of the incorporation of immigrants is subsidized, its organization seems to be taken over by voluntary organizations for the most part, classifying the Spanish approach as liberal in the sense that its laws address the individual immigrant with basically the same rights as the individual Spanish citizen. Even so, Spain has continually shown itself to be somewhat corporate in its treatment of its immigrants, but such corporate leaning only takes place superficially in regards to the formation and organization of its *Foro par la integración social de los inmigrantes*; and the handing out of subsidies to immigrant associations, that while they have always been based upon specified immigrant origin groups, have in the last years branched out in order to help other immigrant group from other countries of origin as a result of expanded need.

What do not make this approach in regards to immigrants solely liberal are its top-down characteristics that are typically statist, but only in the form of said subsidies

[53] Howards, Marc Morjé. *Variation in Dual Citizenship*, *International Immigration Review*, (p 709)

as its organization is really bottom-up. Still, like a Liberal Model of Incorporation, the Spanish government seems to work on a local basis of subsidization in regards to programs of immigrants, allowing for organizations in autonomous regions to incorporate their own immigrants based on these same regions. Strictly speaking then, the Spain should be recognized as a liberal state in regards to its incorporation, while keeping in mind its bureaucratic history of incorporation of ethnic groups and regions, i.e. Catalan, Basque, Galician and its continued leaning towards an initial corporate approach in dealing with its development of its formal integration plan for 2007-2010, which we will take a closer look at later on. Before moving on to the Spanish case, as a point of comparison, there is the German case, one in which its development has had a longer trajectory, at least in regards to its immigration experience.

Recently, the treatment of immigrant populations within the borders of a nation-state has been measured by its very difference in treatment towards its own citizenry. Regardless of whether or not an immigrant has access to citizenship, or even intends to take advantage of such availability or not, without citizenship as a direct comparison, along with its rights and responsibilities that come along with it, there cannot exist any true discussion or debate as to the integration of any foreign national, not just politically but also socially. Basic social rights within the welfare state, as well as political participation in a polity are rights that are generally attributed fully to citizens of a nation-state, but not necessarily guaranteed to third-country nationals. Education, healthcare, pensions and worker's compensation are generally allowed to all while free association, freedom of movement and the right to choose ones profession may not be, which directly affects one's social integration and daily activities. One exception could be direct political participation, suffrage or holding public office, not having so much of

an effect in the daily integration of the average social life of an immigrant. Still, it does directly exclude him/her from the polity in which he/she resides.

So how is it that one may be partially or entirely integrated into a social welfare state, into a community, a nation and excluded from that same polity? Individually, such an instance may not bear too much significance until the number of such a population reaches a certain percentage that causes this same immigrant population to have a great deal of say through the very representation that they are currently denied. Political parties generally recognize the potential of such a population, even court their favor in hopes of including them into the polity—that is of course if their numbers may take a seat on their side of the political spectrum, not the opposing side. Thus, political integration may come to be, or be denied, not because it upholds the moral norms of a liberal democratic society, but because of a party in government that finds it in its best interest to include those that will vote for them in the future. In a sense, it is liberal democratic principles that do bring this about, while maybe not the exact principles that one clings to with such high aspirations such as equality and justice; but instead, simply the systematic structure of the electoral system.

This being said, one would suppose that the inclusion, or exclusion, of immigrants into a society would merely be based upon the number of the immigration population and the opportunistic nature of a nation-state's political parties. While this cannot be completely negated, it is rather obvious that this is simply not the case. Nation-states on a whole do differentiate between a citizen and a permanent resident, in some cases only allowing citizenship to be attained if any other citizenship has been denounced. In Spain, those allowed dual citizenship are citizens of former colonies, those geographically near, or that share a clear history with Spain. Is it because there exists some cultural tie between them or because this population exists within Spanish

borders in great numbers? In regards to its Latin American population both hold true seeing that they are great in numbers (30.5% of total documented immigrant population 2007)[54] and they have cultural ties; but Andorra, Philippines, Equatorial Guinea and Portugal may simply be based on historical and cultural ties as they are also allowed dual citizenship[55] and quicker access to naturalization (two years instead of 10 including Sephardim Jews expelled in 1492).[56]

As a result, the conclusion must be drawn in that the historical or cultural ties are a deciding feature in what Spain may consider to be an allowance for a third-country national to hold dual citizenship as well as earlier access to naturalization. Just like the Republic of Germany's famous focus on "Germaness," there exists a prerequisite of "Spanishness," or at least a Latino affiliation so as to make the process towards naturalization easier. Not only easier, but also accessible if one is not willing to renounce previous citizenship, generally that being the case.

In spite of reasons behind obvious preferences towards some immigrants and others in regards to access to citizenship, the truth of the matter is that some have a wider access and others do not. In hope of not straying too far in applying a theoretical platform towards the understanding of immigrant integration policy in Spain, the focus should be upon the Spanish government's will to integrate its immigrant population, its definition of such integration and the effectiveness of its *application* of said policy, **not necessarily the effectiveness of an individual's eventual internal integration; but instead of each individual's equal access to said integration policy.** The specifics of said plan shall be delved into in the third part of this study, on paper, and

[54] Anuarios Migraciones 2000-2005; www.extranjeros.mtas.es
[55] [55] Ley 36/2002, de 8 de octubre, de modificación del Código civil en materia de nacionalidad.
[56] [56] Ministerio de Justicia, Obtención de la Nacionalidad Española por Residencia, www.mju.es/mnacionalidad.htm#

qualitatively in regards to interviews conducted with those that have taken part in its formation and its congruence or lack thereof with political theory structures will also be discussed and applied.

Before doing so, the example of Germany's immigration experience is presented, paired with its internal historical treatment of citizenry that has forever coincided within what is now considered to be the German nation-state, beginning with relations between regions, *Länder,* as early as the 19th century. Historically, Germany's treatment of immigration, represented consecutively by its allowance or negation of access to full citizenship, and sometimes its outright removal of said citizenship from ethnically different immigrants as well as its own ethnic emigrants over the years, has lead to a distinct definition of what is German and who may be considered to be full members of German society. Ironically a country with a much longer history of immigration and a drawn out definition of who is a member, who is not, and who may be a candidate for membership, Germany offers a detailed example of the evolution of integration that has never once been separated from the issue of citizenry, even now. Curiously, instead of citizenship being at the forefront of immigration integration as in the case of Spanish policy as a way of including those that the Spanish government sees fit to receive full membership, it has been used as a tool of exclusion in Germany. Until recently, the German citizen was only considered to be a full member and access to citizenship was solely based upon ethnic lines. Even third-generation "temporary workers" were not considered as candidates for any type of integration as Germany proclaimed itself to not be a country of immigration; regardless how many immigrants lived within its borders. Access to naturalization processes was not even an option, yet alone integration policy of any kind. Since the turn of the millennium, Germany's focus has been somewhat changed and an effort towards integration has been made, statist in

nature while carried out by regional government (*Länder)*; and its historic evolution, ever so tied into the concept of citizenship, establishes a European experience and brings Spain's much more recent experience into context.

Part Two: Germany

"For many years, the statement "Germany is not a country of immigration" summed up our country's basic policy towards foreigners. The fact that many people come to Germany for a wide variety if reasons and often stay for long periods, even permanently, was largely ignored. Many people closed their eyes to the reality that Germany has long been a country of immigration. The opportunities brought by immigration were squandered, while obvious problems were suppressed rather than dealt with."

—Otto Schily, German Federal Minister of the Interior, Foreword to Immigration Law and Policy 2005; Federal Ministry of the Interior

Germany's Historical Treatment of Citizenship

> "In Germany, the language of politics uses a terminology separating citizenship from nationality and identity. Although both citizenship (Staatsbürgerschaft) and nationality (Staatsangehörigbeit) are defined with reference to the state, the first is defined as an instrument, the second as a belonging."
>
> ———*Rira Kastoryano, Sociological and Political Aspects of Dual Nationality in Germany, pg 170*

Keeping in touch with the two main focuses of this thesis, integration policy and the applicable treatment of citizenship as two concepts that can be compared and related to, but not severed one from the other, Germany's approach towards both concepts may not allow for outright comparison. Instead, simultaneous reference to both immigration experiences may allow for a clear alternate route towards an understanding of the relationship between citizenry and immigrant integration policy as a whole. Again, in regards to the Spanish government, citizenship has been a limited access point used as an assumed "intercultural exchange" process of partially adjusting to the autochthonous society, along with expedited access for those foreign populations with some sort of historical likeness such as Latin Americans. When it comes to the German government, up until quite recently, those that were not ethnically considered to be German, could not have any access towards naturalization processes, regardless of historical ties or length of stay. Therefore, there is a clear difference as to the approach towards integration policy in both countries—up to a point though as both governments lean towards naturalization as the ultimate level of integration. Access to such a degree of integration is quite another matter. Since Germany has allowed for naturalization of its immigrant population at the turn of the millennium, its focus has ultimately been on naturalization, as total rights are only guaranteed to Germans within its very constitution. While the definition of *Germaness* has been broader in order to include non-ethnic Germans, the ultimate goal of integration policy, if one were to measure its efficacy when total equality is achieved at least on paper, would be outright immigrant

naturalization. All in all, naturalization in Germany is rather difficult and involved for practically all those concerned as its requisites are not limited solely to length of stay and thus bureaucratic process.

From the German standpoint, its historical treatment of immigrants has come about in different ways and in different historical times. The recent influx of Turkish immigrants is what currently makes the German immigration experience most renown, while most of its policies came about in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Historically, citizenship became a necessary tool in assigning territorial boundaries to a moving population, that no longer was restricted by the Agrarian system in the early 19th century as the liberation of peasants and the breakup of the Ständish social order took place. Before that, in 1794, the legal code Allgemeines Landrecht (ALR) under Fredrick the Great had freed the peasants as 'free citizens of the state' while still making them subjects to their rural lords. The Stände were corporations and guilds that were autonomous in the middle ages but state-regulated under the ALR so as not to pose a threat to monarchical rule. Just as modern immigration is a process encouraged by economic need, so was early immigration within pre-German Confederation times. Poverty persisted, either as a result of industrialization or simply the same poor that had previously had been under the protection or responsibility of regional lords, and the impoverished began to move, making municipalities unwilling to be responsible for foreign poor, even as the ALR guaranteed every "Bürger" the right to state support. Basically, state-membership came about as a reaction to the expulsion of the unwanted poor and while families, guilds, corporations, rural lords and municipalities were held responsible for their poor, the state was responsible for organizing the system. After the establishment of the German Confederation in 1815, freedom of movement was encouraged, especially in an age of mercantilism, but expulsions of the poor and

criminals became commonplace. Treaties were signed in order to regulate expulsion of unwanted foreign poor or criminals which affirmed that a state could expel into a second state only members of that second state and that any state was bound to accept any of its members. Citizenship was originally a simple means of excluding those unwanted.[57] It was these relations between different states that led to the very definition of citizenship in its day, further clarifying the idea that the two, immigration and citizenship even in modern day times cannot be separated; but instead they are linked, embodied in the very approach that each nation-state adopts in dealing with the two concepts simultaneously.[58] As a result, membership in a state, or citizenship came to be associated with a territory based on who could expel who and where: inclusion and exclusion were the same two main aspects of concern the same as they are today.

In his book, *The Politics of Citizenship in Germany*, Eli Nathans systematically plows through the history of citizenship in Germany, starting in the mid 19th century until today. Up until the 1990's it seemed that Germany's immigration law had been built upon a Prussian law in 1842, the Untertanengesetz, that "… made descent from a Prussian father the principal basis for the transmission of status as a Prussian, and also implied that henceforth allegiance to Prussia was to be exclusive. Prussian subjects were to be the subjects of no other state."[59] Prussia had always been much more liberal than other states and accepted immigrants, thinking them to be good for their economy as a source for labor. Locally, outsiders were not widely accepted, while the state encouraged population growth. While Prussia accepted a great deal of immigrants, its own poor were not allowed to settle and so they began to sign treaties with other states

[57]Brubaker, Rogers, Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany pgs. 57-59, 68-69

[58]"Thus citizenship, as a formally defined, externally bounded membership status, was not the product of the internal development of the modern state. Rather, it emerged from the dynamics of interstate relations within a geographically compact, culturally consolidated, economically unified, and politically (loosely) integrated state system." Brubaker, Rogers, Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany pg. 70

[59]Nathans, Eli, *The Politics of Citizenship in Germany*, pg 55.

in order to regulate as mentioned before, another practice that still exists in the transfer of temporary workers through bilateral agreements between nation-states. For example, a treaty was signed with Bavaria, in 1818, in which only those with a connection to a state could be expelled to it. The definition of such a connection is the curious aspect of the deal between the two states so early in the century:

> "1. birth to parents who were state members
> 2. birth to homeless parents within state borders
> 3. marriage and independent economic activity
> 4. ten years of tolerated residence (except for servants, students, journeymen and the like)"[60]

Membership to a German state in this era holds almost the *exact same qualifications as today,* if you add the 1842 Prussian law which allows membership to only one state, having only recently changed, unclearly changed as it may be, in the Republic of Germany today.

After the revolutions of 1848 and 1849, the reaction of the state towards the very sort of liberal ideas that had guided its immigration policy up until then, also had the state and administration in fear of losing its own footing in power. Economic growth and social aid were replaced with the strengthening of the existence of the state and foreigners were held in fear of bringing with them revolutionary ideas.[61]

In 1885, Bismarck ordered the expulsion of foreign Jews and Poles in the eastern provinces of Prussia, ending their immigration and from 1885-1888, 20,000 foreign Poles and 10,000 foreign Jews were pushed out. The Poles had not allowed themselves to be "Germanized" and the Jews were just as blamed for trying too hard to fit in while the jealousy towards their economic and social success brewed. Clearly put by the author, "Unlike most Poles, German Jews avidly sought cultural integration into German life. But the high level of Jewish integration prompted more hostility than the

[60] Nathans, Eli, *The Politics of Citizenship in Germany*, pg 22.
[61] ----------, The Politics of Citizenship in Germany, pg 83.

Polish efforts to remain separate."[62] Politically, the Poles were feared because Prussia did not want them to gain the same autonomy that they enjoyed in Austria-Hungary, the French could have possibly used them in an anti-German coalition with Polish nationalism as a base, and there was a hope that such anti-Polish policies would create some sort of bond with Russia. [63]

One also may keep in mind that in 1871, one fourth of ethnic Germans lived outside the state: 9 million in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, 1.5 million in Russia and 2 million overseas mainly in the U.S. with another 3 million to follow by the end of the century, making Germany a strong emigration nation-state then to later primarily become a nation-state of immigration. 70% of 2.7 million Swiss spoke German and within German borders there were quite a bit of non-ethnic Germans: 2.5 ethnic Poles; 300,000 Masurians (Polish speaking Lutherans), 1.5 inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine that mostly identified themselves with the French nation, not German; 512,000 Jews; 200,000 Danes, 160,000 Sorbs; 120,000 Lithuanians; and 75,000 Czechs. Practically all were German citizens and the idea was to homogenize them all; but either their rejection in some cases, or fear of overly integrating them to the extreme of infiltration, in the case of the Jews, did not lead to a successfully homogenized German state.[64]

After Bismarck was no longer in power, agricultural workers were needed and Prussia again allowed Russian Poles in as workers, but only on a seasonal basis, and *naturalization, or lack of access to it, became the primary weapon against permanent immigration*, as early as the turn of the century, a practice that was to continue through until the turn of the millennium. A 1904 treatise singled out Jews, Poles, Czechs and Danes, making it much harder for them to be naturalized. Various factors applied to

[62] ----------, The Politics of Citizenship in Germany, pg 115.
[63] Nathans, Eli, The Politics of Citizenship in Germany, pg 111-12.
[64] ----------, The Politics of Citizenship in Germany, pgs 2-3.

such exclusion, such as the Jews tendency to vote for the Progressive Party (in opposition in the 1890's) and surprisingly part of the coalition when the treatise came about. Fear of Jewish success even disregarded their political support of the government at the time, and while Poles were discriminated less so in regards to the availability of naturalization, more Jews were naturalized between 1905 to 1907 simply because their work was done more openly to the public eye than Poles, therefore making naturalization necessary. In regards to the Danes, it was harder to exclude them since a treaty that ended the war with Denmark in 1864 had agreed to allow them to reside in Schleswig. The Czechs were treated like poles in areas where they could have an influence on the elections, in Silesia for example.[65]

Still, it is the 1913 Wilhelmine citizenship law that is most known as the law that has shaped Germany's outlook towards citizenry, being part of the Kaiser's Weltpolitik plan to spread Germany's trade and power throughout the globe. Above all, Wilhelmine wished to bind Germans abroad to the homeland, increasing Germany's influence through them and so he abolished the 1870 law that said they were to lose their citizenship if they left German borders in ten years time without having come back, and immediately if they left without formal permission. Thus the *jus soli* approach to Germans outside their territorial boundaries that ironically rejected them, became *jus sanguinis* for all—inside and outside German territory. At all times, any citizenship was dependent upon military service and with the outbreak of WWI, naturalization was offered more freely to minorities and German men as well were called home to return to the Fatherland several times during the war.[66]

[65] Nathans, Eli, The Politics of Citizenship in Germany, pgs 146-49.
[66] ----------, The Politics of Citizenship in Germany, pgs. 169-189.

Even so, after the loss of WWI, those Germans outside Germany saw the loss of their citizenship positively.[67] Therefore, as Germans themselves outside the Kaiser's reach did not wish to continue in the possession of their ethnic citizenship, Wilhelmine's Weltpolitik was over, as Germans citizens abroad could not or would not hold the influence intended and Germany stood without even a conscript army.

Also after the war, citizenship was granted almost automatically to those Germans who were on territories taken by the Treaty of Versailles as well as to ethnic Germans "…(deutschstämmige Ausländer) who have never been citizens, as long as they preserved the German outlook (deutsche Gesinnung) and German special nature (Eigennart) while abroad." Questions asked by officials in order to gain citizenship included language instruction, whether or not children had been raised with a German education only, whether siblings lived abroad, whether individuals maintained any type of relation with nationals if a foreign country, whether the individual spoke fluent German or with a strong foreign accent, and again whether the applicant really had a German nature and ethnicity. [68] As a result, even though obvious ethnic aspects formed part of the requisites for German citizenship beforehand—this is why the 1913 law is so mentioned in regards to laws that have only been changed just recently—Wilhelmine's call to the ethnic Germans to return during the war only exacerbated the tendency, along with the fact that after the war, Germans outside the territory were not that interested in being Germans anymore. "Germaness" inside and outside the territory thus became genuinely *jus sanguinis* in every way leading right up to the entry of the Nazi regime,

[67]"Soon after the end of the war it became apparent that many Germans viewed the loss of German citizenship not as a punishment but as a favor. In England the private property of German nationals had been confiscated during the war, and at the war's end many such individuals sought to regain their possessions by demonstrating that they had in fact lost German citizenship through the passage of ten years from emigration." Nathan, Eli. The Politics of Citizenship in Germany, pg 189.
[68] Nathans, Eli. The Politics of Citizenship in Germany, pgs 202-203.

while from 1924-27 neither Nazis nor Communists were allowed entry visas. In fact, Hitler himself only became German one month before his presidential election in 1932.

Little by little, Germany's openness to immigration weakened, partially because of the great Depression, and in part because as Germany's presence in lost territories weakened, so did their claim to those same lost territories. In 1929, a three-year residency requirement was insisted upon for all ethnic Germans to have access to naturalization.[69] During all this time, while treatment towards Jews was lightened in hopes of a positive reaction internationally in regards to negotiations of lost territories and fear of German treatment of minorities might effect the treatment of their own minorities outside its territories, deportation and internment camp placement of unemployed Jews did start in 1920. At all times, it was the concern over immigrants truly being German that lead to the criticism of minorities and Jews in particular.[70] Bavaria even proposed a twenty-year residence requirement for Jews and all other East Europeans and even succeeded in amending the 1913 law insisting that naturalization lists must be presented to all the *Länder* so that they had the right to object, and in the case of such an objection, the *Bundsrat* would have to resolve the conflict. Bavaria consistently used this power to object to all of the Jews that Prussia put on its own list, Prussia still being the most liberal in its immigration policies like always. Prussia continually objected and was able to keep Bavaria from influencing its liberal approach until 1931 when the *Reichsrat,* controlled by right-wing government, made the twenty-year requirement mandatory for all the states, including Prussia.[71]

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[69]Nathans, Eli, The Politics of Citizenship in Germany, pg 204.

[70] This is best put by Bavarian memoranda to the Reich Interior Ministry in 1928: "…the mastery of the German language, which is often the commercial language of traders in the east, and the attendance at German schools, which East Europeans prefer to their own schools simply because they provide superior opportunities for economic advancement, ease the progress of East Europeans in Germany. They offer no assurance, however, that the immigrants inwardly feel and think like Germans."---------- The Politics of Citizenship in Germany, pg 207.

[71] Nathans, Eli, The Politics of Citizenship in Germany, pg 208-209.

In 1920, the Nazi's program in regards to immigration had insisted that all immigration of non-Germans should be prevented and that all non-Germans that had immigrated into German since the 2nd of August 1914 should be forced out of Germany One of the first actions of the Nazi government was to ban the naturalization of Eastern European Jews in August of 1933, and the government stopped all naturalization of 'non-Aryans,' since in March of that same year the government had seized control of all Land governments—the autonomy to follow one's own immigration policy was ended in the *Länder*. On the 14th of July 1933 the Reich was allowed to take away citizenship to all those who had been naturalized between the 9th of November 1918 to the 30th of January 1933. As a result, 6,943 Jews lost citizenship as well as 3,544 non-Jews not including family members. On the 14th of July, 1933, a denaturalization process started for those whose "'conduct…violates the duty of the loyalty of the Reich and the [German] Volk and damages German interests.'" Before 1937, 291 emigrants lost their citizenship this way, 566 in 1937, 1,300 in1939 and 1,268 in 1940 primarily so that the government could confiscate Jewish property. In October of 1941 Jews had begun to be sent to the Ghettos and death camps and in November of that same year, if a Jew left Germany, their property was confiscated.

One of the most interesting aspects of Nazi rule was their approach towards the redefinition of citizenship within German borders. Germans were divided into first and second-class citizens. Under the Nuremberg Citizenship Law of September 1935, Ethnic Germans (Reichsbürger) were considered be first class citizens, allowed to vote and hold public office. On the other hand, Jews and 'racial' Germans who were under political doubt were the second-class citizens (Staatsangehörige), not to mention those with one or two Jewish Grandparents (Mischlinge) whom were generally not sent to death camps or subject to the same fines, although marriage to an Aryan required prior

permission if one had two Jewish grandparents. Also, as the war went on, military needs became greater and the definition of 'German' became wider.[72] Overall, in regards to the extent of which Nazi policy carried on with the historical pretexts of Bismarck and other earlier regimes, Nathans insists that while Hitler demonstrated the same sort of "obsessive insecurity" he did not simply continue with Bismarck's policies.[73] Overall, the definition of citizenship was constantly redefined based upon the different needs and historical contexts of each government, but the transfer from a geographical definition towards an ethnic one, while erratic, was clear.

It was the Federal Republic of Germany's constitution of May 23, 1949 that sought to repair and separate itself from the Nazi regime. German citizens who had lost their citizenship were given it back, as well as their children. A law in 1955 gave citizenship to those that had been put on the expanded Volksliste categories of citizenship that had been given to those outside the 1937 borders by Nazi authorities, effectively allowing the right to refuge to over five million ethnic Germans from the Soviet bloc and the German Democratic Republic to West Germany from 1949 to 1990. While the building of the wall in 1961 slowed such migration, the fall of the Soviet Union sped it up again. [74]

This brings us to the more recent history of the millions of temporary workers employed in the 1960s. In September of 1973, right before the temporary worker recruitment ended, there were 3,966,200 alien immigrants of whom 893,600 were Turkish, 673,300 were Yugoslav, and 622,000 were Italian. Between 1980 and 2000,

[72] Nathans, Eli, The Politics of Citizenship, pgs. 219-21.
[73] "The racial utopia, or anti-utopia, Hitler envisioned would have been simply unthinkable to Bismarck. The radical transformation of citizenship policy by the Nazi regime, especially during the war, is one indication – one among many – of the extent to which Hitler broke with nineteenth-century patterns and precedents." Nathans, Eli, The Politics of Citizenship, pg. 229
[74] ----------, The Politics of Citizenship, pgs. 235-36.

2,663,058 requested asylum and while only ten percent had it granted, most stayed anyway. More than anything, Germany is commonly known for its insistence on the 'temporary' nature of its foreign workers that became anything but temporary.[75] And so, the temporary nature of Turkish workers in Germany was limited by its membership to the EEC and later the EU.

In 1973, the recession stopped the recruitment of more foreign workers and in 1983, 80% of Germans wanted the supposed "guest workers" to leave as unemployment soared from 3.8% in 1980 to 9.1% in 1983. The CDU-FDP coalition government even offered immigrants a lump sum offer to return to their original countries in order to compensate for pension and unemployment loss, special loans so as to build houses in their own countries and made it more difficult for families to reunite. Such a practice is rather reminiscent of the Spanish government's recent offers of the accumulation of their pension funds in order to return to their native countries as well as Spanish banks' cooperation in offering loans for houses bought overseas, more specifically in Latin American destinations and in light of recent economic crisis. In the end, since foreign immigrants were not successfully made to leave Germany, it was the naturalization laws that became the final official impediment for these populations to incorporate fully into society. In regards to Spanish policy, it is the very populations that are encouraged to leave, negating the possibility of return, that also have quick access to naturalization processes.

[75] A 1980 EEC Commission ruling changed the temporary nature of the Turkish worker by ruling the following:"duly registered as belonging to the labor force of a member state…shall be entitled in that Member State, after one year's legal employment, to the renewal of his permit to the work for the same employer, if the job is still available' and after four years of legal employment to have 'free access in the Member State to any paid employment of his choice.'" Nathans, Eli, The Politics of Citizenship, pg. 240.

German Naturalization Policy

In 1977, the national guidelines for immigration simply stated, "'the Federal Republic of Germany is not a land of immigration. It does not desire to increase the number of citizens through naturalization.'" In order to become a citizen, one had to live as a legal resident in Germany for 10 years—except in the case of spouses of German citizens and if there existed a 'clear public interest'; the individual had acquired a 'voluntary and lasting inclination [Hinwendung] to Germany'; democratic convictions; 'adaptation to German living conditions'; and no 'misdevelopments of the personality' which could include alcohol or drug abuse. The price of naturalization could be up to 5,000 marks although it was usually around 1,800, spouses paying half and refugees a quarter. In order to maintain a historical perspective, it had improved since in Bavaria before 1970 the fees had reached a high if 12,000, a health certificate was no longer required, and one no longer had to belong to the "German cultural world." [76]

It was in April of 1989 that the change of national Interior Minister went from conservative to moderate (Friedrich Zimmermann to Wolfgang Schäuble) and in Spring of 1990 the national guidelines were amended so that naturalization would be granted to those that had lived legally within the Federal republic for eight years, attended a German school for six, had given up prior citizenships and had not been convicted of a crime. The charge was lowered to 100 marks, to be raised in 1993 to 500 marks. You had to be between the ages of 16 and 24 in order for these rules to apply, and those who had legally resided in Germany for 15 years were generally granted citizenship if they were able to support their families and had committed no crime. Astonishingly, a great deal of *Länders* actually allowed dual citizenship, 45% in 1993, lowering to 20% in later in the 1990s as Turkey made it even easier to regain citizen's rights after formally

[76] Nathans, Eli, The Politics of Citizenship, pg. 245-46.

renouncing them in the acquisition of German citizenship. As a result, Turkish naturalizations went from 1,713 in 1989 to 103,900 in 1999. [77] Finally, in 1999, the citizenship law changed giving citizenship to all those born in Germany with parents who had legally resided for eight years, having lived three years with the unlimited right to remain. Otto Schilly, the SPD Interior Minister stated one of the reasons for the change in citizenship law quite well, emphasizing the allowance of the same right to foreigners that are given to Germans:

> "…the result will be the progressive alienation for the immigrants, the young people who grow up in immigrant families will turn their backs on the society, immigrants will live increasingly in ghettos, [Germans and foreigners will live] in parallel societies."[78]

The new law came into effect in January of 2000 with the double *jus soli* principle of both eight years of simple residency (Aufenthaltsberechtigung) and three years of unlimited residency (Aufenthaltserlaunbnis). Dual citizenship is of course a result of such a law, as most children do inherit citizenship through their parents and Germany does require that a naturalized German under this law declare their choice of citizenship at the age of eighteen—failure to do so results in the loss of their German citizenship. If the eighteen-year-old chooses to renounce their other citizenship in order to retain German citizenship, their renunciation must be proved. One may retain both citizenships if the renunciation of the other is impossible or unreasonable, or if multinationality is allowed under the Aliens Act provisions.[79]

As of 2005, the Aliens Act, or Residence Act, was changed in several different ways. First of all, the number of types of residence permits went from five to two in order to simplify the process. First, there is the "temporary residence title" which is subject to a time limit depending upon the purpose of residence. (Residence Act,

[77]Nathans, Eli, The Politics of Citizenship, pg. 248.
[78] ----------, The Politics of Citizenship, pg. 254.
[79] Hailbronner, Kay. *Germany's Citizenship Law*, pg 132.

Section 7) Then, there is the "Settlement Permit", a permanent residence title that entitles the holder to pursue any economic activity without geographic restrictions. (Residence Act, Section 8) [80] As one can observe, it is just a bit complicated as it should be noted that this version in 2007 is different from the 2005 version where it was more specific in point number four. Instead of a general "breach of public safety" it stated that "he or she has not been sentenced to a term of youth custody or a prison term

[80] In order to be granted a settlement permit, the foreigner must fulfill the following requisites:
"1. he or she has held a residence permit for five years,
2. his or her livelihood is secure,
3. he or she has paid compulsory or voluntary contributions into the statutory pension scheme for at least 60 months or furnishes evidence of an entitlement to comparable benefits from an insurance or pension scheme or from an insurance company; time off for the purposes of child care or nursing at home shall be duly taken into account,
4. the granting of such a residence permit is not precluded by reasons of public safety or order, according due consideration to the severity or the nature of the breach of public safety or order or the danger emanating from the foreigner, with due regard to the duration of the foreigner's stay to date and the existence of ties in the Federal territory,
5. he or she is permitted to be in employment, insofar as he or she is in employment,
6. he or she is in possession of the other permits which are required for the purpose of the permanent pursuit of his or her economic activity,
7. he or she has an adequate knowledge of the German language,
8. he or she possesses a basic knowledge of the legal and social system and the way of life in the Federal territory and
9. he or she possesses sufficient living space for himself or herself and the members of his or her family forming part of his or her household.
The requirements of sentence 1, nos. 7 and 8 shall be deemed to be fulfilled if an integration course has been successfully completed. These requirements shall be waived if the foreigner is unable to fulfill them on account of a physical, mental or psychological illness or handicap. The requirements of sentence 1, nos. 7 and 8 may also be waived in order to avoid hardship. The aforesaid requirements shall further be waived if the foreigner is able to communicate verbally in the German language at a basic level and has not been entitled to participate in an integration course pursuant to Section 44 (3), no. 2 or has not been obliged to participate in an integration course pursuant to Section 44a (2), no. 3. The requirements of sentence 1, nos. 2 and 3 shall also be waived if the foreigner is unable to fulfill them due to the grounds stated in sentence 3. (3) In the case of cohabiting spouses, it shall suffice if the requirements in accordance with subsection 2, sentence 1, nos. 3, 5 and 6 are fulfilled by one spouse. The requirement in accordance with sub-section 2, sentence 1, no. 3 shall be waived, if the foreigner is undergoing education or training which leads to a recognised academic or vocational qualification. Sentence 1 shall apply mutatis mutandis in the cases covered by Section 26 (4). (4) In the case of convicted foreigners, the period specified in sub-section 2, sentence 1, no. 4 shall begin on release from imprisonment. The following periods shall be taken into account with regard to the periods of possession of a residence permit which are necessary in order to qualify for issuance of a settlement permit:
1. The duration of former possession of a residence permit or settlement permit, if the foreigner was in possession of a settlement permit at the time of leaving the Federal territory, minus the duration of intermediate stays outside of the Federal territory which led to expiry of the settlement permit; a maximum of four years shall be taken into account.
2. A maximum of six months for each stay outside of the Federal territory which has not led to expiry of the residence permit.
3. Half of the period of lawful stay for the purposes of study or vocational training in the Federal territory."German Federal Ministry of the Interior. *Residence Act of 30 July 2004 (Federal Law Gazette I, p. 1950), last amended by the Act on Implementation of Residence- and Asylum-Related Directives of the European Union of 19 August 2007, pgs. 8-9.*

of at least six months or a fine of at least 180 daily rates due to an intentionally committed offence."[81] So, their ability to turn down the application for a permanent residency is even more obscure.

Another interesting topic is present in Section 47 titled: "Prohibition and restriction of political activities"[82] Essentially, this is an extremely obscure, ambiguous means of restricted political activity. Some of the statements such as that of (1)3 that states, "contravene the laws of the Federal Republic of Germany " or (1)4 that mentions, "respects human dignity" could be that applied to all citizens in general. Even those in (2) that speak of "codified standards of international law" of "inciting violence", "advocated attacks or threatened attacks" since these again are standards that all citizens made be held to. Even so, the phrase such as "impair or endanger the development of informed political opinion" or "may be counter to the interests of the Federal Republic

[81] German Federal Ministry of the Interior. Residence Act (30 June 2004) last amended by the Act Amending the Residence Act and other Acts of 14 March 2005 8Federal Law Gazette 1, p. 721); http://www.germany.info/relaunch/politics/domestic/Immigration/Immigration.html

[82] "(1) Foreigners may pursue political activities within the bounds of the
prevailing general statutory provisions. A foreigner's political activities may be restricted or prohibited if they
1. impair or endanger the development of informed political opinion in the Federal Republic of Germany, the peaceful co-existence of Germans and foreigners or of different groups of foreigners in the Federal territory, public safety and law and order or any other substantial interests of the Federal Republic of Germany,
2. may be counter to the interests of the Federal Republic of Germany in the field of foreign policy or to the obligations of the Federal Republic of Germany under international law,
3. contravene the laws of the Federal Republic of Germany, particularly in connection with the use of violence,
4. are intended to promote parties, other organisations, establishments or activities outside of the Federal territory whose aims or means are incompatible with the fundamental values of a system of government which respects human dignity.

(2) A foreigner's political activities shall be prohibited if they

1. endanger the free and democratic constitutional system or the security of the Federal Republic of Germany or contravene the codified standards of international law,
2. publicly support, advocate or incite to the use of violence as a means of enforcing political, religious or other interests or are capable of inciting such violence or
3. support organisations, political movements or groups within or outside of the Federal territory which have initiated, advocated or threatened attacks on persons or objects in the Federal territory or attacks on Germans or German establishments outside of the Federal territory."German Federal Ministry of the Interior. *Residence Act of 30 July 2004 (Federal Law Gazette I, p. 1950), last amended by the Act on Implementation of Residence- and Asylum-Related Directives of the European Union of 19 August 2007, pg 35.*

of Germany" again, seem to be rather ambiguous and not that enlightening in the sense that freedom of expression could be limited. Then again, the whole process blatantly not democratic in that the interested parties, the third-country immigrants, do not take part in the electoral process. One must also consider that the right to freedom of assembly and association is not guaranteed for immigrants in the German constitution, even though it is guaranteed thorough legislation in The Act on Assemblies and Processions that guarantees assembly and the Act Governing Private[83] associations the right to associations—legislation that has not be incorporated in the constitution, German Basic Law.

Still, within in an official document from the German Ministry explaining Immigration Law and Policy, in regards to integration it is stated that,

> "Immigrants are required to learn German, through their own efforts and with state help, and to know and respect the basic values of our society. And German society is called on to recognize and remove existing barriers in order to give immigrants equal treatment and equal access to all important areas of society, politics and the economy."[84]

It is also stated that while third-country immigrants cannot vote in municipal elections as EU members, they can be naturalized now as complete citizens as the result of the new naturalization policies of 2000. Thus, while the statement above is quite contrary to the reality of third-country immigrants to gaining "equal access to all important areas of society, politics and the economy" the idea is that through the naturalization process, full access in the form of full citizenship can be attained (with sufficient knowledge of German, having completed an integration course and after seven years as long as the applicant does not have any 'record of anti-constitutional activities' as of 2005[85]) Ultimately, full integration is not that unlike the Spanish government's approach; while

[83] German Federal Ministry of the Interior. Immigration Law and Policy; www.bmi.bund.de; pg 48.

[84] German Federal Ministry of the Interior. Immigration Law and Policy; www.bmi.bund.de; pg 40.

[85] German Federal Ministry of the Interior. Immigration Law and Policy; www.bmi.bund.de; pg 88.

Spain may vaguely refer to them as citizens, at least Germany is quite clear in admitting that absolute integration is considered be achieved by becoming a full German citizen, Again, all is fine and well until the mention of 'anti-constitutional activities' which surely in some cases are more than justified, but what about the obscure cases when the declaration of any such activities could be used as an excuse to not allow naturalization?

Now, residence permits are either unlimited in duration or limited and they are both based upon the purpose of entry (vocational training, gainful employment, family migration, humanitarian reasons, etc…). Procedures have been further simplified into one process once the labor administration has consented to the work permit. Entry is based upon the level of skill: highly skilled and qualified workers can begin to work upon arrival with an establishment permit and the unskilled are generally banned with some exceptions (not including those admitted under family reunification).

In regards to certain qualified professions, the ten new EU countries are given priority over third countries, but they are still subject to a priority check to see if any German or EU national is available first. Also, those family members joining a relative in Germany have the same labor market access as the relative, and there is no longer a one year waiting period before they may start working. Finally, language instruction and orientation to German law, history and culture is available to new arrivals and a limited amount of prior resident immigrants. "Integration Courses" are compulsory for immigrants lacking knowledge of the German language and a minimum level is required for permanent residency, as well as language requirements for family members of ethnic Germans.[86]

Up until the 2000 change in the Nationality Law, it seemed that the right to citizenship was a serious impediment to full integration in German society of third-

[86] OECD *International Migration Outlook Annual Report 2006 Edition*

country nationals. For some reason, it seems to internally hypocritically criticize liberal democratic tendencies to have such a population present without the right to full membership. Curiously or not so, the percentage of those actually naturalizing has not changed much. As you can see in the following table, there was a slight increase in naturalization of Turkish immigrants right up until the year 2000, right before those born foreign were no longer foreign and naturalization was not an issue. The percentage of Turkish naturalization and even the whole immigrant population is very much the same in 2004 as it was in 1998 (Turks 0.8% *1998* and 0.7% *2004*; Total 1.5% *1998* and 1.9% *2004*). Regardless, the question is to whether or not naturalization has become the last barrier that has been knocked down in order to let way for further integration, or is it further assimilation really for those willing, since full integration is not offered for those that do not become citizens?

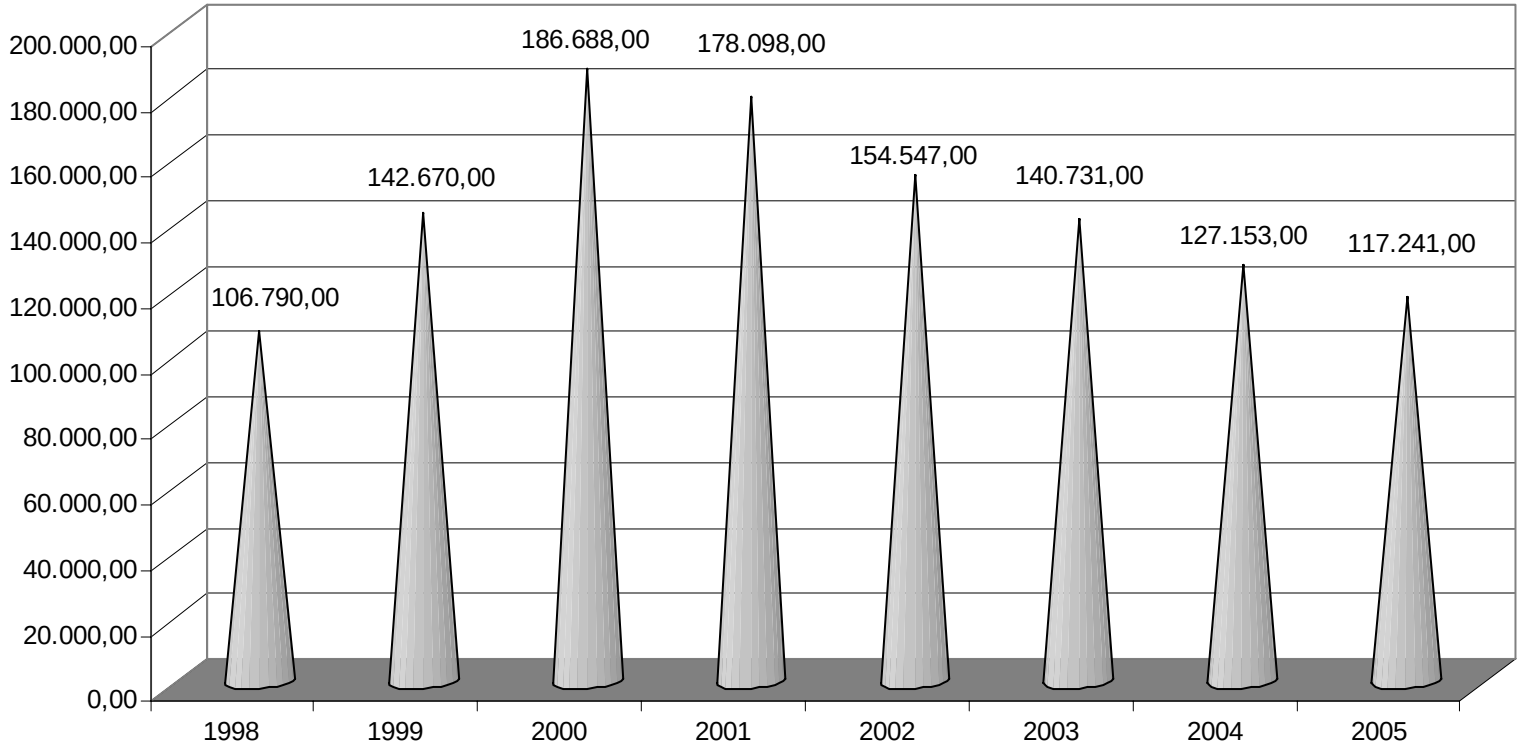
Table 2.1 - Naturalization in Germany 1998-2005

Country	1998	% of total immigrant population	1999	% of total immigrant population	2000	% of total immigrant population	2001	% of total immigrant population	2002	% of total immigrant population	2003	% of total immigrant population	2004	% of total immigrant population	2005	% of total immigrant population
Turkey	**59,664**	**.8%**	**103,900***	**1.4%**	**82,861**	**1.1%**	**76,573**	**1%**	**64,631**	**.9%**	**56,244**	**.8%**	**44,465**	**.7%**	**32,661**	**.7%**
Iran	1,171	<.1%	1,529	<.1%	14,410	.2%	12,020	.16%	13,026	.17%	9,440	.1%	6,362	<.1%	4,482	<.1%
Afghanistan	1,200	<.1%	1,355	<.1%	4,773	<.1%	5,111	<.1%	4,750	<.1%	4,948	<.1%	4,077	<.1%	3,133	<.1%
Morocco	4,981	<.1%	4,312	<.1%	5,008	<.1%	4,425	<.1%	3,800	<.1%	4,118	<.1%	3,820	<.1%	3,684	<.1%
Serbia and Montenegro	2,404	<.1%	3,120	<.1%	9,776	.1%	12,000	.16%	8,375	.1%	5,504	<.1%	3,539	<.1%	8,824	<.1%
Lebanon	1,782	<.1%	2,491	<.1%	5,673	<.1%	4,486	<.1%	3,300	<.1%	2,651	<.1%	2,265	<.1%	1,969	<.1%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	3,469	<.1%	3,745	<.1%	4,002	<.1%	3,791	<.1%	2,357	<.1%	1,770	<.1%	2,103	<.1%	1,907	<.1%
Croatia	2,198	<.1%	1,536	<.1%	3,316	<.1%	3,931	<.1%	2,974	<.1%	2,048	<.1%	1,689	<.1%	1,287	<.1%
Vietnam	3,452	<.1%	2,270	<.1%	4,489	<.1%	3,014	<.1%	1,482	<.1%	1,423	<.1%	1,371	<.1%	1,278	<.1%
Other Countries	26,469	.4%	18,412	.3%	52,380	.7%	52,747	.7%	49,852	.7%	52,585	.7%	57,462	.9%	57,462	.9%
Total	**106,790**	**1.5%**	**142,670**	**1.9%**	**186,688**	**2.6%**	**178,098**	**2.4%**	**154,547**	**2.1%**	**140,731**	**1.9%**	**127,153**	**1.9%**	**117,241**	**1.9%**

Source: OECD International Migration Outlook Annual Report 2006

**Note the height of naturalization for the Turkish population was in 1999, the year before the 2000 law took effect and foreign births were no longer "foreign"*

Graphic 2.1 - Naturalization in Germany 1998-2005



Still, second and third generations from now on will be German even though they will have to eventually decide upon one nationality or the other as adults (unless this stipulation is eventually withdrawn also). Even so, it is curious that those that live within a country's borders may not want to be full members of that nation-state. One reason could be their inability to keep their own citizenship from their native land and that they intend to move back to the land they were born in. Another explanation could also be that for emotional reasons they do not *feel* to be a citizen of the nation-state that they are currently living in and for that reason it does not simply *feel right* to naturalize. Still, more than likely the true reason could be that they simply do not find it at all necessary, so they do not even bother considering it since all of their pertinent social, civil and political rights necessary to their well-being are taken care of as a permanent resident. When it comes down to it, while ideology and theoretical supposition may play its part, economic immigrants are above all a population of pragmatic entities in that the very reason for their existence is one of practicality—the need for work and economic security. Thus, the gaining of citizenship, or the lack thereof may simply be tied to a bureaucratic need of said citizenship, simple geographical security if you will, not necessarily an emotional bond to their home country or host country as first generation immigrants. Therefore, if bureaucratic needs are met, and their existence is secure, the jump towards citizenship may not be completely necessary—or the next wave may be to come once their seven years have been satisfied of permanent residency so that may be even considered for German citizenship in the first place.

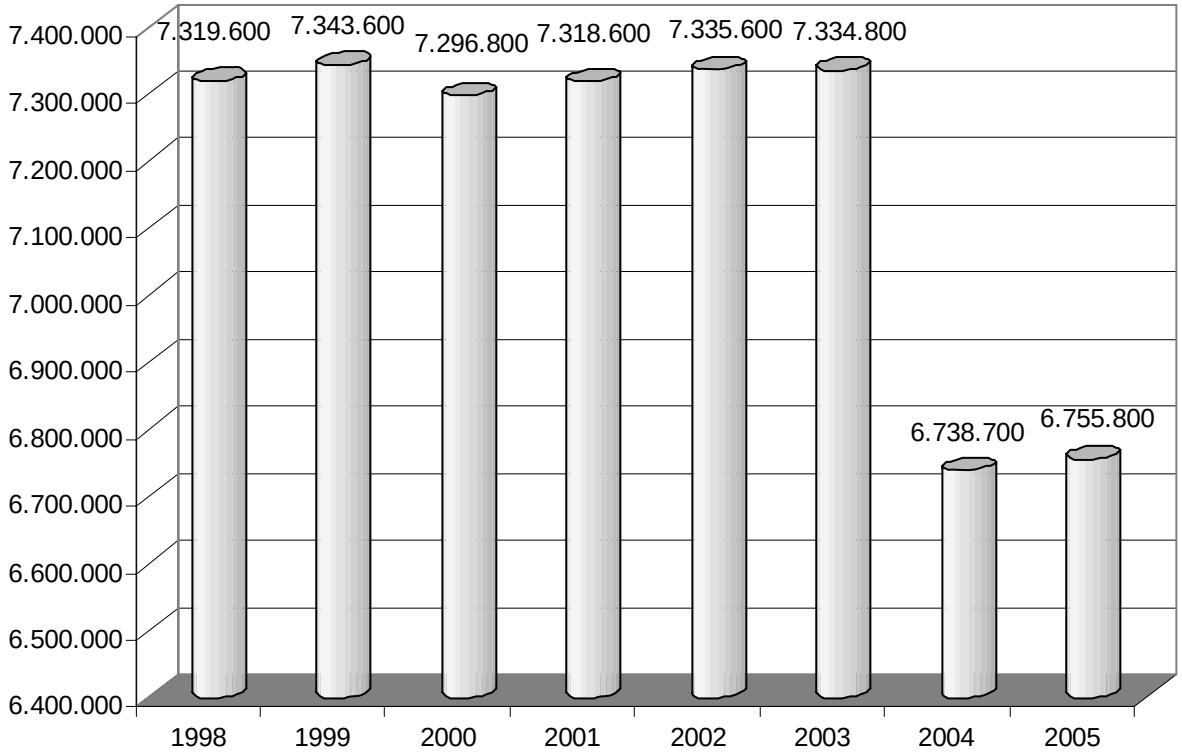
Table 2.2 - Foreign national residents in Germany 1998-2005

Country	1998 % of total		1999 % of total		2000 % of total		2001 % of total		2002 % of total		2003 % of total		2004 % of total		2005 % of total	
Turkey	2,110,200	28.8%	2,053,600	28%	1,998,500	27.4%	1,947,900	26.6%	1,912,200	26.1%	1,877,700	25.7%	1,764,300	26%	1,764,000	26%
Italy	612,000	8.4%	615,900	8.4%	619,100	8.4%	616,300	8.4%	609,800	8.3%	601,300	8.2%	548,200	8.1%	540,800	8%
Former Yugoslavia	---------	-------	---------	-----	----------	-------	----------	-------	----------	-------	----------	--------	381,600	5.6%	196,900	2.9%
Greece	363,500	5%	364,400	5%	365,400	5%	362,700	5%	359,400	4.9%	354,600	4.8%	316,000	4.7%	309,000	4.6%
Poland	283,600	3.9%	291,700	4%	301,400	4.1%	310,400	4%	317,600	4.3%	326,900	4.5%	292,100	4.3%	326,600	4.8%
Croatia	208,900	2.9%	214,000	2.9%	216,800	3%	223,800	3%	231,000	3.1%	236,600	3.2	229,200	3.4%	228,900	3.4%
Russian Federation	81,100	1.1%	98,400	1.3%	115,900	1.5%	136,100	1.9%	155,600	2.1%	173,500	2.4%	178,600	2.7%	185,900	2.8%
Austria	185,200	2.5%	186,100	2.5%	187,700	2.5%	189,000	2.6%	189,300	2.6%	189,500	2.6%	174,000	2.6%	174,800	2.6%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	190,100	2.6%	167,700	2.3%	156,300	2.1%	159,000	2%	163,800	2.2%	167,100	2.3%	156,000	2.3%	156,900	2.3%
Ukraine	63,800	.9%	76,800	1%	89,300	1.2%	103,500	1.4%	116,000	1.6%	126,000	1.7%	128,100	1.9%	130,700	1.9%
Serbia and Montenegro	719,500	9.8%	737,200	10%	662,500	9%	627,500	8.6%	591,500	8%	568,200	7.7%	125,800	1.9%	297,000	4.4%
Portugal	132,600	1.8%	132,600	1.8%	133,700	2%	132,600	2%	131,400	2%	130,600	1.8%	116,700	1.7%	115,600	1.7%
Netherlands	112,100	1.5%	110,500	1.5%	110,800	1.5%	112,400	1.5%	115,200	1.6%	118,700	1.6%	114,100	1.7%	118,600	1.8%
Spain	131,100	1.8%	129,900	1.8%	129,400	1.8%	128,700	2%	127,500	1.7%	126,000	1.7%	108,300	1.6%	107,800	1.6%
France	105,800	1.4%	107,200	1.5%	110,200	1.5%	111,300	1.5%	112,400	1.5%	113,000	1.5%	100,500	1.5%	102,200	1.5%
Other Countries	2,020,100	27.6%	2,057,800	28%	2,099,800	28.8%	2,157,300	29.5%	2,203,000	30%	2,225,200	30.3%	2,005,300	30%	1,999,300	29.6%
Total	**7,319,600**		**7,343,600**		**7,296,800**		**7,318,600**		**7,335,600**		**7,334,800**		**6,738,700***		**6,755,800**	

Source: OECD International Migration Outlook Annual Report 2006 Edition/2007 Edition

*****Note change in 2004—****relatively stable number of foreign residents up until that time: change due to AZR register cross check and decline in number of foreign births (result of 2000 law granting of nationality at birth for children with one parent resident of eight years and right to permanent residence)*

Graphic 2.2 - Foreign national residents in Germany 1998-2005



German Judiciary and Political Parties

Germany's judiciary is curious in that the German Basic Law (GBL), Germany's constitution, originated in 1949 came before the immigrant, post-war experience. Even as recent history may have provided cause for a more direct reference to its immigration situation, there still remains no direct mention of immigrants or foreigners in the German constitution. Instead, it makes reference to the importance of "everyone's rights," with a focus on "human dignity" in direct reaction to the Nazi experience, and "German rights." German rights include: freedom of assembly, freedom of association, freedom of travel and movement, freedom to choose a profession, right not to be deprived of German citizenship, right not to be extradited, right to resist the overthrow of government, guarantee of equal access to public service, and equal status of rights in all the *Länder*.[87] (The right to vote in regional, federal and local elections also is considered to be a German right only although it is referred to as a person's right not as a direct right for the German people only, even though in practice it is, excluding members of the EU of course since they are allowed the right to vote in municipal elections.[88])

The German Foreigner Law of 1965(Ausländergesetz) explains three aspects: (1) possibility of entry into Germany (2) form and duration of residence (3) possibility and requirements of naturalization. There are four explicit forms of residence. The first is a temporary residence permit (Aufenthaltselaubris) in which after five years of residence one may have access to an unlimited residence permit if one is employed, has a basic competence in the German language and sufficient living space. Second, there is the temporary right of residence (Aufenthaltsberectigung) which one must have had resident permit for eight years or an unlimited permit for three years and have contributed to German retirement insurance

[87] Rubio-Marín, *Immigration as a Democratic Challenge: Citizenship and Inclusion in Germany and the United States* pg 187.
[88] Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany (Grundgetz, GG)

for at least sixty months or the equivalent. Third, there is the temporary residence approval (Aufenthaltsbewilligugn), which applies to those with a purpose such as students and contract workers and generally lasts two years although they can be extended. Fourth, there is the temporary residence authorization which is for those ineligible for any other standard, i.e. de facto refugees, asylum-seekers with applications in process or disputed and these are granted for two years and can be extended. After eight years, they can be extended indefinitely. This Foreigner's Law is derived from the "Police Ruling Concerning Foreigners of 1938/39" which was rather vague in allowing those to stay that are "worthy of hospitality." The law was amended in 1990 and performed three new functions: (1) the strengthening of residence rights for family members (2) extended protection against extradition for foreigners born in Germany (3) and eased naturalization requirements.[89] The law's last amendments, as mentioned before, are those concerning the naturalization process in 1999 and put into effect in 2000.

It must also be dually noted that the biggest population of immigrants within German borders is that of the Turks, a country that has historically been trying to become part of the European Union for some time now and as a result, the relationship between the European Union as a whole and Turkey, cannot be ignored in the analysis of the German immigration situation even if the Third Pillar of the European Union allows immigration to be dealt with by each individual nation-state in regards to entry and expulsion "except in those areas where treaties or peremptory norms operate."[90] In the post-war period, Turkey had severe political and economic difficulties that impeded their entry into the EU, but on the 12th of September, 1963, an Association with the Community was established with the Ankara Agreement, along

[89] Senders, Stefan. "Laws of Belonging: Legal Dimensions of National Inclusion in Germany" *New German Critique*, pgs. 153-56.
[90] Cicekli, Bulent, "The Rights of Turkish Migrants on Europe under International Law and EU Law", *International Migration Review,* pg. 344.

with the envisagement of eventual EC membership.[91] What membership would mean is free movement for Turks within the European Union, which has not come about even today, an influx of immigrants feared on the one hand, and a hope for better wages within Turkish borders on the other, resulting in the lack of need to leave their own borders if part of the European Union. In 1970, the Additional Protocol established a timetable for the freedom of movement and dismantling of quantitative restrictions as well of the elimination of customs duties in 1973 (alignment to the Common Customs Tariff (CCT). As a result, the Ankara Agreement was expected to be implemented fully on the 1st of December, 1986. At the same time, EC countries had stopped foreign recruitment of workers as a result of unemployment, expecting the energy crisis of the 1970s to worsen the situation. On the 13th of December, 1995, the European Parliament did enter into a Full Customs Union between Turkey and the EU.[92] Since then, any further integration of Turkish immigrants has been proposed by the EU, while there has been no uniform practice overall. This changed when Germany changed its Citizenship law in 2000, Turks were for the first time allowed to become full citizens of Germany as well as the European Union.

In regards to full entry into the European Union as a nation-state, the EU insists that Turkey; first, eliminate the death penalty and protect human rights, while Turkey is not willing to do so until terrorism is itself eliminated; and second, restructure its economy before negotiations even take place while Turkey insists that more investment would ease restructuring pains if and when the EU makes a formal commitment. In November of 2000, the EU made public the APD (Accession Partnership Document) where it insisted that Turkey

[91] "Article 28 of the Agreement states:
"As soon as the operation of this Agreement has advanced far enough to justify envisaging full acceptance by Turkey of the obligations arising out of the Treaty establishing the Community, the Contracting Parties shall examine the possibility of the accession of Turkey to the Community."Cicekli, Bulent, "The Rights of Turkish Migrants on Europe under International Law and EU Law", *International Migration Review,* pg. 309

[92] "The Customs Union has basically removed all barriers to trade between the EU and Turkey, enhancing the free movement of goods, and obliges Turkey to adopt similar international trade policies as the EU. But significantly, it does not include freedom of movement of persons. Cicekli, Bulent, "The Rights of Turkish Migrants on Europe under International Law and EU Law", *International Migration Review,* pg. 311.

meet the following requirements: (1) guarantee minority rights (2) reduce torture and role of military in politics (3) and support efforts to find a solution to the division of Cyprus. Turkey responded by created 89 new laws and amending 94 other in March of 2001 to "improve Turkey's human rights record, combat the torture of prisoners, enhance women's rights and bring the country's inflation-prone economy up to European standards."[93] In regards to immigrants abroad, the Turkish government tends to shy away from religious organizations and organized in 1998 two commissions: the Supreme Committee for Nationals Living Abroad affiliated with Turks abroad in twelve countries and the Coordinating Committee for Nationals Living Abroad. It has also made it easier for Turks to naturalize, for those under twenty years of age, making it unnecessary for them to fulfill their military obligations. Again, the main reason why Turkey is not admitted, along with its human rights violations, is the fear of an enormous influx of Turks throughout the European Union. Already, as of the year 2000 according to the OECD, Turkish presence in the EU is great with 1,998,500 in Germany (27.4 % pop.), 208,000 in France (6.4% pop.), 134,500 in Austria (17.7% pop.), 100,800 in the Netherlands (15.1% pop.), 58,000 in the UK(2.2% pop.), 56,200 in Belgium (6.5% pop.) and 35,200 in Denmark(13.6% pop.) not including those of Turkish origin with EU citizenship.[94] A great deal of this presence has much to do with the temporary workers program, but currently, the walls of the European Fortress are up and vigilant, not especially concerned in acquiring any further residency from third- country nationals than necessary. It is supposed that if Turkey were to join the EU in 2015, it would have a population itself of 82.1 million, only slightly smaller than Germany at 82.4 million, supposedly surpassing Germany in the future. If such a country were to cross borderless borders and set themselves up in EU countries other than their own because of possible wage increase, there would be a great employment impact on the receiving countries—and such is the argument against

[93] Martín, Philip. "Migration and Development: Focus on Turkey", *International Migration Review*,pg. 601.
[94] Hughes, Kirsty. "Turkey and the European Union: Just Another Enlargement?" *A Friends of Europe Working Paper*, pg 17.

Turkey's entry in the EU with Turkey's GDP per head only at 27% of the EU average. [95] Even the SPD, generally more open and liberal to immigrant and asylum policy, states in its official statement of policies.[96] At all times, the SPD is careful to note that entry into the EU is by no means a guarantee and history does not allow for any guarantees in relation to Turkey's entry considering that the first agreement was signed almost forty years ago with Ankara Agreement.

The political fight over the immigrant situation in Germany has been waged on another front—not just in regards to the EU's relationship with Turkey which cannot be divorced from Germany's immigration discussion since Turks represent the biggest immigration population within German borders—but that of its asylum laws. Since WWII, Germany has been most open in regards to its acceptance of political refugees, resulting in the public's complaint of asylum practices being taken advantage of and those offered asylum being exceedingly assisted by the German government, especially resentment of the burdening of the local social assistance programs. Specifically, Article 16 of the Constitution attracted over half of all asylum seekers to EC countries starting in the late 1970s. As a result, in June of 1980, the German government announced a visa requirement and employment ban to reduce entry rates of asylum seekers after a 1979-80 increase. Then, after a major increase in immigration, in May of 1993, Germany passed an amendment to the Asylum Article 16a of the GBL that undercut access to a full-fledged judicial appeals process for most asylum seekers.

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[95] ----------. "Turkey and the European Union: Just Another Enlargement?" *A Friends of Europe Working Paper*, pg i.

[96] "Germany has a particular interest in deepening mutual relations with Turkey and linking the country with the European Union. The negotiations begun on 3 October 2005 that are aimed at effecting Turkey's accession represent and open-ended process that does not automatically mean membership; the outcome cannot be guaranteed in advance. This constitutes a special challenge in economic, demographic and cultural terms. With this in mind, we welcome the efforts to bring about reform that have been initiated in Turkey. We intend to promote the democratic, constitutional and economic development of Turkey, with which we are closely allied in NATO, to the best of out ability." Social Democratic Party of Germany, Joint Paper as of Friday 28 October 2005, www.spd.de

This then brings us to a discussion of how the predominant parties in Germany feel in regards to the immigrant situation, which is faithfully represented in their views towards asylum reform. The SPD eventually accepted the asylum amendment after the CDU/CSU openly pressured the socialist party locally.[97] After far right parties (the *Republikaner* and German's People's Union) won 7-12 percent of the vote in three states by campaigning against asylum-seekers, as well as increased anti-foreigner violence in 1991 and 1992, SPD found it imperative to compromise with center-right parties.

Basically, what the 1993 amendment did in regards to asylum was reduce their constitutional rights and particularly if an asylum-seeker entered through a secure state, they were sent back just in case they had already applied for asylum there. 'Secure third states' are considered to be: (1) EU members (2) those that guarantee application of Geneva Convention and the Human Rights Convention including: Finland, Norway, Austria, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland and the Czech Republic. If asylum-seekers come from 'safe states of origin' they must substantiate their claims of political persecution or be returned, i.e. Bulgaria, Gambia, Ghana, Romania. Senegal, the Slovak Republic and Hungary. According to the Dublin conference, claims of asylum-seekers from safe states are assumed to be invalid.

In regards to the Green Party, their main concern is human rights and a "general right to stay" (allgemeines Bleiberecht) for all that happen to enter and stay for five years. An official statement of the Green Party is the following: "The 'multicultural society' is not a theory, but a reality. In the Federal Republic immigration has taken place, and immigration will continue to take place…Our idea of the 'multicultural society' is not based on (the) concept of the nation-state, but on the indivisibility of human rights. Not citizenship should

[97]Karapin explains in detail:
"Eventually many local SPD leaders including Georg Kronawitter, the mayor of Munich, became vocal advocates of consitutional reform. Pressure from the lower-level representatives and members of the SPD was important in the SPD's change of position through a series of decisions in various party organs during fall and winter 1992-1993. Local politicians often came under pressure from citizens' initiatives that opposed the housing of asylum seekers in Saarlouis and Hanover." Karapin, Roger. "The Politics of Immigration in Britain and Germany: Subnational Politicians and Social Movements", *Comparative Politics*, pg 436.

determine the rights of an individual, but where the individual lives (Lebensmittelpunkt)."[98] It seems that the Green Party's open borders policy may openly contradict the reality of the system of nation-states today and may not be all that realistic in regards to present day situations, but the party is also open to the idea that citizenship is not the only venue open to residents in any given population to gain and maintain their human rights—an ideal that may not step out of the full circle of present day reality.

In 1999, 365 naturalized German citizens were interviewed as to their political preferences in a the Heidelberg case study and it was determined that those from Eastern European countries, ethnic Germans, were supportive of the CDU (88% Soviet Union and Successor states and 57% Romania) and Turks the SPD (77%). The Green Party was barely even preferred at all by anybody at 2% for Romanians and 6% for the Turks. Overall, Turks are more educated in parties and politician recognition, as 51% of them have received some kind of educational degree while only 11% of ex-S.U. and 8% of ex-Romanians have.[99]

Such support from different ethnic groups has its roots in how each party has defined itself in regards to how they view the definition of German *Kultur* after Reunification. All political parties sought the rights of potential voters, the CDU welcoming the return of ethnic Germans and the SPD or Greens arguing for the extension of voting rights to their supporters. The difference is in the clear distinction between the reasoning and basis for such rights grounded in the two definitions of *Kultur*: one based upon race, inherent and unchangeable and the other based upon "highbrow culture" with such things as literature, art, music, food and dance.[100] Regardless, of each stance and whether it is *in*clusionist or *ex*clusionist, each

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[98] Joppke, Christian. "Multiculturalism and Immigration: A Comparison of the Unites States, Germany and Great Britain", *Theory and Society*, pg, 466-67.

[99] Wust, Andreas M. "New Citizens- New Voters? Political Preferences and Voting Intentions of Naturalized Germans: A Case Study in Progress, pp.565-566.

[100] "Conservatives use this definition of culture to argue against extension of citizenship to groups that are not ethnically German on the grounds that one should hold on to a definition of German culture as ethnically pure and protect it against becoming a hybrid…Liberals, however, generally subscribe to a narrow definition of *Kultur* as cultural production and entertain a universalist outlook regarding the political and social organization of life. *Such a stance risks producing a position just as intolerant toward*

party clearly seeks out its own pool of potential voters, even before the new citizenship law that took effect in 2000. As always, the center of attention is focused upon citizenship by practically all those involved, integration being intertwined with the concept of assimilation, as total equal rights are solely guaranteed through the acquisition of citizenship.

social forms that differ from German conventions as a conservative argument for assimilation based on a rejection of the multicultural idea altogether."Berman, Nina. "Multiculturalism, Reintegration, and Beyond: The Afrikanisch-
Asiatische Studentenförderung in Göttingen", p. 37.

Welfare State and Immigrant Associations in Germany

Overall, Germany provides generous welfare benefits to its immigrant population, disregarding its limitations towards refugees and asylum seekers as minimum welfare benefits are allowed for refused applicants.[101] Immigrants are offered training, short-time work, job-creation schemes and apprenticeships, just like native-born citizens. Both immigrants and native Germans benefit from such programs and as a whole there is a difference in success rates, second-generation immigrants are closing the gap, while they still do not reach the success of Germans. 45% of immigrants hold a position that meets the qualifications they have received in job-training or university while Germans are at 70%. It can be supposed therefore that investment into the integration of the immigrant population allows for less welfare costs over time, especially in regards to education, as it has been proven that early preschool enrollment leads to higher education in immigrant children.[102]

When it comes to associations, immigrant groups have the right to found them as long as rules are followed. First of all, they do have the same rights as Germans in regards to unions and in workplace co-determination (Betriebsverfassungsgeetz) and in several cities they have foreign advisory boards, committees that have the right to a hearing by elected city government (Auslaederbeiraete) but they are excluded for any other formal participation in the political process.[103] When their needs are not met by a relationship with the majority population, they then found associations to meet their special needs, particularly when they settle in industrial cities, having coming from underdeveloped, traditional, agricultural societies. Thus, according to Ulrike Schoenberg in his article, "Participation in Ethnic Associations: The Case of Immigrants in West Germany," depending upon the focus of the

[101] Rotte, Ralph. "Immigration Control in United Germany: Toward a Broader Scope of National Policies", p. 366.
[102] Kurthen, Hermann. Immigration and the Welfare State in Comparison: Differences in the Incorporation of Immigrant Minorities in Germany and the United States", pp. 725-727.
[103] Schoeneberg, Ulrike. "Participation in Ethnic Associations: The Case of Immigrants in West Germany", p 417.

association, segregation or integration could take place based upon the focus of each association.

The author focuses upon the Turks, the Greeks and the Italians in his study and defines social integration as the following:

> "Social integration is measured as the maintenance of primary contacts within the immigrant community as well as to members of the host society. Contact with the native-born population, which Gordon (1979:168) calls structural assimilation, is thus only one element of social integration as here defined. ***The term assimilation*** *is used to mean conformity to the customs and lifestyle of the host society."*[104]

The Greek population in Germany is based upon the issues of whether or not their children should be educated in Greek or German schooling, while there is a definite political alignment derived directly from the home country- the socialist party (PASOK) and the conservative party (Nea Demokratia) which have a tendency to be aligned with the Orthodox Church. The Greeks are more divided over the assimilation issue in regards to schooling than political polarization based upon homeland politics.

The Turkish immigrant population is the largest and most polarized group with three types: (1) religiously orthodox or fundamentalist (2) strongly conservative or nationalistic (3) and socialist or communist that are very much engaged in German organizations, especially unions while the other two groups insist that they are not politically partisan. All of these Turkish organizations generally do not cooperate with their consulate and other government offices. Kurds and Armenians have their own organizations and the Turkish government does not support Islamic Centers as it believes that they represent religious sects or cooperate with extremist parties. The largest Turkish association is called Sueleymanli, a religious association that has about 210 centers in West Germany.

Italian associations on the other hand are not culturally based and offer social assistance and counseling alone, not cultural or social activities, and there is no political

[104] Schoeneberg, Ulrike."Participation in Ethnic Associations: The Case of Immigrants in West Germany", p. 418.

polarization for governmental support as they cooperate with their consulate and receive financial support from two quasi-parliamentary committees and the relatively stable political situation in Italy has a stabilizing effect on its immigrant organizations as they remain in existence longer and have continuity in their goals and activities.[105]

Schoeneberg´s study then goes in to measure the integration of immigrants based upon their contact with native Germans in order to ascertain whether or not these associations, isolate or integrate. Curiously, those that participate in immigrant associations have more frequent contact with native Germans than those that do not, except in the instance of the Turks.[106] It seems, while participants are more social, their relations are restricted to Turks for those that attend Islamic Centers, while leftist groups have practically as many friendly relationships with Germans as participants of the immigrant groups of other nationalities do. Overall, the results do conclude that participation in an immigrant association is a "primary force" for social integration on the part of the immigrant.

In conclusion, Germany is a combination of mainly statist and partially corporate model of incorporation. It is corporate because historically and up until now immigrant populations have been treated as groups and statist because their treatment is dictated by a highly centralized state, although its implementation is handled by a federal administrative process. While immigrant groups are not expected to organize themselves, they are formally put into groups by the government itself. Its immigration process has been long and drawn out and only recently has the German government even accepted itself as an immigration country and still does not recognize full rights to its immigrants as individuals as seen in the 2005 Immigration Law and in the Basic Law itself. At the same time, as we will see in the

[105]Schoeneberg, Ulrike. "Participation in Ethnic Associations: The Case of Immigrants in West Germany", pp. 424-25.

[106] "In none of the nationality groups are participants in ethnic organizations more socially isolated in any way; in fact, in almost all cases the participants are more likely to have close friends as well as more frequent contact with Germans that the non-participants do. The Turks are the only exception." Schoeneberg, Ulrike."Participation in Ethnic Associations: The Case of Immigrants in West Germany", p. 430.

Spanish case, Spain has been transformed quite quickly from an emigration country to an immigration country, adapting itself along the way. Such adaptation, out of necessity mind you, and acceptance of such adaptation has never once been in question—there has been no time as of yet.

Still, while Spain may only allude to full integration as citizens, somewhat ignoring differences through omission, Germany is rather transparent in defining what is considered to be German, and as a result, integration policy, and regardless of its level of "fairness" or equality, is thus more clearly defined. Whether such clearness is wise or even commendable is a completely different story, but outright adherence to strict assimilation through the acquisition of citizenship is much more respectable in it forwardness as opposed to its avoidance. Ironically, the initial opening up of naturalization processes would allude to Germany's more liberal treatment of its immigration policy by allowing access to the "club"; while in reality access to the club is strictly reserved for those willing to somewhat abandon their differences by acquiring what the government deems as adherence to German "culture." Instead of allowing for a widening circle of acceptance, said acceptance is contingent upon clearly defined change, supported by a finely engineered process of coursework oriented, and explicitly mandatory, towards those willing to become part of the process and gain a guarantee and security of equal rights as full citizens.

On the other hand, Spain may have a guarantee of rights on paper, quite equitable to citizenship, so that citizenship may only be considered so as to avoid bureaucratic bother; but full integration as citizenship as the ultimate goal is also implied—one is never really separated from the other and the extent of implied assimilation, and the resulting negation of innate differences within the immigration population, is not clear. Access to such assimilation through the process of naturalization is also limited through discriminatory time allowances, as some nationalities may apply after two years of permanent residence and some

after ten. Such differences are also based upon cultural and historical ties, alluding to the fact that such populations are already partially assimilated to the culture in the first place so as to exclude them from those that must invest more time in the intercultural or partial assimilation processes.

Ultimately, what type of policy is preferable—one that is outright in its proclamation of denial of difference and possible conflict in the case of Germany, or one that insists upon solely alluding to such denial in the case of Spain? Is the first really denial anyway, as it addresses reality much more clearly even if it insists upon homogenization where there is none, but still has the integrity to directly insist; making the avoidance of the second even more naïve and unrealistic than the first? Basically, what makes Spanish policy so very reactionary is the fact that it is a liberal, bottom-up policy as opposed to the statist top-down approach found in the German model, while idealistically both maintain the acquisition of citizenship as a requisite for "complete" integration, whether explicitly or implicitly—two different approaches towards a rather similar goal.

Part Three: Examination of Spain's Immigrant Integration Policy within a Liberal Model of Incorporation

Before delving in to the specifics of the Spain's Immigrant Integration policy that have already been alluded to, once again it must be said that said policy is always intertwined with that of the concept of modern citizenship. Integration, along with the basic access to social services, initial bottom-up policies of aiding an immigrant's transition into Spanish society by subsidizing programs that are established through a number of associations and NGO's, is ultimately a finite goal of converting the immigrant into an equal member of society through his or her adaptation to his or her surroundings. Adaptation, ideally embodied in the idea of an equal "intercultural exchange" ends in the eventual naturalization of the immigrant. Thus, the "immigrant is no longer an immigrant," but a citizen, trusted with the same responsibilities and rights as any individual living and working within the present society. Spain's openness in inclusion is somewhat limited in regards to timely access by all those willing to undergo such a transformation and commitment, but the intent is still quite clear regardless of preferences towards populations that are considered as groups that have an innate leaning towards such conversion.

In 2006, illegal immigrants in Spain were estimated to be up to 1,200,000 but their exact number is not certain.[107] In 2007, the number went down, according to municipal registries in comparison to immigrants with permits, to 540,540 while it is supposed that 1 out of every four immigrants are not registered. The reduction is also due to the increase in Romanian and Bulgarian permits, or EU certificates. Curiously, they are not to be allowed their work permits officially until the year 2009, two years after the agreement, but since Romania and Bulgaria have strong bilateral agreements they have taken advantage of said agreements even more so it seems. For example, in 2006 there were 211,325 Romanians with permits and in 2007, 603,889 with permit, a difference of 392,564 Romanians. In fact , the majority of the increase came from the EU in 2007—the total increase being 957,206 and

[107] Marcos, Carmen & Sanz, Begoña. *Pero¿cuántos inmigrantes irregulares son?;* Cuerpo Superior de Estadísticas del Estado.

885,305 of them coming from European sources. In comparison, there was an increase of only 150,435 Latin Americans and 132,037 from Africa, with the majority of them being Moroccans. The following table is an account of the legal resident population from the year 2000 to 2007 based on nationality and pinpointing countries that contribute greatly to the influx from each continental area. As one can see, in regards to percentages from various areas, the general nature of third-country residency was maintained through the beginning of the new millennium, even as the population more than doubled up until the year 2007. In the year 2005 the percentage of European Union members had gone down though only to start to increase again in 2006, complimented by a relative increase in percentage of Colombians and Ecuadorians. Outside the European Union, Morocco still continues to be the country with the greatest representation in immigrant population in Spain.

Table 3.1 - Immigrant national residents in Spain with permits 2000-2007

Continent/ Area/ Country	2000		2001		2002		2003		2004		2005		2006		2007	
EU	306,203	**34%**	325,511	**29%**	362,858	**27%**	406,199	**25%**	498,875	**25%**	569,284	**20.7%**	661,004	**22%**	1,546,309	**39%**
Rest of Europe	54,442	**6%**	81,170	**8%**	107,574	**8%**	154,001	**9%**	168,900	**8.5%**	337,177**	**12.3%**	367,674**	**12%**	114,936**	**2.9%**
**Romania*													211,325	**7%**		
Total Europe	360,64	**40.2%**	412,522	**37%**	470,432	**35%**	560,200	**34%**	667,775	**33.8%**	906,461	**33.1%**	1,028,678	**34%**	1,661,245	**42%**
**Great Britain*	73,98	**8%**	80,183	**7%**	90,091	7%	105,479	**6%**	128,283	**6%**	149,071	5.4 %	175,870	5.8 %	198,638	5 %
**Romania as EU member*															**603,889**	**15%**
Latin America (including Mexico)	184,973	**20.6%**	283,778	**26%**	364,569	**27.5%**	514,485	**31%**	649,122	**32.8%**	986,178	**36%**	1,064,916	**35%**	1,215,351	**30.5%**
**Colombia*	24,702	**2.7%**	48,710	**4.4%**	71,238	**5%**	107,459	**6.5%**	137,369	**7%**	204,348	**7.5%**	225,504	**7.5%**	254,301	**6%**
**Ecuador*	30,878	**3.4%**	84,699	**7.6%**	115,30	**8.7%**	174,289	**10.5%**	221,549	**11%**	357,065	**13%**	376,233	**12.5%**	395,808	**9.9%**
North America (Canada & the U.S.)	14,991	**2%**	15,020	**1%**	15,774	**1%**	16,163	**0.98%**	16,964	**0.9%**	17,052	**0.6%**	18,109	**0.6%**	19,256	**0.5%**
Africa	261,385	**29%**	304,149	**27%**	366,518	**28%**	432,662	**26%**	498,507	**25.2%**	649,251	**23.7%**	709,174	**23.5%**	841,211	**21%**
**Morocco*	199,782	**22.3%**	234,937	**21.2%**	282,432	**21%**	333,770	**20%**	386,958	**20%**	493,114	**18%**	543,721	**18%**	648,735	**16%**
Asia	71,807	**8%**	91,552	**8%**	104,66	**8%**	121,455	**7%**	142,762	**7.2%**	177,423	**6.5%**	197,965	**6.5%**	238,770	**6%**
**China*	28,693	**3.2%**	36,143	**3.2%**	45,815	**3.4%**	56,086	**3.4%**	71,881	**3.6%**	85,745	**3%**	99,526	**3.3%**	119,859	**3%**
Oceania	902	**0.1%**	944	**0.1%**	1,024	**0.07%**	1,018	**0.06%**	1,112	**0.05%**	1,466	**0.05%**	1,819	**0.06%**	2,051	**0.05%**
Other***	1,017	**0.1%**	1,095	**0.1%**	1,019	**0.07%**	1,028	**0.06%**	1,049	**0.05%**	1,101	**0.04%**	1,147	**0.04%**	1,130	**0.03%**
Total	**895,720**		**1,109,060**		**1,324,001**		**1,647,011**		**1,977,291**		**2,738,932**		**3,021,808**		**3,979,014**	

Source: Anuarios Migraciones 2000-2007; www.extranjeros.mtas.es/

*	Countries that contribute most to migratory influx in Spain
**	Great increase due mainly to increase in Romanian population and decrease in 2007 due to Romania's entry into the EU
***	Stateless persons and others**(All percentages are based upon the total legal resident population of each year)**

Graphic 3.1 - Immigrant national residents in Spain with permits 2000-2007

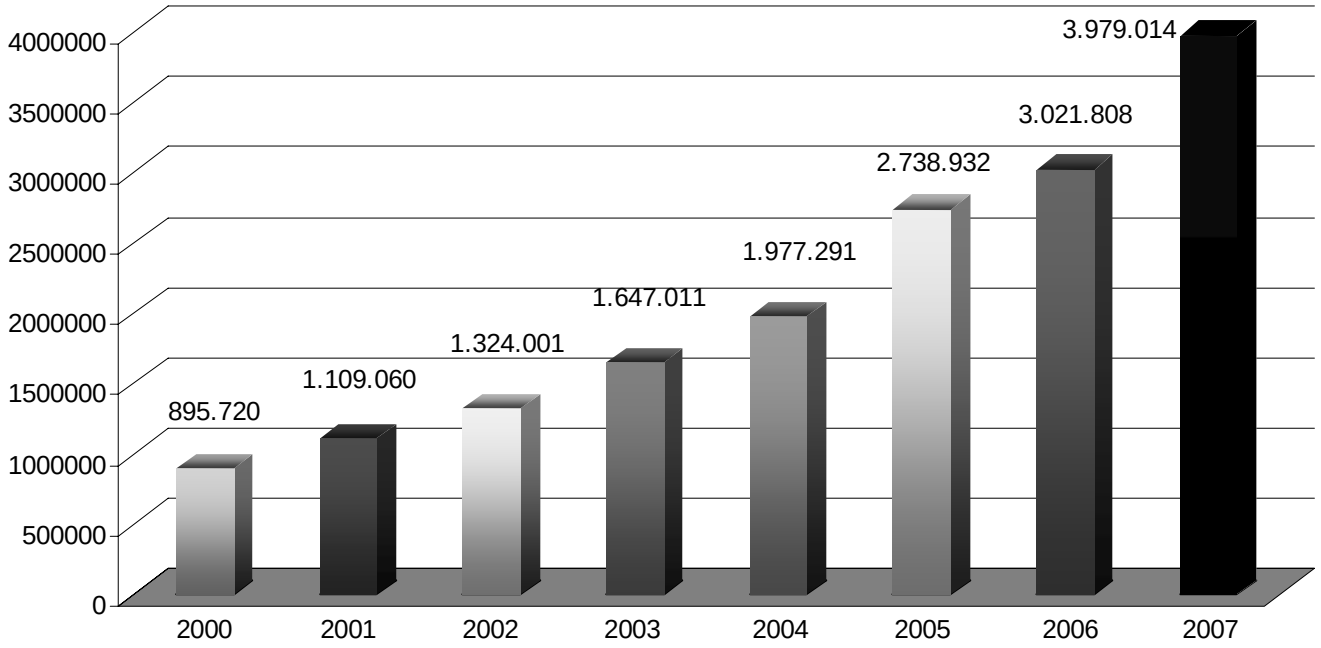


Table 3.2 - Increment in legal residents in Spain by year 2000-2007

Continent/ Area/ Country	2000-	2001	2001-2002		2002-2003		2003-2004		2004-2005		2005-2006		2006-2007	
	Total** increase or decrease	Increase in % or decrease												
EU	+25,149	**-4%**	+37,347	**-2%**	+43,341	**-2%**	+92,676	**+0.2%**	+70,409	**-4.3%**	+91,720	**+1.3%**	+885,305	**+17%**
Rest of Europe	+26,728	**+2%**	+26,404	**+0%**	+46,427	**+1%**	+168,900	**-0.5%**	+168,277	**-3.8%**	+30,497	**-0.3%**	-252,738	**-3.8%**
Total Europe	+51,877	**-3.2%**	+57,910	**-2%**	+89,768	**-1%**	+107,575	**-0.3%**	+238,686	**-0.7%**	+122,217	**+0.9%**	+632,567	**+8%**
**Great Britain*	+9,908	**-1%**	+9,908	**+0%**	+15,388	**-1%**	+22,805	**± 0%**	+20,788	**-0.6%**	+26,799	**+0.4%**	+22,768	**-0.8%**
Latin America (including Mexico)	+98,805	**+5.4%**	+80,791	**+1.5%**	+149,916	**+3.5%**	+134,637	**+2.8%**	+337,056	**+3.2%**	+78,738	**-1%**	+150,435	**–4.5%**
**Colombia*	+24,008	**+1.7%**	+22,528	**+0.6%**	+36,221	**+1.5%**	+29,910	**+1%**	+66,979	**+0.5%**	+21,156	**±0%**	28,797	**-1.5%**
**Ecuador*	+53,821	**+4.2%**	+30,602	**+1.1%**	+58,988	**+1.8%**	+47,260	**+0.5%**	+135,516	**+2%**	+19,168	**-0.5%**	+19,575	**-2.6%**
North America (Canada & the U.S.)	+29	**-1%**	+754	**+0%**	+389	**-0.02%**	+801	**+0.02%**	+88	**-0.3%**	+1057	**± 0%**	+1147	**-0.1%**
Africa	+42,764	**-2%**	+62,369	**+1%**	+66,144	**-2%**	+65,845	**-0.8%**	+150,744	**-1.5%**	+59,923	**-0.2%**	+132,037	**-2.5%**
**Morocco*	+35,155	**0%**	+47,495	**-0.2%**	+51,338	**-1%**	+53,188	**± 0%**	+106,159	**-2%**	+50,607	**±0%**	+105,014	**-2%**
Asia	+19,745	**0%**	+13,113	**+0%**	+16,790	**-1%**	+21,307	**+0.2%**	+34,661	**-0.7%**	+20,542	**-0.7%**	+40,805	**-0.5%**
**China*	+7,450	**0%**	+9,672	**+0.2%**	+10,271	**± 0%**	+15,795	**+0.2%**	+13,864	**-0.6%**	+13,781	**+0.3%**	+20,333	**-0.3%**
Oceania	+42	**0%**	+8	**-0.01%**	-6	**-0.01%**	+94	**-0.01%**	+354	**± 0%**	+353	**+0.1%**	+232	**-0.1%**
Other***	+70	**0%**	-71	**-0.01%**	+9	**-0.01%**	+21	**-0.01%**	+52	**-0.01%**	+46	**+ 0%**	-17	**-0.01%**
Total	**+213,332**		**+214,874**		**+323,010**		**+330,280**		**+761,641**		**+282,876**		**+957,206**	

Source: Anuarios Migraciones 2000-2007; www.extranjeros.mtas.es/

*	Countries that contribute most to migratory influx in Spain
**	All foreign populations have increased except for Oceania in 2003, Rest of Europe in 2007 due to entry of countries into EU and also Other in 2007.. Still, total percentage relative to the total population have either decreased or increased.
***	Stateless persons and other
****	Decrease could be accounted for by the naturalization of stateless persons.
All percentages are based upon the total legal resident population of each year	

Graphic 3.2 - Increment in legal residents in Spain by year 2000-2007

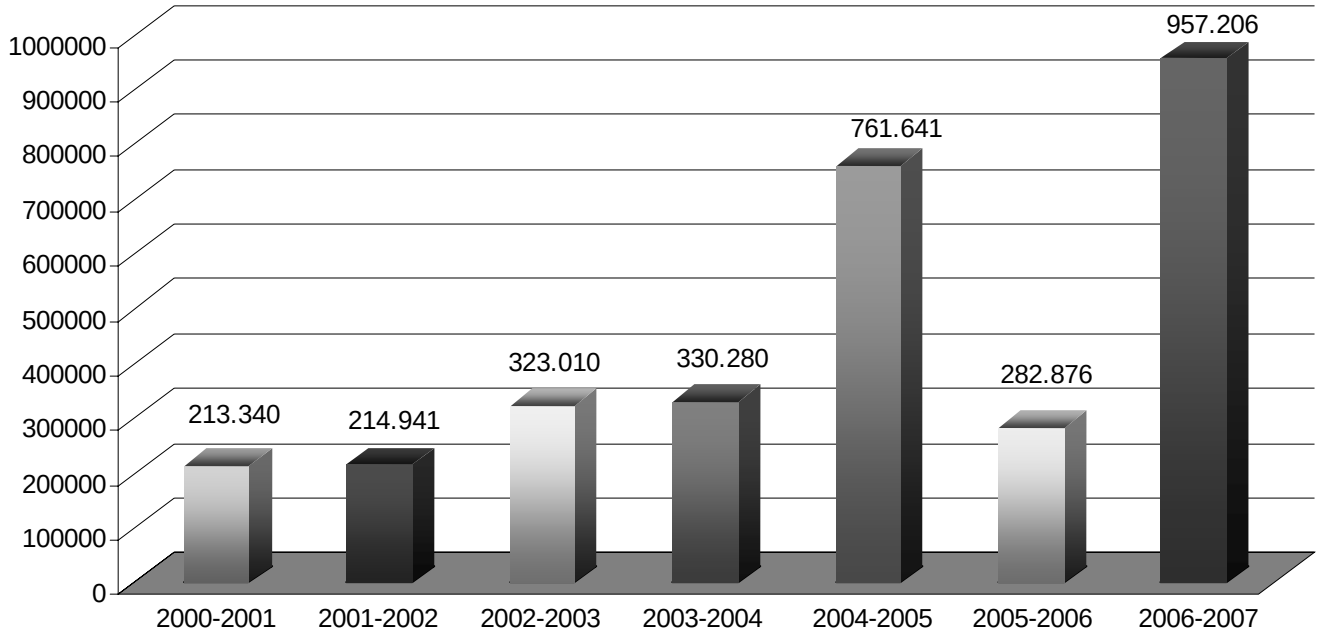


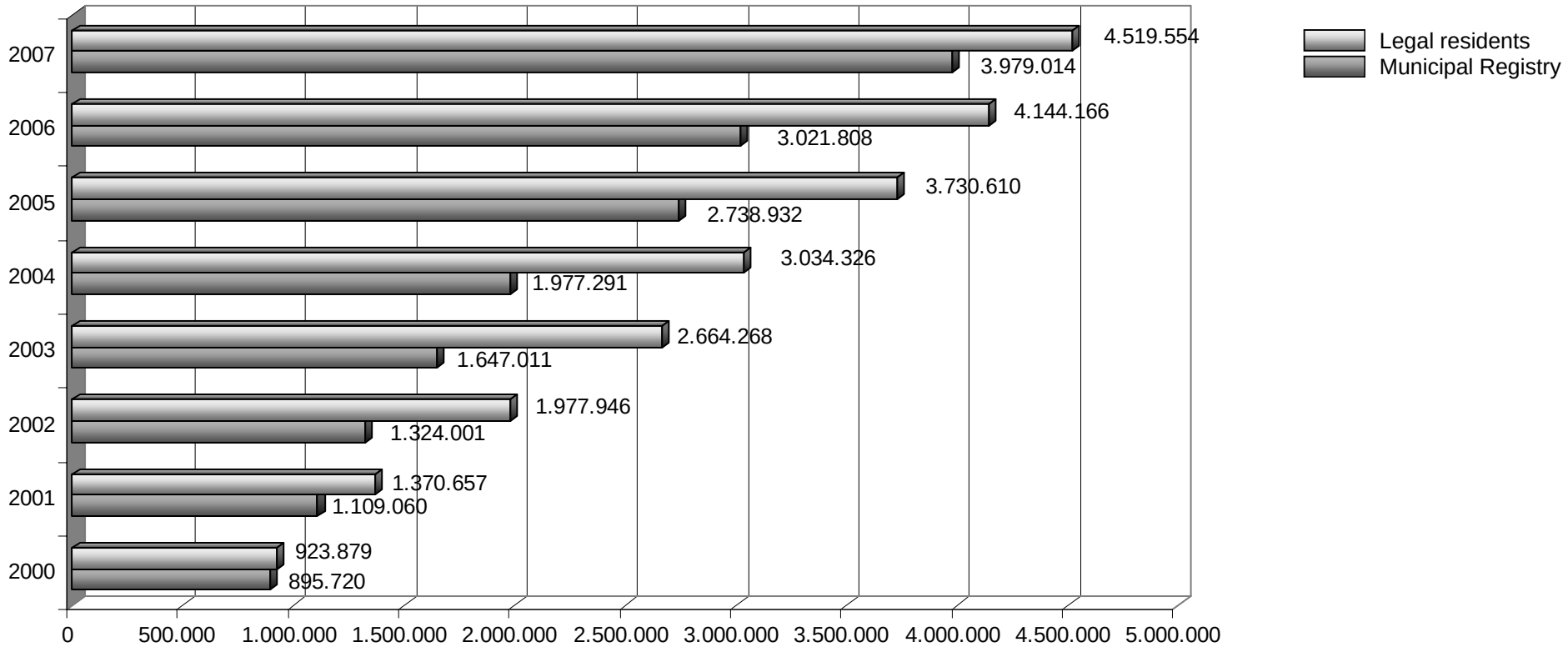
Table 3.3 - Immigrant residents in Spain with permits 2000-2007 and immigrants registered in Municipalities (Empadronados)

Continent/ Area/Country	2000		2001		2002		2003		2004		2005		2006		2007	
	Legal residents	Municipal registry														
EU	306,203	375,487	325,511	417,310	362,858	489,813	406,199	---	498,875	---	569,284	---	661,004	979,864	1,546,309	1,749,890
Rest of Europe	54,442	54,358	81,170	116,095	107,574	211,249	154,001	---	168,900	---	337,177	---	367,674	671,707	114,936	183,108
**Romania*													211,325	394,078		
Total Europe	360,645	436,994	412,522	533,405	470,432	701,062	560,200	936,271	667,775	1,047,206	906,461	1,668,136	1,028,678	1,651,571	1,661,245	1,932,998
**Great Britain*	73,983	99,017	80,183	107,326	90,091	128,121	105,479	161,507	128,283	174,810	149,071	227,187	175,870	261,116	198,638	299,264
**Romania as EU member*															603,889	507,736
Latin America (including Mexico)	184,973	189,464	283,778	414,290	364,569	730,460	514,485	1,047,564	649,122	1,237,806	*** 986,178	1,445,796	*** 1,064,916	1,534,230	*** 1,215,351	1,617,202
**Colombia*	24,702	---	48,710	87,209	71,238	191,018	107,459	244,684	137,369	248,894	204,348	271,239	225,504	263,339	254,301	260,989
**Ecuador*	30,878	---	84,699	139,022	115,30	259,522	174,289	390,297	221,549	475,698	357,065	497,799	376,233	446,111	395,808	415,328
North America (Canada & the U.S.)	14,991	17,374	15,020	28,598	15,774	22,103	16,163	25,963	16,964	24,613	17,052	28,697	18,109	23,374	19,256	21,492
Africa	261,385	268,190	304,149	317,242	366,518	423,045	432,662	522,682	498,507	579,372	649,251	713,974	709,174	725,960	841,211	737,400
**Morocco*	199,782	173,158	234,937**	233,415	282,432	307,458	333,770	378,979	386,958	420,556	493,114	511,294	543,721	513,007	648,735	524,021
Asia	71,807	88,167	91,552**	75,141	104,665**	98,942	121,455	128,952	142,762	142,828	177,423	186,848	197,965	206,476	238,770	207,850
**China*	28,693	---	36,143**	27,574	45,815**	37,651	56,086**	51,228	71,881**	62,498	85,745	87,731	99,526	94,942	119,859	95,926
Oceania	902	1,264	944	1,472	1,024	1,746	1,018	2,105	1,112	1,920	1,466	2,321	1,819	2,555	2,051	2,612
Other* **	1,017	413	1,095	508	1,019	587	1,028	631	1,049	581	1,101	721	1,147	---	1,130	---
Total	**895,720**	**923,879**	**1,109,060**	**1,370,657**	**1,324,001**	**1,977,946**	**1,647,011**	**2,664,268**	**1,977,291**	**3,034,326**	**2,738,932**	**3,730,610**	**3,021,808**	**4,144,166**	**3,979,014**	**4,519,554**
Difference in Totals: Estimate of illegal immigrants	**28,159**		**261,597**		**653,945**		**1,017,257**		**1,057,035**		**991,678**		**1,122,358**		**540,540**	

Sources: Anuarios Migraciones 2000-2007; www.extranjeros.mtas.es/ and Revisión del padrón municipal Instituto Nacional de Estadística www.ine.es

*	Countries that contribute most to migratory influx in Spain
**	less municipal registry than legal residency could be a result of residents that have changed their domiciles but have not reregistered and are in between the renewal of their permits. Proves unreliability of this estimation of undocumented immigrants.
***	Closing of the gap in between legal residents and those registered in municipalities from 2004 to 2005(especially in regards to Ecuadorians) is most likely due to the Amnesty Bill passed that year.

Graphic 3.3 - Immigrant residents in Spain with permits 2000-2004 and immigrants registered in Municipalities (Empadronados)



According to the Boletín de Exptranjería e Inmigración as of January 2008, the greatest increase in immigrant population in the last year of 2007 has been the Romanians, at 185.76% increase, Bulgarians with a 111.15% increase and Polish at 47.51% increase, and followed closely by the Portuguese with a 40.43% increase.[108] Basically, the increase in the year of 2007 has mainly been that of new and old European Union members. The greatest increase was the Romanian population, that along with the Bulgarians have actually received what is termed now as a "certificado de residencia," or certificate of residence, since EU members no longer receive a Spanish identity card like third-country nationals. Curiously, Romania and Bulgaria have not been allowed to enter the EU under the same terms as former members since they will not circulate freely until the year 2009. Even so, Spain has favorable bilateral agreements with both countries anyway, as well as the Dominican Republic, Mauritania, Poland, Ecuador and Colombia. Generally, such agreements are the same, based upon the need for workers or jobs offered within Spanish borders, stable workers for an initial period of one year, seasonal workers for a period that does not exceed nine months, interns between the ages 18 and 35, for 12 months with a possible increase of six months and not exceeding 50 people a year, and finally businesses that work between both countries may send their workers to work in Spain as long as they formally ask permission.[109]

In regards to naturalization by birth, in Spain it is contingent upon residency of at least one of the parents and granted after a year of the child's own legal residency. Those immigrant residents from Iberian American countries (former colonies), Andorra, Philippines, Guinea Equatorial, Portugal and descendents of Sephardim Jews that were

[108] Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales. *Boletín Estadístico de Extranjería e Inmigración*; Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración; January 2008.
[109] Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores. *Acuerdo entre el Reino de España y Rumania relativo a la regulación de los flujos migratorios laborales entre ambos Estados, hecho en Madrid el 23 de enero de 2002.*

expelled in 1492 are allowed naturalization but only after a period of two years of legal residency. Political refugees need to reside legally for five years, those married to a Spaniard one year, those born outside Spanish territory with a Spanish mother or father, or grandparent, one year, widows or widowers of a Spaniard one year, and those adopted or under the care of a Spanish institution one year as well. Once more, if you are born in Spanish territory you must also reside legally for one year in order to gain access to naturalization, meaning that at least one parent must already have legal residency.[110] Spanish naturalization can be accessed faster by an immigrant that has been born in Spanish territory by reducing the time that one must live as a resident from ten years to one, not unlike a third-country national that has married a Spaniard, but without some sort of legal residency on the part of the parents, naturalization is not guaranteed except in the case that nationality is denied by the parent's country of birth or another nationality cannot be determined.[111] Again, it must be noted that naturalization access is not the same for everybody. It is not an equal access for those that have legally worked, paid their taxes and suffered through the same bureaucratic processes. Those that marry a native or are born into the country, have native Spanish parents or grandparents may apply for naturalization after only one year. Those that

[110] Ley 36/2002, de 8 de octubre, de modificación del Código Civil en materia de nacionalidad

[111] "Los ciudadanos extranjeros pueden solicitar la nacionalidad española cuando han residido en España durante un tiempo determinado.
Pueden obtenerla aquellas personas que residan en nuestro país y dispongan de autorización de residencia. El tiempo de residencia exigido es, como norma general, de 10 años. No obstante, existen determinadas excepciones:
•refugiados políticos: 5 años.
•Naturales de países iberoamericanos, Andorra, Filipinas, Guinea Ecuatorial, Portugal y sefardíes: 2 años.
•Nacidos en territorio español o casados con un nacional: 1 año
•Nacidos fuera de España, de padre o madre, abuelo o abuela que originariamente hubieran sido españoles: 1 año.
•Quienes hayan estado sujetos legalmente a la tutela, guarda o acogimiento de un ciudadano o institución española, durante dos años consecutivos, incluso si continuaran en esta situación en el momento de la solicitud: 1 año
•Los viudos o viudas de español o española, si la muerte del cónyuge no existiera separación legal o de hecho: 1 año"Ministerio de Justicia, Obtención de la Nacionalidad Española por Residencia, www.mju.es/mnacionalidad.htm#

come from what is referred to as Ibero-America, Andorra, Philippines, Equatorial Guinea, Portugal and Sephardim Jews only have to wait two years instead of ten, considering that they are specific populations that share historical and cultural similarities. Thus, it can only be so rightfully assumed that these groups are considered to be prime candidates to become Spanish citizens simply because it is assumed they are already half way there in regards to the integration process in the first place. As a result, taking the final step towards full integration, or citizenship in this case is allowed at an earlier time.

Also, as you can see in the following tables, naturalization in Spain, while it has increased quite a bit from 11,996 in 2000 to 42,829 in 2005, proportionally in regards to the even greater increase in the amount of legal immigrants within Spanish borders, it is not as insignificant as one would assume, partially due to rather recent amnesty bills in 2002 and 2005, as well as the fact that the Moroccan population must wait 10 years to apply as well as the Romanians and Bulgarians that are now considered to be EU citizens, making naturalization somewhat unnecessary. In fact, the percentage of those naturalizing relative to the actual total number of residents has decreased in the year 2005. Consequently, the percentage of those seeking to become Spanish citizens each individual year has been quite static only reaching a slight peak in 2004 with 1.9% and then dropping again to 1.5% in 2005.

Again, one must also take note of where the immigrants are coming from. While Morocco leads *as a country* by 15.71% in total naturalization from 1992-2005, it is also the biggest contributor to legal residency in Spain in the year 2005 at 18%. This is also considering that they must wait ten years to even be considered for citizenship. The greatest population attaining full citizenship in Spain comes from Latin America at 62.43% of all naturalized immigrants. This population also has the ability to maintain

their previous citizenship as they do not have to denounce their birthplace and are considered to have dual citizenship (Along with Portugal, Andorra, Philippines, and Equatorial Guinea). Therefore, such a situation in which only ***12.9%*** of the Latin American born population has attained citizenship (i.e. based on records from 1992-2005 only) while in doing so does not an any way change their status in their original countries—they basically have nothing to lose and everything to gain—leads one to believe that their naturalization, as low as it already is relative to the quantity of Latin Americans residing legally in Spain (2005: 986,178 or 36% of total legal but not naturalized residents and 146,519 naturalized), could be larger. Still, one must consider that those who were regularized in the Amnesty Bill of 2005, after their two years wait, can apply for citizenship and it has been said that the *Comisarios* are seen with streaming lines of applicants as of summer 2008, so one will only have to wait for data of the past year or so to see if more Latin-American have been able to naturalize themselves after in the wake of the Amnesty Bill. In 2005, 337,056 Latin Americans were given their residency permits, so if all of those were to apply for naturalization there would be quite an increase in Latin-American double nationality holders from 146,519 in 2005 to 483,575. This would mean a leap of total immigrants with Spanish nationality from 62.43% in 2005 to 84.58% if no one else naturalized in 2007. Still, even if naturalizations could increase by such a rate due to the Latin-American population, the total percentage of immigrants with full-membership rights as naturalized citizens in the year 2007, just counting the Latin-American contribution which we are considering to be extreme, would only be 8.5%, when in 2005 the percentage was 12.9% from that region and in total for all regions at 8.6% anyway. (*see tables 1.4, 1,5 and 1.6) So, the percentage of legal immigrants that have been naturalized Spain in comparison actually stays the same regardless of the bombardment

solicitation in 2007 and 2008. This is primarily due to the fact that the increase in 2006 and 2007 has been so great, by 1,240,082 to be exact so that the Latin-American contribution can only have a small effect. Also, since the majority of new residents are from the EU, naturalization is not encouraged and theoretically deemed unnecessary as they have access to the electoral system in regards to the municipal vote. Also, even if they wanted to naturalize, they must also wait their ten years to be even considered. Waiting periods for almost all members except for Portugal and Andorra are ten years anyway.

So, it brings us back yet again to the conundrum of having such a great population of immigrants without full citizenship guaranteeing their full political rights and participation. European Community members do have a municipal vote and political participation in this limited sense and considering that they are 39% of total legal immigration, it is the other 61% of the immigration population that is the concern. According to the Instituto Nacional de Estadística in Spain as of January 1st 2007 the Spanish population was 45,200,737,[112] so considering that there were 4,144,166 immigrants registered in municipalities (documented and undocumented) that was 9.2% of the population. Of the 9.6% only 22% was from the EU at the time, so the other 78% was **9.6%** (including the million or so without documentation) of the total municipally registered population without political rights in the form of formal suffrage. Supposing the increase in population in 2007 can be solely represented by the increase in immigrant population (not counting birthrate) a population increase of 375,388 (45,576,125 total) has occurred. As a result of the increase in EU population within the immigrant population is 39%, then the other 61% is **6.5%** of the supposed population is not represented politically in the form of political suffrage. Children under 18 are not

[112] Instituo Nacional de Estadística, http://www.ine.es/

either but one is to congest that their political rights are at least represented in the form of their parents' political participation while the interests of the immigrant are not strictly represented by anyone in the form of a formal vote. Such misrepresentation of a country's population, even if one disregards the very presence of undocumented immigrants which has decreased significantly does not effect the percentage that much (bringing it down from 6.5% to 5.3%) one must admit that such a lack of participation through formal suffrage is quite notable.

One might also notice Morocco as a country that could demonstrate some significance in naturalization considering that they are unable to attain dual citizenship and must technically denounce their birthplace, although it is quite a normal practice to maintain both citizenships even after such denouncement. Still, looking closely at the numbers in the same fashion: 15.71% of total naturalized citizens only comes out to 36,870 naturalized Moroccan born Spanish citizens out of a total of 493,114 legal Moroccan residents+ 36,870= total Moroccan born population: 529,984 which makes a total of ***6.95%*** naturalization rate for all Moroccans (i.e. based on records from 1992-2005 only). This is still not incredibly significant and would definitely be increased if dual nationality was allowed like in the Latin American case, and especially if the wait was not ten years.

Table 3.4 - Simple percentage of naturalization in Spain 1992-2005

Continent / Area / Country	1992-2005
EU	5.3%
Rest of Europe	1.68%
Total Europe	6.98%
Latin America (including Mexico)	**62.43%**
**Colombia*	8.45%
**Ecuador*	9.10%
**Peru*	10.96%
North America (Canada & the U.S.)	.57%
Africa	20.66%
**Morocco*	15.71%
Asia	8.66**%**
**China*	1.33%
Oceania	0.02%
Other**	0.25%
Total	**100%= 234,694**
Total vs Total Immigrant population in 2005	**8.6% of immigrants naturalized**

Source: Plan Ciudadanía e Integración 2007- 2010; www.extranjeros.mtas.es/

*	Countries that contribute most to migratory influx in Spain
**	Stateless persons and others

Table 3.5 - Percentage of concessions of naturalization each year versus legal resident population in that year

Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
# Naturalizations	11,996	16,735	21,805	26,555	38,335	42,829
Total Legal Residents	895,720	1,109,060	1,324,001	1,647,011	1,977,291	2,738,932
Combined # of naturalized and legal residents	907,716	1,125,795	1,345,806	1,673,566	2,015,626	2,781,761
% of naturalization vs. legal residents	**1.3%**	**1.5%**	**1.6%**	**1.6%**	**1.9%**	**1.5%**

Sources: Anuarios Migraciones 2000-2005; www.extranjeros.mtas.es/
Plan Ciudadanía e Integración 2007-2010; www.extranjeros.mtas.es/

Graphic 3.5 - Percentage of concessions of naturalization each year versus legal resident population in that year

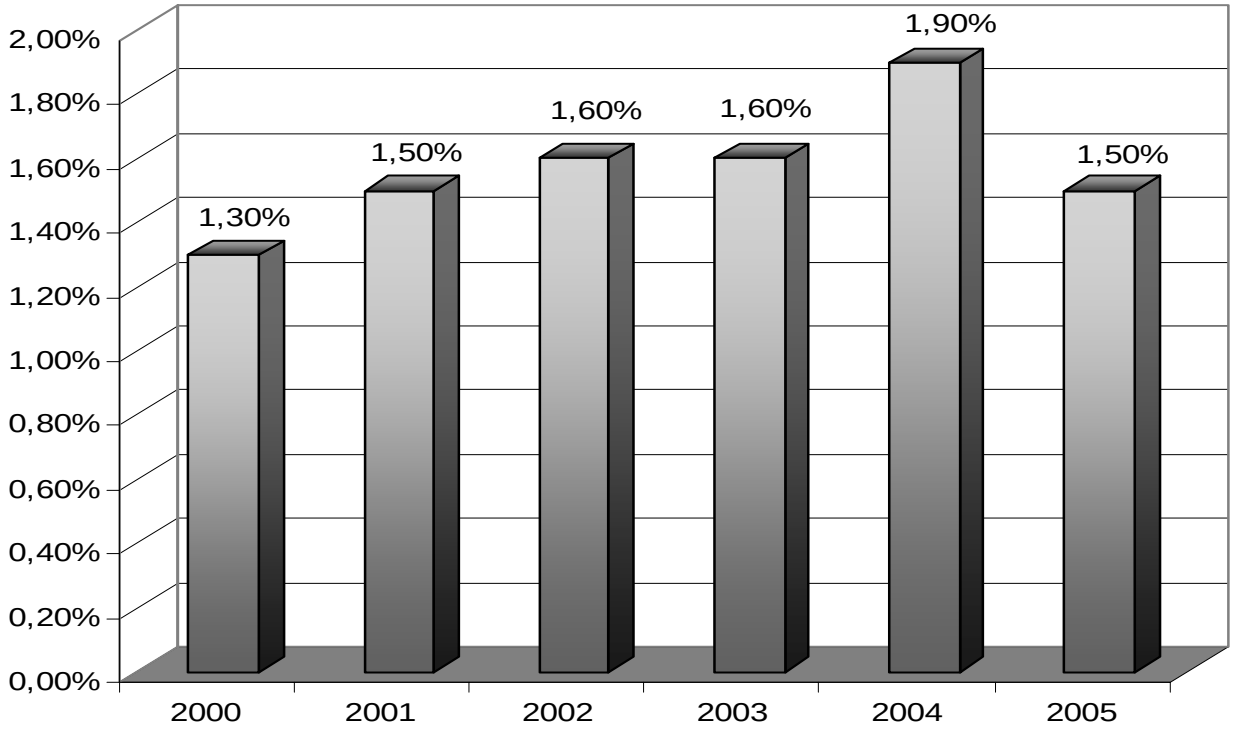


Table 3.6 - Percentage of naturalization in Spain 2005 vs. foreign country-born population

Continent/ Area/Country	2005 Total legal residents		***2005 naturalized citizens	2005 3rd-crountry residents +naturalized citizens	2005 % of naturalization for each region or country
EU	569,284	20.7%	12,439	581,723	2.1%
Rest of Europe	337,177**	12.3%	3,943	341,120	1.2%
Total Europe	906,461	33.1%	16,382	922,843	1.8%
Latin America (including Mexico)	986,178	36%	146,519	1,132,697	12.9%
**Colombia*	204,348	7.5%	19,714	224,062	8.8%
**Ecuador*	357,065	13%	21,357	378,422	5.6%
North America (Canada & the U.S.)	17,052	0.6%	1,338	18,390	7.3%
Africa	649,251	23.7%	48,488	697,739	6.9%
**Morocco*	493,114	18%	36,870	529,984	6.95%
Asia	177,423	6.5%	20,324	197,747	10.3%
**China*	85,745	3%	3,121	88,866	3.5%
Oceania	1,466	0.05%	47	1,513	3.1%
Other* **	1,101	0.04%	587	1,688	34.8%
Total	**2,738,932**		**234,694**	**2,973,626**	****Average by region: 7%**

Source: Plan Ciudadanía e Integración 2007-2010; www.extranjeros.mtas.es/
Anuarios Migraciones 2000-2005; www.extranjeros.mtas.es/

*	Countries that contribute most to migratory influx in Spain
**	Stateless persons and others
***	based on records from 1992 - 2005
****	This is not including stateless persons and others. This percentage based on region is rather high in comparison to the overall percentage because the European population represents about one third of the population and has a low naturalization since 1992. Also, this is an overall rate from 1992 —2005, not a yearly rate.*Rainer Bauböck, Transnational Citizenship p 247*

Spanish Judiciary: How exactly are immigrants considered to be equal?

Since up until quite recently Spain has been known as a country of emigrants, not immigrants, it has been lagging behind in its approaches towards its incorporation of third-country nationals within its borders. In order to fully understand the formation of its present-day legislation on foreigners' rights and integration, one must look back to Spain's 1985 legislation on is more detailed in regards to the subject and how they both relate to the Spanish Constitution of 1978.

In the First Title of the 1985 legislation, passed by the socialist government, PSOE, states that foreigners in Spain will have the rights and liberties recognized in the First Title of the Spanish Constitution by the terms that are stated in this same law. In other words, they have the same rights in the Constitution, but they are restricted by the Law of 1985. It states, "Los extranjeros gozaran en España de los derechos y libertades reconocidos en el Título 1 de la Constitución, en los términos establecidos en la presente Ley y en las que regulan el ejercicio de cada uno de ellos." (Ley Orgánica 7/1985 Art. 4) Basically, except for the right to suffrage which is limited to those that come from countries where there is a reciprocal agreement, allowing municipal voting (EU state agreements as an example) rights are granted to foreigners, but not under totally equal conditions. Also under Article 4, it states that foreigners will be subject to tasks and obligations allowed by the Juridical Order except for those that exclusively correspond to Spaniards. Throughout, foreigners are referred to when they are legally residing in the country and those without documentation are not mentioned.

Article 6 allows for the right to free movement within Spanish borders while allowing that the ministry of Interior may individually control such movement by determinant reasons of public security by: first, periodic presentation before competent

authorities; second, staying away from frontiers or certain populated areas; and third, obligatory residence in a determined area. Article 7 allows for the right to meeting, always keeping in mind that one resides legally within Spanish territory and in order to celebrate private meetings behind closed doors or in public spaces, like a protest, one must ask for authorization from the Province's governor. The governor has the right to change the date, place, duration and itinerary at will. When compared to the Constitution and how the right to meeting is allowed to Spaniards, yes they must be communicated to the authorities, but they can only be prohibited if there are existing reasons founded in the alteration of public order, putting in danger people or goods.[113]

The right to association for Spaniards is restricted by the following: that which is seen as with criminal intent are illegal, those associations under the protection of the same article should be registered, associations can only be dissolved by a judicial resolution, and secret associations and paramilitary associations are prohibited.[114] On the other hand, the right to association for third-country residents is different in the sense that any association that has half of the total and one member more that are third-country nationals must be reported within 15 days to the Ministry of Interior.[115] The Judicial Authorities also reserve the right to cancel activities. Article 9 allows for the right to education to those that reside legally within Spanish borders as well as the right to the creation and direction of educational centers. Article 10 allows for the right to syndicate affiliation and strike under the same conditions of Spaniards. Not present in the 1985 legislation, but in the Regalement of 1986, is the changes in alterations of

[113] Constitución Española de 1978, Título Primero, Capítulo Primero, Artículo 21.
[114] Constitución Española de 1978, Título Primero, Capítulo Primero, Artículo 22.
[115] Reglamento de ejecución de la Ley Orgánica 7/1985, de 1-7-1985, sobre derechos y libertades, Capítulo 5, Artículo 71.

situation and communication where legal foreign residents must inform the Police Commission of any change in residency, nationality or employment within 15 days.[116]

Clearly the law of 1985 was quite restrictive in the sense that it did not fully allow the same rights to third-country nationals as it did to its citizens. What is interesting is how the law changed in 1996 and 2000, while it always concentrates on legal residents, not illegal, non-documented residents. In the 1996 law, in Article 1, the second point states that foreigners are equal to Spaniards by law according to International Treaties, specifically the International Pact of Civil and Political Rights of December 19th 1966. In Article 2, rights of the person are defined as rights "inherent to people," again mentioning that they are equal to Spaniards, along with the right to education in the same condition as Spaniards and right to legal representation if arrested, assisted by an interpreter, if needed, and without charge. The evident change here, is the legislation's insistence on "rights as a person" that are equal to a Spaniard's. Another clarification, while not outright change, is the right to movement (Art. 3) where it is more clearly specified that a legal foreign resident has the right to change residency without limit, but still maintaining that such residency can be controlled regarding Article 6 of the 1985 law. On the other hand, there was a definite change in the right of meeting in Article 19 that specifies that foreign residents may meet behind closed doors without prior authorization, while the same rules apply to them in regards to public manifestations as stated in the Constitution and the Law of 1985. Another change, is the declaration of the right to assistance and social "lending" in Article 8, which refers to Social Security matters such as unemployment. Article 9 refers to the right to Healthcare, 9 to the right of the foundation of businesses and 11 to the access of the exercise of professional degrees following the set rules of each individual profession.

[116] Reglamento de ejecución de la Ley Orgánica 7/1985, de 1-7-1985, sobre derechos y libertades, Capítulo 5, Artículo 73.

In the year 2000, the 1985 law was replaced and even more interesting is the Reform of that law the same year.[117] Here, the real significance in the fact that Spain is recognized as a country of migratory destination as well as a transitory admittance into the European Union borders. Most interesting is its change in title from that of simply rights and liberties to that of integration of immigrants as well. In Chapter IV of the same preamble, it states that the governments of the European Union in October of 1999 came to the agreement that third-country nationals should receive just treatment in Member States and that a policy of integration should allow for rights and obligations comparable to that of citizens of the Union so that there would be an absence of discrimination in economic, social and cultural life and a development of methods against racism and xenophobia.[118]

Article 6 of the 2000 Immigration Law is about Public Participation and is of great interest in regards to the central theme of this paper. It states that foreign legal residents that are unable to vote, but can elect through democratic forms their representatives so that they may take part in debates and municipal decisions that concern them, conformed with local legislation. Also, local city halls are required to maintain an up to date register of foreigners in their locality and even facilitate the exercise of suffrage of foreigners in their country of origin. Thus, the Spanish government is encouraging a possibly collective manner in which to participate in the

[117] "La reforma de la Ley Orgánica 4/2000 parte de la situación y características de la población extranjera en España, no sólo en la actualidad, sino de cara a los años venideros, regulándose la inmigración desde la consideración de ésta como un hecho estructural que se ha convertido a España en un país de destino de los flujos migratorios y, por su situación, también en un punto de tránsito hacia otros Estados, cuyos controles fronterizos en las rutas desde el nuestro han sido eliminados o reducidos sustancialmente. Por otra parte, esta normativa forma parte de un planteamiento global y coordinado en el tratamiento del fenómeno migratorio en España, que contempla desde una visión amplia todos los aspectos vinculados al mismo, y, por ello, no sólo desde una única perspectiva, como pueda ser la del control de flujos, la dela integración de los residentes extranjeros, o la del codesarrollo de los países de origen, sino todas ellas conjuntamente." (Reforma de la Ley Orgánica 4/2000, Exposición de Motivos Capítulo I)

[118] Reforma de la Ley Orgánica 4/2000, de 11-1-2000 (RCL 2000\72 y 209), sobre derechos y libertades de los extranjeros en España y su integración social.

public sphere. The collective groups are not clearly identified as ethnic groups as in other corporate models but as they increase in numbers and further generations, could become collective groups in the future. In a sense, this still maintains itself within the definition of the Liberal Model of Incorporation. In regards to the right of meeting and association, all legal foreign residents follow the exact same rules as Spaniards. While they continue to have the right to education, Infantile Education is also a concern in that the Spanish government guarantees a sufficient number of voluntary placements to assure the school enrollment of the population that solicits it (nursery school starting at age three). Third-country nationals also have the right to advanced voluntary education as well as any scholarships or financial aid. Even more important is the right to education for the betterment of social integration, recognizing and respecting their cultural identity.[119] In Article 10, they have the right to work as contracted personnel in Public Administration but not as civil servants.

While National Forums working in an effort to deal with the immigration issue in Spain started in 1994, officially legislated in 1995 (Real Decreto 490/1995)[120], the latest is from the Ministry of the Presidency, in Real Decreto 3/2006 on the 16th of January 2006, a Forum on the Social Integration of Immigrants. It is outlined as an organ of consulting, information and assessment along with immigrant associations and social support organizations such as worker unions and business organizations that have an interest in immigration. There are thirty members to the Forum, ten from the Public Administration, ten from immigrant and refugee representatives belonging to legal associations and ten belonging to worker unions and businesses with an interest in immigration. The forum is meant to be an organization that tracts the integration of

[119] Reforma de la Ley Orgánica 4/2000, de 11-1-2000 (RCL 2000\72 y 209), sobre derechos y libertades de los extranjeros en España y su integración social, Artículo 9.
[120] Ministerio de trabajo y asuntos sociales. *Memoria 2006 Foro par la Integración Social de los inmigrantes,* http://www.mtas.es

immigrants, develops reports on the state of their integration, and plans and programs at a national and international level.[121] Depending upon its ultimate outcome, this could be the first step towards a corporate system of integration and incorporation of the immigrant minority in the Spanish system.

[121] Real Decreto 3/2006, Ministerio de la Presidencia.

Autonomous Regions and Integration

In regards to the integration of immigration, agreements (*convenios*) were signed with various Autonomous Communities, including Andalucía, Aragón, Asturias, Baleares, Canarias, Cantabria, Castilla-La Mancha, Castilla y Leóan, Cataluña, Extremadura, Galicia, Madrid, Murcia, Rioja, Comunidad Valenciana and the Autonomous Cities of Ceuta and Melilla located on the African coast. For example, there is a program called GRECO (Global de Regulación y Coordinación de la Extranjería y la Inmigración en España for the period of 2002-2004. In the year 2004 it had a budget of 3,785,890 euros where each Autonomous Community should have contributed at least 50 percent for any subsidized programs including: information, orientation and socio-labor assessment; basic reception; sensitivity programs fighting against discrimination and promotion of citizen participation.[122]

For example, in Madrid there is a Regional Plan for Immigration currently for the years 2005-2008 (formerly 2001-2004) which plans to define the actual state of immigration in Madrid, realize a diagnostic of their reception, generate a process of investigation and open dialogue involving the administration, social entities associations, and implicated actors in order to promote tolerance and integration and come to a consensus within the Madrid Community in regards to immigration policy. Those involved are a group of university affiliates and mainly volunteer associations. (For instance: Universidad Compultense, Cruz Roja, IESA, FEMP; PROVIVIENDA; APOI; CEAR etc) As such, this applies again to the liberal model of immigrant integration, which sees immigrants as individuals, and generally allows the private

[122] Dirección General de Integración de los Inmigrantes, Convenios con las Comunidades Autónomas para la realización de programas de integración social de inmigrantes, solicitantes de asilo, refugiados y desplazados

sphere to rely on NGOs to deal with the immigrant situation. While the Spanish government subsidizes these organizations, this does not exactly qualify it as a Statist Model in that it is not the state that coordinates everything, but private entities. OFRIM (Oficina Regional para la inmigración de la Comunidad de Madrid) is a center that is linked to the Dirección General de Inmigración, Cooperación al Desarrollo y Voluntariado de la Consejería de Familia y Asuntos Sociales de la Comunidad de Madrid, but it is managed by the Red Cross and its function is information, orientation, support and technical assessment. APOI is an NGO that is dedicated to the integration of Eastern Europe immigrants and works with the Spanish Catholic Association and the Red Cross. The EMSI is another NGO that is affiliated with the Madrid Government but again it is managed by the Red Cross and involved in the education of intercultural sensitivity. CASI (Centros de Atención Social a Inmigrantes) seems to be the only organization that is clearly organized by the Community of Madrid and deals with the urgency of immigrants that find themselves especially vulnerable. There is also a housing program for immigrants in regards to renting, mortgages and shared flats. In the case of buying a house or flat an immigrant must be a regular resident in Madrid and have a savings of 20 to 30 percent of the price of the house or flat. In regards to sharing a flat, the immigrant must be in a state of special vulnerability, social exclusion, emergency in regards to their sex, age, work precariousness, sickness or incapacity or be professionals that are in contact with this population. There is also a program specially designated for support to those female immigrants that are victims of abuse and it is coordinated and managed by CASI. Finally, CASI is also involved in a program to help immigrants in the case of social exclusion in coordination with NGOs such as the RAIS Foundation as well as the Spanish Red Cross and Caribú.[123] Overall, it seems that

[123] Dirección General de Inmigración, Cooperación al Desarrollo y Voluntariado, Plan Regional para la Inmigración de la Comunidad de Madrid 2005-2008

integration is concentrated mainly on extreme cases of violence, exclusion and initial receiving of the immigrant population in need and is not exactly clear in how it attempts to integrate any immigrants on a permanent basis. Still, they do allow for interested parties to have a formal circle in which to inform and act on a regional basis.

In regards to education, immigrants are guaranteed the right to education for the betterment of social integration while recognizing and respecting their cultural identity, by the 2000 law.[124] Following the Ley Orgánica 10/2002 students unfamiliar with the Spanish language or those that are of economic need, should be assisted by specialized programs in order to facilitate their integration and educational level. At all times, it is specified that immigrant children are guaranteed the same rights as Spanish students to the incorporation into the Spanish school system. The actual implementation is again up to the Autonomous Communities, except for Melilla and Ceuta, that are coordinated directly by the Ministry of Education.

Currently, there are seven programs including: extraordinary support to immigrants for Spanish language instruction, special courses and workshops for immigrants that are in danger of being marginalized, sexual education against phenomenon such as pornography, sexual offences and prostitution, plan against infantile abuse, action for socio-community development locally, action to favor social and scholarly integration (prevention of racism and the fomentation of tolerance) and social and scholarly integration of minors affected by judicial measures and high risk. There also several plans in regards to the formation of young and adult immigrants in the following areas: the reinforcement of school enrollment aimed at those of 14-18 years of age, a Formation and Insertion Plan into the workforce for those of 16-24 years of age, a separate plan for women's entry into the workforce, plan of entry and school

[124] Reforma de la Ley Orgánica 4/2000, de 11-1-2000 (RCL 2000\72 y 209), sobre derechos y libertades de los extranjeros en España y su integración social, Art 9.

enrollment for those 25 and older and finally a plan for basic formation such as computer skills for those 25 and older. [125]

Since 1992, there has been an agreement signed by Spain and Morocco in which a mixed group of experts coordinate a Program of Education of the Arab language and culture in Spanish public schools. Spain must facilitate the educational facilities and classrooms necessary and Morocco must supply the teachers necessary for the program. Autonomous Communities included in the program are: Andalucía, Aragón, Islas Baleares, Canarias, Castilla de al Mancha, Cataluña, Extremadura, Galicia, Madrid, La Rioja, Valencia, and the Basque Country. The amount of schools and Moroccan teachers is based upon the number of Moroccan students in the schools. With very few students, the Moroccan teacher teaches outside of normal school hours in various schools while in areas that have a greater number of Moroccan students, classes are given during normal school hours. The greatest number is in Cataluña with 38 schools, 15 Moroccan teachers and 978 Moroccan students and Madrid with 29 schools, 11 Moroccan teachers and 604 Moroccan students. Similarly, there is another program based on an agreement signed in 1970 that deals with Portuguese speaking foreign students and allows for 96 schools throughout the autonomous communities in which native Portuguese speaking teachers teach simultaneously with Spanish teachers.[126]

In regards to Spanish political parties, there does not seem to be any direct coalition with immigrant association. UGT (Unión General de Trabajadores) the leftist coalition is indignant with the Spanish government's treatment of illegal aliens without documentation and with its recent Amnesty legislation, which it claims to be excluding and restrictive.[127] One complaint is the recent allowing of access by the municipal

[125] Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, Programas de Inmigrantes
[126] Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, Programas de Inmigrantes
[127] López, Susana. (Responsable del Area Federal de Migraciones de IU) *El PSOE, la inmigración y la Ley de Extranjería*

police to the "padrón municipal," information that is protected from the police in the case of nationals. In regards to the PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero Español), there does not seem to be any formal declaration as to its position although it does suggest that immigrants should have the right to vote in municipal and autonomous elections, regardless whether or not they are from a European Union member state.[128] On the right, the PP (Partido Popular) concentrates mainly on errors that the current government has made in regards to Amnesty, and insists in the party's lack of racial discrimination within its organization, and the necessity of its lack thereof within Spanish society. The PP even directly mentions that the birth rate is going down in Spain, making it necessary economically to integrate immigrants into Spanish society while recognizing its numerical limitations. In fact there seems to be a "'pacto de silencio'" in general and a social fear of addressing the immigration situation in Spain by all political parties involved, the right's message overly simple and clear and the left's not completely formed.[129] At all times, such immigration must be legal and respect the law.[130] In each instance, the immigrant population is treated on an individual basis, not corporate or collective and while the left may wish for a further opening of Spanish immigration policy, the government's actual policy under PSOE and PP is and was that of economic necessity, and its geographical location as an entry state into the EU. In any case, it is the autonomous regions that are seen as the principal actors in regards to integration on a local level.[131] In other words, localities are the true

[128] *El PSOE quiere que los extranjeros extracomunitarios voten en las autonómicas y municipales* http://www.psoe.es

[129] Zapata Barrero, Ricard. "Bases para interpretar la multiculturalidad en España." pg. 223.
[130] Díaz de la Mera, Augustín. El problema de la inmigración: Su dimensión europea.
[131] Joaquín Giró Miranda insists:"Entretanto son los Ayuntamientos las primeras instituciones públicas quienes por su proximidad a la ciudadanía deben desarrollar las políticas de acogida. Y también es el caso de la red de asociaciones de apoyo a los inmigrantes (voluntariado y ONGs, además de sindicatos y un cierto asociacionismo étnico que aún está en sus prolegómenos) que con el tiempo se ha consolidado hasta el punto de impulsar y ofrecer políticas de integración ciudadana a los colectivos de inmigrantes que se han asentado en la geografía española." (Giró Miranda 159)

nuclei of incorporation and integration for immigrant populations. While that state may recommend and finance treatment and programs, it is the autonomous communities and, above all, the city halls that are meant to bring about integral action.

Collective Treatment of Immigrant Populations in Spain

Collectives groups of immigrants in the form of associations have been in existence for quite some time and they have had a limited voice in the government in the form of representatives in the *Foro para la integración,* since the mid-nineties. Even so, while their groups were originally based upon finite countries of origin, most have branched out in offering their services to all those that may require assistance, regardless of their origins simply out of need for assistance based upon the great numbers of new immigration. Also, there does not seem to be a clear and defined act of the Spanish state that indicates the treatment of immigrant minorities as collective entities. The Spanish state may expect them to organize themselves and apply to the state for representation as opposed to automatically putting them into subgroups, but such encouragement for immigrant associations to organize themselves into subgroups is only for the sake of competing for state subsidies, not necessarily as a direct focus for immigrant integration policy.

The Boletín Estadístico de Extranjería e Inmigración of 2007 states that the those paying into Social Security has increased by 4.1 million people since 2001 in which 41% of that increase (1.7 million) has been from foreign workers. There has also been a descent in unemployment since December of 2006, as of July 2007 from 12.69% to 7.56% of the total of unemployed among foreign workers.[132] On the 16th of February 2007, the PSOE led government, to be exact the Ministry Council, approved the proposal from the Ministry of Work and Social Issues suggesting a Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración 2007-2010.[133]

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[132]Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales. *Boletín Estadístico de Extranjería e Inmigración*; Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración; July 2007.
http://extranjeros.mtas.es/es/general/BoletindeExtranjeria-num-13-Web.pdf

[133]The plan is based upon three points:
"· El plan va dirigido al conjunto de la población y está orientado a potenciar la cohesión social a través de las políticas basadas en la igualdad de oportunidades y la igual dad de derechos y deberes.

Also, the plan is part of the four pillars that make up the "política integral de inmigración" that was put in place by the government in 2004. The first pillar is the integration of immigrants, the second the fight against illegal immigration, the third being the linking of legal immigrant necessities of the job market and the fourth the cooperation of the development of the countries of origin. What strikes one as interesting in regards to the plan is firstly, its title Strategic Plan of *Citizenship* and Integration. It is not just a plan for the integration of its immigrants, but supposedly one of citizenship. Secondly, in its first point, rights are mentioned, as well as responsibilities. Finally, in the third point, it is outright pointed out that the cooperation of independent actors, such as the Autonomous Communities, city halls, social agents, immigrant associations and NGOs, is to be expected. Straight out, the focus is all at once liberal, because of its bottom up structural dependence upon local entities.

All at once, when the reader is lead to believe that such state organization could really constitute a labeling of the Spanish treatment of immigrants as statist, in the very "Nota de Prensa" sent out by the Ministry of Employment and Social Issues announces that the plan is just an outline of possible action, not a direct order on how to act.

> "El Gobierno ha diseñado este Plan Estratégico de Integración con el objetivo de que no sea un proyecto exclusivo del Estado, sino que se configure como un marco de cooperación en el que se incluyan las iniciativas de las distintas Administraciones Públicas y de la sociedad civil."[134]

As a result, all ideas that the state is issuing a direct plan on how the government, local and federal is to deal with their sudden increase in immigration, is right there and then eliminated in almost every sense of the word. The true approach then, still is

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· El presupuesto alcanza los 2.005.017.091 euros, destacando las áreas de educación, acogida y empleo.
· Con la máxima participación y concertación social e institucional. En su elaboración han colaborado CC.AA, ayuntamientos, agentes sociales, asociaciones de inmigrantes y ONGs y cuenta con el informe favorable del Foro para la Integración Social de los Inmigrantes."Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales. Nota de Prensa: El Gobierno aprueba el Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración 2007-2010; www.tt.mtas.es/periodico

[134] Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales. Nota de Prensa: El Gobierno aprueba el Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración 2007-2010; www.tt.mtas.es/periodico

represented in its purest form as liberal, down-up and dependent upon private forces such as associations and NGOs. Yes, quite a bit of money will be thrown at the situation by the state itself, but again, most of it will concentrate on the initial welcoming and assistance of the immigrant, education and their insertion into the workplace. For the Spanish government, up until now these quite obviously are their most important, and needed areas of concern. In order for this to take place, it will be done by those who are closest to the situation, the towns, villages, cities and autonomous regions. Such an approach does make sense, considering the de-centralized nature of the Spanish state in general. In effect, the actual organization and spending of the budget will be left to local authorities under state supervision.

Another interesting aspect of the plan are its ten objectives, none of which are especially surprising except for the very first one, in that it wishes to guarantee the exercise of civil, social, economic, cultural and *political* rights. Immigrant political rights, currently non-existent in any direct form, are mentioned, though briefly in the area of "Participation" in the plan which will be the focus of an endeavor to take a closer look at the project.

All eleven "medidas de intervención" of the plan, again, follow the treatment of immigrants as separate entities to the population that are guaranteed almost all civil rights, all social rights and basically no political rights except for the section that covers "Participation." The twelve "medidas", or measures, are : Initial welcome into the country (acogida), education, employment, housing, social services, health, infancy and young people, equal treatment, women, participation, public sensitivity (sensibilización), and co-development. The following is a table that summarizes briefly each objective or measure.

Table 3.7- Measures of Intervention for the Strategic plan for Citizenship and Immigration 2007-2010

Medidas de Intervención del Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Inmigración 2007-2010

Initial Welcome	➢ Supply immigrants with tools necessary to become sufficiently autonomous in order to have access to goods and services in equal conditions as those of the native population. ➢ Articulate a nation-wide welcoming network able to provide integral solutions to those immigrants that are particularly vulnerable or those that have special needs.
Education	➢ Guarantee an equal obligatory education in equal conditions with that of the native population. ➢ Guarantee a quality obligatory education to all students regardless of condition or background of each student. ➢ Transform the educational system so that it may be adequate for the needs of a diverse student body, acquiring knowledge and intercultural competence. ➢ Transform schools into environments in which communication, cooperation and integration can thrive. ➢ Facilitate the immigrant further, non-obligatory education. ➢ Better the access to adult education and training. ➢ Better the transfer of foreign academic degrees.
Employment	➢ Guarantee the equality of rights and responsibilities of employment and Social Security. ➢ Better the management of migratory flows. ➢ Promote the maintenance of employment. Professional promotion and training and competence of the immigrant workers for job opportunities. ➢ Better the devices of intermediation in the job market. ➢ Fight the irregular hiring and contracting of immigrants in the "illegal" market. ➢ Fight against discrimination and for equal access of opportunities for immigrants in the job market and in businesses. ➢ Foment a diverse management in businesses.
Housing	➢ Increase protected housing and promote a greater equilibrium for collectives with lower incomes. ➢ Prevent neighborhoods that are solely those of low-income inhabitants. ➢ Fight discrimination of immigrants in the housing market. ➢ Better the co-existence and prevent residential segregation.
Social Services	➢ Adjust the public social service system to the needs of a more diverse society in order to guarantee an equal minimal amount of access to all citizens.*[135] ➢ Supply equal social services to all citizens that are in special need of help. ➢ Develop methods of institutional coordination of management and information so that different administrations and entities that work in the social service sector will have access to. ➢

[135] *Here there is a bit of confusion, and responsibility, as to the use of the word "citizen" as it is assumes that access to social citizens is open not just to actual citizens but also to permanent residents by law.

Health	➢ Guarantee the right to the protection of their health to all immigrants. ➢ Better the identification of the health necessities of the immigrant population. ➢ Better the training of health personnel and management techniques for the health of the immigrant population.
Infancy and Young People	➢ Favor the access of immigrant minors and young people for programs for children and young people. ➢ Promote the attention and social intervention for immigrant children and young immigrants in vulnerable situations. ➢ Support the social participation of immigrant children and young people
Equal Treatment	➢ Fight against the discrimination for racial or ethnic reasons so as to guarantee equal opportunity. ➢ Include equal treatment in all public policy. ➢ Start the promotion of instruments of equal treatment against discrimination for racial or ethnic reasons.
Women	➢ Incorporate the theme of different sexes into all the phases of migratory policy. ➢ Favor the normalized access of immigrant women into programs made especially for women in general. ➢ Facilitate the integration of especially vulnerable immigrant women.
Participation	➢ Consolidate the immigrant association movement and their interaction with the already existing associations. ➢ Increase the level of participation of immigrants in general associations. ➢ Increase and better the political participation of immigrant citizens.
Public Sensitivity	➢ Better the public image of immigration and promote positive aspects of a diverse society. ➢ Generate attitude changes towards immigration.
Co-Development: **Migrations and Development**	➢ Identify and promote development opportunities in countries of origin. ➢ Incorporate the co-development perspective into the process of immigrant integration.

Source: Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales.

Nota de Prensa: El Gobierno aprueba el Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración 2007-2010; www.tt.mtas.es/periodico

Overall, as one can see, the plan seems to be an enormous undertaking in a sense, especially considering that it is set forth as a simple "reference" for autonomous communities and localities to follow. Even so, it seems to deal with practically every immediate topic imaginable in relation to the integration of immigrants into the social, civic, and even political realms. Still, while its title may allude to the fact, it is not as outright as it should be in defining absolute integration as the acquirement of citizenship. Such lack of clarity through omission shows a resultant lack of transparency and responsibility. The fact that a minimal equality of social services is stated as a guarantee to citizens only, is actually contrary to the very constitution. It can be assumed that such misuse of the term citizen is solely an accident, but if it is not, there is a call for even more concern in regards to the plan. Assuming that the misuse of the term citizen is simply a fleeting mistake, let us recall Marshall's three parts of true citizenship: civil freedoms of person, speech, thought, religion, choice of work and justice; political rights such as the right to participate in the exercise of political power either as a member or a voter in parliaments or councils; and social rights such as access to the social welfare state. Within the plan, all aspects are addressed and it even goes so far as to treat immigrants directly as citizens by referencing the rights towards them as such. Even the political aspect as such is treated by suggesting the possibility of the local vote to third-country nationals in hope of further integrating themselves into the society.

If one is to look closer into the plan at the specifications of furthering immigrant participation, one will find that such participation, in direct imitation of the values of citizenship within a society, is considered to be an integral part of an immigrant's

integration.[136] Not only is it an integral part on immigrant integration, but it is actually a way in which to measure said integration, along with all other policy. Without it, an immigrant can never be fully integrated. Still, does that mean that the immigrant is really integrated, or simply that the possibility of further integration is offered? The government still will not be able to force anyone to participate, but at least the option is an open one. The plan even refers to the concept of "civic citizenship" which is an idea from the European Commission in which immigrants could slowly gain rights and obligations over a period of several years so that they may eventually have the same rights and obligations of citizens even though they have not been naturalized. This could somehow be a first step in the process of naturalization. The plan also refers positively to the readiness of more European countries to allow naturalization in general but it does not mention dual nationality.

Later on, in the section of Participation under Objectives and Programs, the corporate approach again comes to light. The state does not create immigrants associations, but instead helps (apoyo) to create them, or facilitate their creation and maintenance.[137] It seems that the idea of increasing the support of existing associations

[136] "La participación activa de las personas inmigrantes en todos los ámbitos sociales y en los asuntos públicos es el elemento clave, más allá de la igualdad en derechos y deberes con la población autóctona, para hablar propiamente de que han accedido a la condición de ciudadanos y ciudadanas. Sólo una sociedad en la que las personas inmigrantes participan en pie de igualdad con la población autóctona podrá considerarse una sociedad inclusiva, cohesionada y capaz de generar un sentimiento de pertenencia entre la población inmigrada. *De ahí que el grado de participación social se convierta en la piedra de toque que permite medir el éxito o el fracaso de una sociedad a la hora de integrar a los nuevos ciudadanos*, así como de las políticas de integración desarrolladas por los poderes públicos."Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales. *Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Inmigración* 2007-2010; http://www.mtas.es; 8.10. Participación.

[137] "Es preciso reforzar el aún incipiente tejido asociativo inmigrante. Simultáneamente, se trata de asegurar que el movimiento asociativo inmigrante *no evolucione en un sentido aislacionista o de repliegue identitario,* sino, al contrario, que sirva para multiplicar las interacciones con la población autóctona y mejorar el conocimiento, el aprendizaje y la adaptación mutua. Para ello, es preciso fomentar las acciones de intercambio de conocimientos y de parten arriado con asociaciones y organizaciones sociales de ámbito más general, y, en particular, con las organizaciones de apoyo a la inmigración.
Igualmente, resulta de especial importancia incidir en el asociacionismo de ámbito local, por su vinculación con la convivencia y las interacciones cotidianas de personas autóctonas e inmigrantes, y por ser un ámbito privilegiado de participación ciudadana."Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales. *Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Inmigración* 2007-2010; http://www.mtas.es; 8.10. Participación 2. Objetivos y programas: Objetivo 1.

and supporting the creation of new associations is directly linked to the perceived interaction of such associations with existing Spanish associations, so that its principle is not solely to give the immigrant a voice in his/her representation, but also to facilitate a close relationship between associations, immigrant or native. Isolationism is what is to be hoped to be avoided.

The foremost intent to avoid such isolation of existing association is the "Foro para la integración social de los inmigrantes". On the 16th of January 2006, the Ministry of the President decreed the objective, nature and function of the Foro. The "Objeto" is considered to be as a "…finalidad de servir a la participaciόm y la integración de éstos[los inmigrantes] en la sociedad española." Its judicial nature is one of "...consulta, información y asesoramiento, adscrito al Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales, a través de la Dirección General de Integración de los Inmigrantes." It functions include: the formulating of proposals for integration; receiving information of programs and activities in Autonomous Communities and localities; asking for information about social organizations involved in immigration in order to facilitate co-existence of the native and immigrant populations; formulating an annual report about the immigrant and refugee integration; formulating reports about proposals, plans and programs; promoting and investigating subjects related to said integration; cooperating with international, autonomous or local organizations; or any other acts that are considered necessary in dealing with the integration of legal immigrants in Spain. Any proposal, plans or acts are to be sent through the Secretary of State of Immigration and Emigration (Secretaría de Estado de Inmigración y Emigración) and passed by the General State Administration (Administración General de Estado) for approval.

Even more important is the composition of the Foro which is headed by the president, appointed by the Minister of Employment and Social Issues. The first vice-

president is elected by the members and the second will be the General Director of Integration of Immigrants of the Ministry of Employment and Social Issues. The secretary is the Sub director of International Relations of the General Directors of the Integration of Immigrants. Basically, the heads of the Foro are all appointed except for one of the vice-presidents who is voted in by all members. That said, the members are six representatives of the General State Administration, two representatives of the Autonomous Communities, two representatives of the local administration, ten in representation of immigrants and refugees through associations, and ten in representation as social support groups(six of those from NGOs, two from unions, and two from business organizations). The members of the Foro are expected to serve the following functions: participate in debates and offer proposals, participate in committees and work groups; exercise the right to vote (the members may abstain except for those representing the administration); provide information; formulate questions and petitions and any other functions deemed necessary for the members. Observers are also welcome, not from the administration but from social support groups or associations that are in some way able to contribute to integration, although they have no vote, just a voice.

On the 12th of May 2006 the Foro members were officially chosen after an extensive application process for the associations:

Table 3.8 - Chosen members for participation in the *Foro para la integración social de los inmigrantes*

Immigrant and Refugee Associations	Social Support Oraganizations
➢ Asociación de trabajadores e Inmigrantes Marroquíes en España (ATIME) ➢ América-España Solidaridad y Cooperación (AESCO) ➢ Asociación Socio-Cultural Ibn Batuta (ASCIB) ➢ Voluntariado de Madres Dominicanas-Voluntariado Integración Colectivos Internacionales de Trabajadores (VOMADE-VINCIT) ➢ Asociación de Refugiados e Inmigrantes Peruanos (ARI-PERÚ) ➢ Asociación Rumiñahui Hispano-Ecuatoriana para Colaboración al desarrollo de África y América Latina ➢ Asociación de Chinos en España (ACHE) ➢ Asociación de Cooperación Bolivia-España (ACOBE) ➢ Federación de Asociaciones de Inmigrantes Rumanos en España (FEDROM) ➢ Asociación de Inmigrantes Búlgaros en España (AIBE BALSAN)	➢ Cruz Roja Española ➢ Cáritas Española ➢ Asociación Comisión Católica Española de Migración (ACCEM) ➢ Consorcio de Entidades para la Acción Integral con Inmigrantes ➢ Red Acoge ➢ Asociación de Solidaridad con los trabajadores Inmigrantes (ASTI) ➢ Comisiones Obreras ➢ Confederación Española de Organizaciones Empresariales ➢ Confederación Española de la Pequeña y Mediana Empresa ➢ Unión General de Trabajadores

Overall, while it is clear that they represent their associates, not the entire immigrant population, mathematically there is not such a bad representation of immigrants in Spain since Latin America does represent the biggest population presence as a region (while Moroccans are the biggest as a country) in Spain at 36%, followed by Africans at 23.7% with Moroccans at 18% although the Chinese only really represent 3% of the 6.5% of the Asians, (2005-not including EU immigrants who already have at least a municipal vote). The Romanians and Bulgarians are a curious choice as they have become part of the European Union but do not have all the same rights as regular

members to vote in municipal elections, migratory rights, free movement of goods, taxation etc. and are so restricted that they cannot be piled onto the same category as other EU state members.[138] Finally, the associations will exist as members for three years, not counting the members from the Public Administration.

The *Foro* has at least three meetings a year. As of February 2007, it has decreed that it should follow the guidelines set out by the European Parliament that has established the year 2007 as the European Year for Equality and of Opportunities for All. The decision outlines four objectives for the year: rights, representation, recognition and respect. In June, four commissions or work groups were formed: Education and Sensitivity, Employment and Training, Integration Policy and Participation, and Judicial, European Union and Issues. A permanent commission was also formed with President Lorenzo Cachón, Vicepresident Kamal Rahmouni as representative of the Moroccan ATIME, Vicepresident Estrella Rodríguez Pardo as General Director of Immigrant Integration and Secretary Irene García Suárez also from the Administration. The six members are from FEDROM (Romania), UGT (Workers Union), AESCO (América-España), ACCEM (Spanish Catholic Commission), CEPAIM (Immigrant Consort) and FEMP (Spanish Municipal and Provincial Federation).

Another state organization worth mentioning is the Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración which is basically an institution dedicated to gathering and dispersing information through offering statistics, publications and documents to the public. Also, there is the Observatorio Español del Racismo y la Xenofobia which is another institution that provides dialogues and activities dealing with racism and xenophobia.

[138] Official Journal of the European union. L 363 Volume 49 20 December 2006

Before moving on, let us take a quick look back to the defining questions as to the classification of a state's dealings with their immigrant populations as statist, corporate, or liberal:

Table 1.7 - Classifying Factors of Incorporation Models

Relationship between state and individual?	Statist	Corporate	Liberal
Type of right assigned as?	individual	group	individual
Who organizes the relationship?	State through the state	Private group through the state	Private group/individual through private group/individual
How is the right exercised?	individually	Individually and *collectively*	individually

As one can see, as each question is asked: the type of right is assigned as an individual(liberal) and a group through the *Foro* (corporate), the relationship is organized by the state private groups and the individual (statist, corporate and liberal) and the right is exercised individually and collectively(liberal and corporate). It is the Foro that brings the corporate aspect into light more than ever, but the liberal side is not abandoned since immigrants are, as of now, seen as basically individuals with equal rights(except of course for the educational treatment that is offered to the Portuguese and the Moroccans in the public school system as noted before) and allowing that their entrance is based upon market needs each year. As the *Foro* evolves, with its corporate system in place, it could be that the system becomes more and more corporate. The immigrant associations could fight for special treatment of the groups that they are there

to represent, and since the state has organized this corporate relationship it would be only natural that the groups represented will receive some sort of directed treatment of their populations.

Even so, after interviewing the majority of the actors involved in the *Forum*, that does not seem to be the case. Practically all those involved are more interested in treating the immigrant as a citizen like anyone else, a "normalized" individual. While the term "Normalization" may sound somewhat patronizing in English, giving one the impression that immigrants must not be normal in the first place, it simply means in Spanish that their situation be normalized in the sense that they become an integrated part of society with the same rights and responsibilities as anyone else. The word "Intercultural" came up quite often in defining an intermediate concept of integration between what is known as the French and Anglo-Saxon models (Assimilation vs. Multicultural) which has also been classified in this paper as Statist and Liberal. The difference between the Liberal Model of Great Britain and the Liberal Model of Spain may be expressed in more cultural terms. While in great Britain, the term Multiculturism has meant a sort of respect, but separation, the idea that most Immigrant Associations and NGOs in Madrid, as well as local and community level administrations, is that there be a cultural exchange, a mixing or molding if you will into something new (reminiscent of the American melting pot that eventually turned into a mixed salad).

Before even explaining the focus of my interviews and eventual analysis, I would like to present two figures of Spanish society based upon Thomas Janoski's figures of Citizenship and Civil Society, mentioned before, representing the four spheres of society: the state, public, market and private spheres. Not all general actors are present in the figures (left out are such entities as defense contracting, regulation,

police, military, secret police, espionage, Union Federations, Consumer Associations, Political Parties, Self-help groups, Private Media, Education and Health etc) not because they are not important actors, but they are not the actors that determine the treatment of the immigrant population as Liberal or Corporate. It is the relationship between the following actors that determines more so the model of incorporation.

For example, while political parties are of course present in the entire process, I am more interested in the set structure of present administration, not necessarily the politician's view. Ironically, in Spain there does not seem to be much of a difference in treatment of the immigration issue from either the PP or the PSOE. All entities I had the opportunity to talk with, except for the two interviews with the local and community administrations, have complained with the lack of the political parties' ability to take a stand either way, and when they do make comments, they speak of waves or invasions of immigrants that only serves to bring about public alarm. While the PSOE has recently voted to allow third-country permanent immigrants to vote in municipal elections, it is based upon a reciprocal relationship in the Spanish Constitution that insists that said third-countries allow Spaniards to vote abroad in the elections under the same circumstances—might become difficult in its execution especially in countries where even the native population does not have the right to vote.[139]

Regardless, in relation to this study, the following actors that have been interviewed are those that appear in the two figures. In Figure 3.1, all actors are represented as they now take part in what is deemed as a Liberal Model of Incorporation, which is bottom-up at all times except for the one arrow coming from the

[139]"1.Los extranjeros gozarán en España de las libertades públicas que garantiza el presente Título en los términos que establezcan los tratados y la ley. 2.Solamente los españoles serán titulares de los derechos reconocidos en el artículo 23, salvo lo que, atendiendo ***a criterios de reciprocidad***, pueda establecerse por tratado o ley para el derecho de sufragio activo y pasivo en elecciones municipales."[139] Constitución Española, Título 1. Capítulo Primero. De los españoles y extranjeros.

state administration to the NGOs and Immigrant Associations which represent funds, or subsidies, that allowed to these entities in order to manage the services that are needed due to the great increase in the immigrant population since the turn of the millennium. Figure 3.2 shows how the different spheres would interact *if the model was Corporate* instead of Liberal, making it a top-down system in which while the relationship is organized by private entities, such organization is directed at the collectives by the state.

This is simply not the case in regards to Spanish incorporation, even in the face of its National Forum, this last one created in 2006 (the first one was actually created in 1994)[140] On the Autonomous Community level a *Foro Regional para la Inmigración* was also created in 1998.[141] Municipally in Madrid, a forum was recently created in May of 2006 called the *Foro Madrid de Dialogo y Convivencia*. All of these forums are consultative with participation from basically the same actors as the National Forum. Practically all of the entities interviewed are either part of all three, have been or are part of two of them (usually the National of course and the local City Hall forum.) Overall, all treatments of the collectives are based upon the government's funding of its services that are evaluated and handed out by the Autonomous Community while the City Hall does directly offer some funding also. In other words, it is the NGOs and Immigrant Associations that make the initiative to form programs and apply for subsidies and while the associations are based upon nationality originally, as the immigrant population has become bigger and bigger, and while some associations focus on regions such as Latin America, generally they are all open to help any immigrant looking for help in regards to legal documentation work, employment, formation,

[140] Memoria 2007: Foro para la Integración Social de los Inmigrantes; Naturaleza, pg. 11, www.mtas.es

[141] El Foro Regional para la Inmigración fue creado mediante Decreto 64/1998 (BOCM nº 108, de 8 de mayo de 1998), www.madrid.org

language course, housing, etc. Immigrants are always treated as individuals in every instance although these Associations participate in forums and fight for the immigrant as a collective, this collective is generally the entire immigrant population, not just certain nationalities. As a result, the Spanish approach towards Immigrant Integration Policy is by no means corporate in any sense of the word. Simply, any traces of corporate treatment are the consequence of its liberal approach comprised of bottom-up organization that competes for state subsidies—it is its liberal approach that pragmatically calls for some sort of categorization when it comes to its immigrant population. The liberal relationship between actors is demonstrated in Figure 3.1, and if it were to be Corporate, which it is not, in Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.1 Function of the Liberal Model in Spain

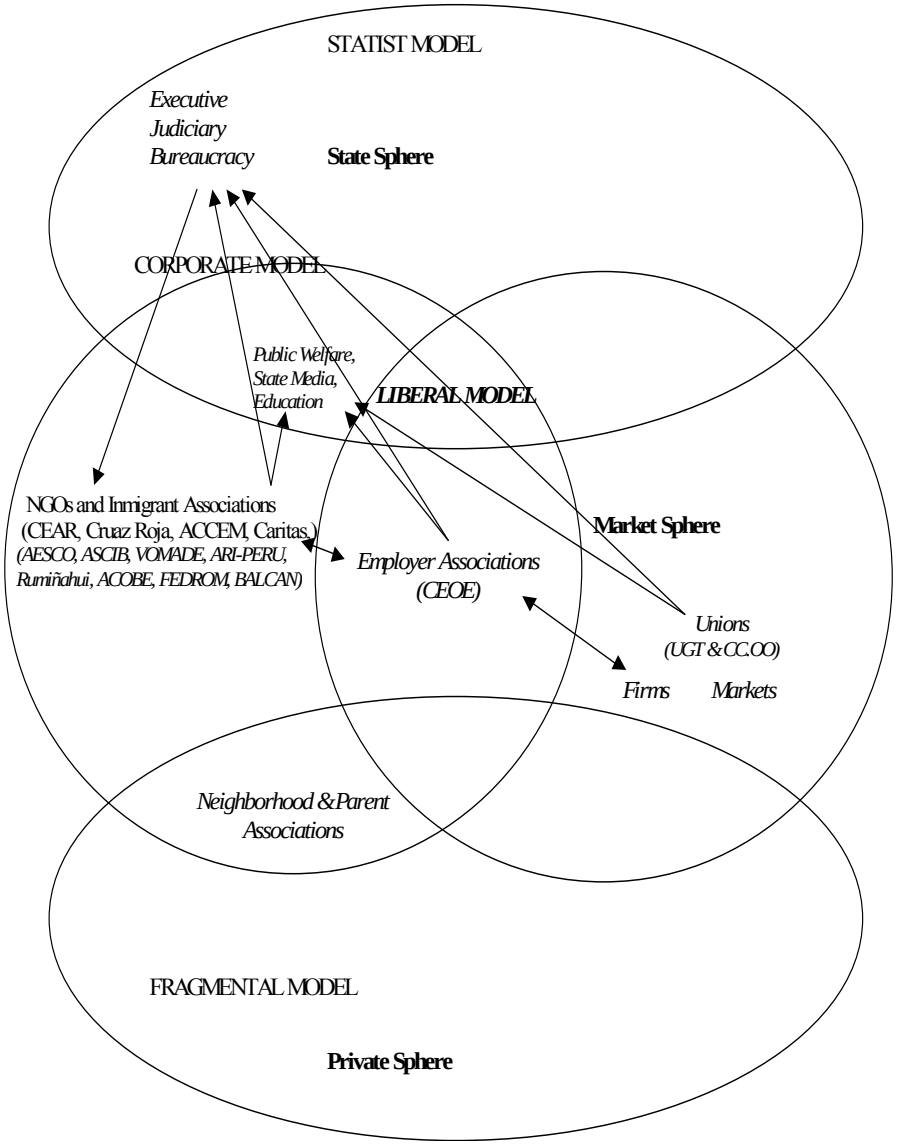
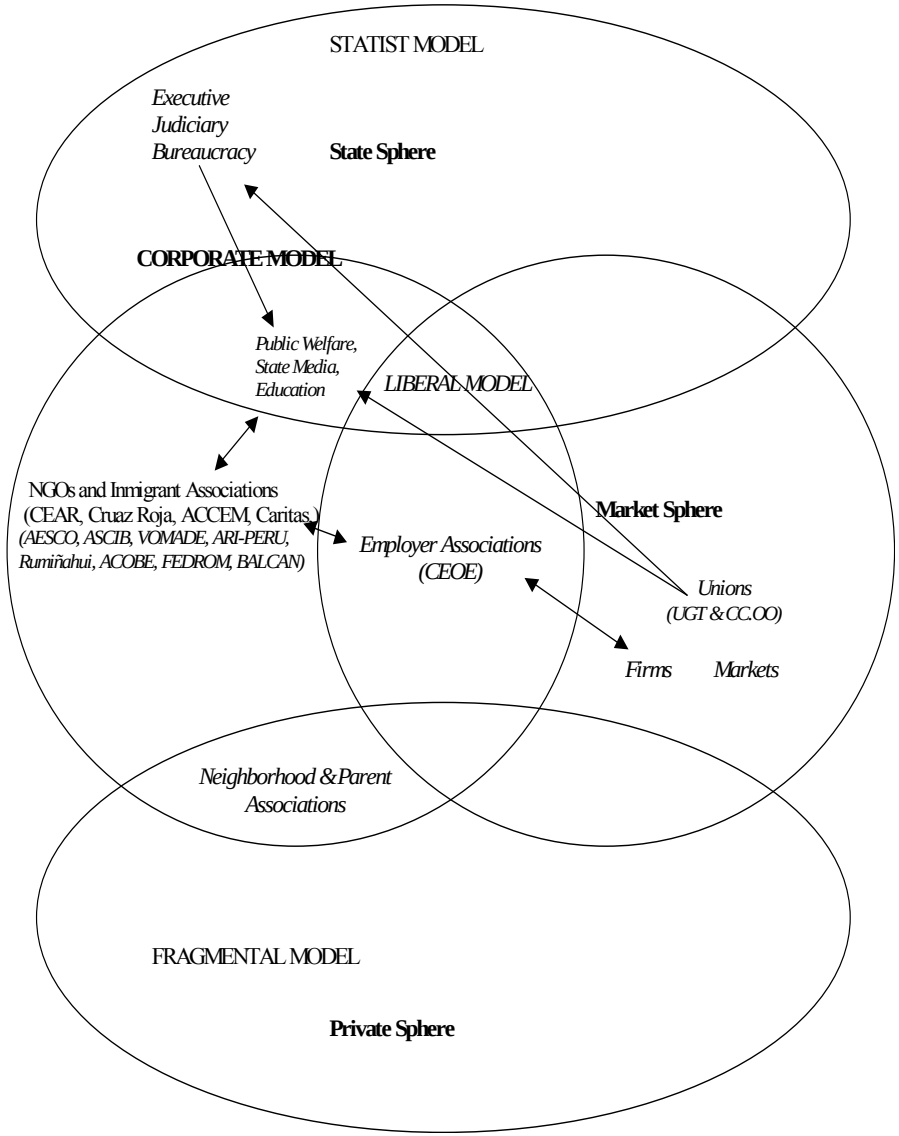


Figure 3.2 Non-existent Change to Function of the Corporate Model



Interviews with Forum Participants

Before moving on to the results of the interviews conducted with the entities present in the two figures above, one must put into perspective what the situation of said immigrants really is in Spain based upon somewhat scarce information due to the recent phenomena of immigrants within Spanish borders in the first place. Still, a few studies have been conducted that might shed light upon the general situation before entering into theoretical specifics of incorporation. Based upon a study by Juan Díez Nicolas, *Las dos caras de la inmigración*,[142] 3 of every 4 immigrants was registered municipally and have a medical card. In regards to getting help in getting their residence card, 50% simply had help from friends and family, 25% had absolutely no help from anybody and only 14% had help from an NGO in the year 2004. More than likely this has increased due to the Amnesty Bill in 2005 and thus an increase in solicitation of residency, but even so, the increase may not be that great. Also, 1 out of 5 immigrants that have partners live with Spanish partners, less than 5% that can send children to school do not, more than 80% of immigrants live in neighborhoods with mainly Spaniards, 41% of Spaniards have had a conversation with an immigrant from South America lessening to 11% with a Chinese, less than 20% of Spaniards have an immigrant friend, and less than 10% work with immigrants.[143] 3 out of 4 would come again to Spain if given the opportunity and 3 out of 4 would stay if given the opportunity to go back to native land. Finally, their biggest problem is work and money and the best thing they like is people's treatment and their relationship with Spaniards.[144]

While unspecific, such a general view sets one up to the following analysis of the societal actors in the Spanish Incorporation Model, a model that does not necessarily

[142] Díez Nicolás, Juan. Las dos caras de la inmigración, pg. 86-87.
[143] Díez Nicolás, Juan. Las dos caras de la inmigración, pgs.328.333.
[144] Díez Nicolás, Juan. Las dos caras de la inmigración, pgs. 362-363.

mean true integration, which is a concept dealt with in every interview, but instead, the administration's simple approach to dealing with the immigrant population in regards to services and access to the structure. Also, it is worthwhile to mention that while a definition of integration is something that is summed up within analysis of societal structures, its spheres, etc. but it is also something less outright, more personal and within another dimension, not just of interaction but of social relationships and feelings of belonging.

In regards to interviews conducted, First of all, the rationale behind such a qualitative approach has been to get to know how the actors involved in the incorporation process consider the entire situation. While each interview was not limited to set questions, and there was an intent to allow exploration into different interest of conversation, each interview was based upon the same questions/ topics:

1. How the Immigrant Association/ Organization /Administration began working with immigrants in the first place, its evolution, and types of services offered.
2. What sort of Political Voice the Immigrant has whether individually or collectively with the National Forum (although the Community and Municipal levels were also discussed)
3. Each was asked to define the term "integration".
4. Each was also asked to comment on what their perception of the treatment of immigrants is and the opinion of the native population in regards to the issue.
5. Finally, each was asked how they saw an immigrant's strength in the future: through individual participation or collective participation within immigrant associations.

Secondly, sampling was limited to those participating in the National Forum for the Social Integration of Immigrants and I was able to speak with the majority of the chosen members from table 3.2 cited again below:

Table 3.8 - Chosen members for participation in the *Foro para la integración social de los inmigrantes*

Immigrant and Refugee Associations	Social Support Organizations
➢ Asociación de trabajadores e Inmigrantes Marroquíes en España (ATIME) ➢ América-España Solidaridad y Cooperación (AESCO) ➢ Asociación Socio-Cultural Ibn Batuta (ASCIB) ➢ Voluntariado de Madres Dominicanas-Voluntariado Integración Colectivos Internacionales de Trabajadores (VOMADE-VINCIT) ➢ Asociación de Refugiados e Inmigrantes Peruanos (ARI-PERÚ) ➢ Asociación Rumiñahui Hispano-Ecuatoriana para Colaboración al desarrollo de África y América Latina ➢ Asociación de Chinos en España (ACHE) ➢ Asociación de Cooperación Bolivia-España (ACOBE) ➢ Federación de Asociaciones de Inmigrantes Rumanos en España (FEDROM) ➢ Asociación de Inmigrantes Búlgaros en España (AIBE BALSAN)	➢ Cruz Roja Española ➢ Cáritas Española ➢ Asociación Comisión Católica Española de Migración (ACCEM) ➢ Consorcio de Entidades para la Acción Integral con Inmigrantes ➢ Red Acoge ➢ Asociación de Solidaridad con los trabajadores Inmigrantes (ASTI) ➢ Comisiones Obreras ➢ Confederación Española de Organizaciones Empresariales ➢ Confederación Española de la Pequeña y Mediana Empresa ➢ Unión General de Trabajadores

Everyone was interviewed except for *ATIME* and *ACHE* in regards to Immigrant Associations; *Confederación Española de la Pequeña y Mediana Empresa (CEPYME)* which is really part of *Confederación Española de Organizaciones Empresariales (CEOE)* whom I did interview; *Consorcio de Entidades para la Acción Integral con Inmigrantes, Red Acoge, Asociación de Solidaridad con los trabajadores Inmigrantes (ASTI)* in regards to the Social Support Organizations; but I did interview CEAR and MPDL which are expert participators although without a vote. Additionally, I had the chance to interview a representative both from the Ayuntamiento de Madrid (Dirección

General de Inmigración y Cooperación al Desarrollo) and a representative from the Autonomous Community of Madrid (Observatorio Regional de Inmigración Consejería de Inmigración y Cooperación). Overall, I was able to speak with the principal actors: the majority of NGOs (CEAR, Cruz Roja, ACCEM, Cáritas); Immigrant Associations, (AESCO,ASCIB, VOMADE, ARI-PERU, Rumiñahui, ACOBE, FEDROM, BALCAN); Unions (UGT & CC.OO.); Employer Association (CEOE) and the Municipal and Community Administrations. All of those finally interviewed were openly available to being recorded in a face-to-face interview although some were more difficult to set a date than others. After interviewing 16 of a possible 23 organizations that I put myself in contact with, the sample reached its saturation and all types of actors had been questioned along with the two administrative representatives, making the entire sample that of 18 interviews.

In regards to its analysis, the following tables are a record of the responses to the five mains themes/ questions above. In keeping with the concept of Grounded Theory[145] in that hypothesis are generated during the process, not necessarily before, and that one encounter/ interview can generate it very own theory, I have coded each interview based on its five categories, properties and possible hypothesis for each theme in regards to the Immigrant Associations. When it comes to the Social Support Organizations (NGOs, Employer Association, and Unions) as well as the Municipal and Community Administrations a clearer response to said themes is the approach in which the same singular hypothesis came about in every interview while there was some differences in regards to the various themes that in the end did not generate an array of hypothesis as in the case of the immigrant associations. Finally, the reader must keep in mind that each generated hypothesis has come about as an interpretation of evidence,

[145] Glaser, Barney G. & Strauss, Anselm L. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*

the evidence being the properties of each category/ theme. Also, this study is not an any sense an attempt to generalize on any population; instead it is a *generalization of the very process.*[146] As a result, each hypothesis holds true for each subject, each circumstance within its own sphere of interaction and cannot be generalized to the general population but they can be compared in order to reach a ***general consensus of properties and consequences***.

They have been separated into three different groups: the first being the Immigrant Associations (Tables 3.8-3.15); the second the Social Support Groups (Tables 3.16-3.23) and the Municipal and Community Administration (Tables 3.24 & 3.25) Within each group, each table is in the order of when the interview took place over a period of about a month's time.

[146] To explain, Strauss and Corbin state: "in terms of making generalizations to a larger population, **we are not attempting to generalize as such but to specify**…the condition under which our phenomena exist, the action/interaction that pertains to them, and the associated outcomes or consequences. This means that our theoretical formulation applies to these situations or circumstances but **to no others.** (1990:191, bold in the original text)Gobo, Giampietro, "Sampling, representativeness and generalizability"; Qualitative Research Practice, p 421.

Table 3.8 Asociación Rumiñahui Hispano-Ecuatoriana para Colaboración al desarrollo de África y América Latina [147]

Category:	Start, Evolution and Services	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• Based on need for services/Amnesty Bill • "…nuestras demandas y nuestras necesidades al gobierno de España…servicios específicos..." • legal help/ documentation • psychological help • education/school enrollment • entertainment activities • development in countries of origin	• The Forum is solely a consultative body because they really do not have a majority vote on order to change anything. "…no somos un foro…" "...un espacio de participación mínimo..." "...por lo menos...para expresar su opinión..."	• Process of constructing and creating tools to ask for integration • "No hay un modelo de integración acá." • Intercultural: respect between cultures and getting to know one another. Respect without discrimination. • Mutual respect to be able to say that one feels as if they are part of society.	• Not treated equally within any sphere. • Thinks Foreigner Law allows for institutionalization of difference between the native and the immigrant. • last 4 years the public's opinion has changed and the immigrant is made to feel different. • Political discourse has changed opinion of people.	• Dual nationality is an option if one feels it to be convenient but does not mean full rights. i.e. family reunion EU Directive (even though effects natives the same)
Hypothesis:	The more immigration, the more need for service not necessarily offered by the state administration making the association an entity in and of itself, an institution by filling a void.	Having a consultative body may offer a taste of participation but could frustrate in the end in the absence of direct control.	Since there is no defined model on integration, therefore integration is a simple mutual respect between both sides.	Public discourse has changed due to political discourse in the Media.	When rights are taken away, regardless of whether they are taken from natives also, it reinforces collective, fighting nature of discourse.

[147] Aguirre Hidalgo, Dora. Asociación Rumiñahui Hispano-Ecuatoriana para Colaboración al desarrollo de África y América Latina. Personal Interview. 1 July 2008.

Table 3.9 Asociación Socio-Cultural Ibn Batuta (ASCIB)[148]

Category:	Start, Evolution and Services	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• 1994 in Barcelona/Madrid past 5 years • legal/documentation • employment • social orientation • community level: integration of immigrants • sensitizing: respect & tolerance • works with NGOs in a network	• In National and Municipal Forums • Want to work in a network • Right to vote necessary but naturalization is an option in 10 years • Do not want to limit the immigrant to its associations • Want immigrants to be neighbors with rights and responsibilities	• Maintain contact with country of origin and country of residence • The advantage of richness of both cultures and learn new things so as to create something new.	• Great deal of discrimination: same bureaucratic infrastructure as 10-15 years ago so that immigrants cannot get documentation renewed, thus no access to employment and unemployment • Housing • Negative commentaries heard on the street	• Do not want to limit the immigrant to its associations • Do not want to limit the immigrant to its associations • Immigrants need a sense of belonging to this society • If immigrants have the vote then politicians will fight to get their vote
Hypothesis:	The more immigration, the more need for service not necessarily offered by the state administration making the association an entity in and of itself, an institution by filling a void and not limited to one nationality.	Least amount of participation makes the right to vote very important .	The least amount of participation makes integration more of a cultural thing, not a political fight—also least amount of cultural similarity to host country.	Lack on institutions can be interpreted as a form of discrimination.	When the level of individual, direct participation is limited, the future of immigrant's participation is within the individual.

[148] Oukhiar, Samira & Allaouzi, Abdel Asis. Asociación Socio-Cultural Ibn Batuta (ASCIB). Personal Interview. 2 July 2008.

Table 3.10 Voluntariado de Madres Dominicanas-Voluntariado Integración Colectivos Internacionales de Trabajadores (VOMADE-VINCIT)[149]

Category:	**Start, Evolution and Services**	**Political Voice**	**Definition of Integration**	***Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion***	***Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association***
Property:	• 1985 started to work with domestic service: Dominican women. • 1994 started to work with all nationalities • Welcome/Reception and information • employment insertion • computer courses/hairdresser training	• Want to work in a network • Part of National Forum since its beginnings • Consultative body to study situation, not any further • 33% of Dominican collective naturalized	• With women working in Spanish houses there was an "automatic integration" • Normalization: rights and responsibilities in a "normal life"	• Not treated the same: will also try to play them since they are immigrants • Contracts are not equal • Political clientism • Called delinquents • same bureaucratic institutions and more immigrants • racist and xenophobic language	• Individual: should be regarded as a citizen like everyone else • "reconocimiento pleno del inmigrante como ciudadano"
Hypothesis:	The more immigration, the more need for service not necessarily offered by the state administration making the association an entity in and of itself, an institution by filling a void and not limited to one nationality	Higher level of individual participation renders Forum inadequate consultative body.	The more integrated culturally, the more integration is a simple "Normalization" of rights and responsibilities.	Regardless of level of perceived cultural integration, there is still a high level of discrimination on other levels.	The fact that there are obvious discriminations does not create the tendency towards isolation on the basis of the immigrant associative movement: instead it is the concept of "Normalization".

[149] Álvarez, Pedro. Voluntariado de Madres Dominicanas-Voluntariado Integración Colectivos Internacionales de Trabajadores (VOMADE-VINCIT). Personal Interview. 3 July 2008.

Table 3.11 Federación de Asociaciones de Inmigrantes Rumanos en España (FEDROM) [150]

Category:	Start, Evolution and Services	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• 4 years as a Federation • In 2005 went from 4 to 11 associations and now there are 27 • Associations originally started out as religious organizations: Adventist religion is 40% of associations' population. • cultural, social and confessional (religious) nature although legal services are offered	• Now part of the EU and this Community members with the right to municipal vote • Forum is a platform where over 80 entities come together: -to work and express their opinions -elaborate an opinion for society, not just the administration -create a network	• Acceptance within the society in the face of other societies like France and Germany where it seems to have not worked out—more of a rejection instead of an acceptance.	• Again, here there are some difficulties but in the face of greater difficulties in France and Germany, they do not seem so negative. • Fear of economic crisis	• Idea of permanent resident suffrage at all levels (national and municipal) regardless of naturalization • Associations are there more for cultural reasons, not political reasons.
Hypothesis:	The reasons for these immigrant associations were originally for religious lack of acceptance in their home country although economic immigration is taking place recently from Romania, thus its roots and perspective is a cultural, social and religious one.	The less this association, or in this case a federation, fights for political rights, the more the Forum is a consultative body in the positive sense and the more the focus of the association is on cultural issues.	The more this association concentrates on social and cultural services, the more its definition is simpler—the idea of simply not being rejected.	In the face of greater difficulties/ discriminations in other societies, Spain does not seem all that bad although difficulties in the future due to economic strain are there.	Even if the associations are less political, voting is just as important.

[150] Fonda, Miguel. Federación de Asociaciones de Inmigrantes Rumanos en España (FEDROM). Personal Interview. 9 July 2008.

Table 3.12 Asociación de Cooperación Bolivia-España (ACOBE)[151]

Category:	Start, Evolution and Services	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• 2004: Mixed association of Bolivians and Spaniards came about in the Amnesty process • legal/documentation • psychological help • social workers	• Belongs to Forums on all levels: National, Community and Municipal • Wants Immigration issue to be treated properly • Immigrant "voices" are heard • Thinks the immigrant vote is important and that a great deal of Latin Americans that received documentation during the Amnesty Bill of 2005 are now applying for it.	• Getting to know one another • Getting past the fear of something different	• Most societies are perceived as similar: in Spain it is the same for everyone as it depends on who you get at the "ventanilla" and whether or not you carry with you the proper documentation. • The infrastructure is what it is and they assume a 5-month wait for processing of renovations of residency cards. • Media and political discourse can have a negative effect • At the same time, Spaniards do make friends with immigrants even while "social alarm" exists	• Thinks in near future its associates will have the vote as they naturalize in greater numbers. • "Normality" within the Spanish society
Hypothesis:	Since this organization was simply and recently created out of legal need, then it is more concentrated on offering services, not culturally based.	The more politically involved in the forums and the younger this association is, makes it believe itself to be a representative "voice"—assumption of representation but they do not see the individual vote as unnecessary. It is natural.	Simply getting to know one's surroundings is a result of the short period this association has been working for simple documentation. Political involvement, paired with recent creation results in a simple definition of integration.	Treatment here is considered to be understandable since the association has dealt with the same problems since its recent beginnings and sees them to be almost normal.	While general treatment is considered to be good, "Normalization" here is also the goal.

[151] Santiestevez, Paola. Asociación de Cooperación Bolivia-España (ACOBE). Personal Interview. 11 July 2008.

Table 3.13 Asociación de Inmigrantes Búlgaros en España (AIBE BALSAN)[152]

Category:	Start, Evolution and Services	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• 5 years ago got together principally for social reasons • motivation • legal/documentation • employment • permanent follow-up • weekend school for children • dance group • Spanish classes	• Belongs to National Municipal Forums • Opinion is seen as important • Believes want to individually vote is a natural result, and choice, of an immigrant being part of the society	• Adaptation • Getting to know one's surroundings • Language is an extreme barrier • Culture exchange between neighbors i.e. sharing traditional dishes	• There are discriminations but the same hold for Spaniards (does admit that physically Bulgarians blend in with native population)	• There is no word in the future for the word "immigrant" • They will vote if they feel it comes naturally to them since they feel part of society
Hypothesis:	Since this organization was recently created simple services are offered out of need.	The more recent this association this is, sees forums as positive venues of opinion.	Since political rights, although limited, are present in the individual form, integration is simply an exchange with a discussion of rights and responsibilities.	Feels that treatment is based upon one be treated well themselves. Thinks those that discriminate are being discriminated themselves and thus finds no difference between treatment of native and of Bulgarian population.	Here there is a limited political participation and therefore integration becomes an individual endeavor of getting to know one another-not fighting for political rights.

[152] Doseva, Katya. Asociación de Inmigrantes Búlgaros en España (AIBE BALSAN). Personal Interview. 15 July 2008.

Table 3.14 Asociación de Refugiados e Inmigrantes Peruanos (ARI-PERÚ)[153]

Category:	Start, Evolution and Services	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• 1993 began as a cultural organization i.e. trips to museums • In 1994 economic integration turned it into a more legally focused entity: offered asylum help to economic immigrants because it was a linger process that allowed immigrants to reside in the country while being processed. • study the reality of immigration • accompany the law-making process	• Has been part of all Forums "nosotros no somos españoles y siempre hemos intentado visibilizar esa diferencia" • Consultative body	• Equilibrium • Circular movement • Equality of enjoyment of rights and liberties	• Immigrants need geographic mobility and some do not have it. • Immigrants have less money, less time for a social life • Poor immigrants are "tolerated" "…la tolerancia no es bueno en la perspectiva de la igualdad"	• The majority of Peruvians have dual nationality. "…pero no porque no quieren ser peruanos…porque tienen menos dificultades para convivir en el sentido de quitarse de encima todo el rollo de papel…se faculta el ejercicio de derechos." • Associations are manipulated politically • There are a lot of new ones (80% in a study of Peruvian associations they have conducted) that offer no activities at all • Federation they have tried does work well • Peruvians are integrated and involved in general associations too.
Hypothesis:	The more immigration, the more services offered to fill the void and the more political involvement for this association.	The more politically involved this association has been for relatively more time, has made its focus a fight more for demands and rights.	Since this association has been around longer and is politically active, then integration is more based upon the idea of equality and rights, not cultural.	Treatment here is based upon the idea of lack of equal opportunity in society as a whole, not just said instances of difficulties.	Even though this is a very politically involved association, it still comes down to individual voting, dual nationality, involvement in other associations and a realization that the associations have their limits.

[153] Sanabria, Rosario. Asociación de Refugiados e Inmigrantes Peruanos (ARI-PERÚ). Personal Interview. 17 July 2008.

Table 3.15 América-España Solidaridad y Cooperación (AESCO)[154]

Category:	Start, Evolution and Services	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• 20 years ago started as an association to help in the area of Columbian refugees, but then turned to Latin-American economic integration • legal/ documentation • programs for women, education, employment, mediators between employees and employers, formation • work with countries of origin to prevent "unordered immigration" (Colombia, Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia) • Networks within the immigrant community	• Belongs to Forums on all levels: National Community and Municipal • see it as a sphere of participation in a moment where the immigrant is incapable of having one voice • Is adamant that the association represents itself, not immigrants as a while	• Cycle dependent on the "biology of the person" • Not assimilation/no ghettos/no ethnic focus • "Normalization" • Bi-directional • Access to society	• Barriers to access of society: employment, housing and education • History of Spain is one of rejecting what is different i.e. expulsion of moors and jews "el racismo sociológico también está institucionalizado"	• Thinks all participation is important: immigrant and public associations BUT problem is that such participation is no fomented in Spanish society in general, thus making such participation difficult
Hypothesis:	Since this organization was recently created simple services are offered out of need.	Since this association has been around quite a bit and has been politically active, there is a realization of its lack of its representation of the immigrant collective.	There are a great deal of political rights here: possible dual nationality and political involvement through the years in forums and thus the discourse comes down to the idea of "Normalization", not culturally based.	Perception of treatment here is based upon an overall view of centuries of rejection and not at all based upon nowadays reality and therefore a pessimistic view of future.	Here there is participation at all levels and it comes down to the individual again having access to the society as a whole.

[154] Rois, Juan Carlos. América-España Solidaridad y Cooperación (AESCO). Personal Interview. 23 July 2008.

Overall, each association's response to all themes was quite relatively positive. All seem to understand the immigration phenomena as something quite recent and agree that the reception of the Spanish population has been a good one in most senses. According to their own personal experiences, although Spaniards more and more see immigration as a problem, with the help of mass media and political discourse it seems, natives are individually quite friendly and open to the immigrant once they develop a relationship with them. In fact, at least according to the ESE *(Encuasta Social Europea)* 2002-2003, Spain was the fifth country behind Luxembourg, Switzerland, Austria and Sweden that considered immigration to be positive for the economy.[155] It is also understood that immigration in Spain has taken place in rapid succession and the institutions that deal with them do run behind in catching up with the need for a bureaucratic answer, but most are aware that the bureaucratic run-around is one that Spaniards are confronted with themselves on a daily basis also. Unfortunately, waiting up to nine months to get a resident card renewed can keep an immigrant from work and unemployment benefits, and one must admit that such treatment is not equally shared by Spaniards by the simple fact that they do not need a residency card in order to work and receive unemployment benefits due to them. Also, they are not also geographically limited by the type of residency card that they carry.

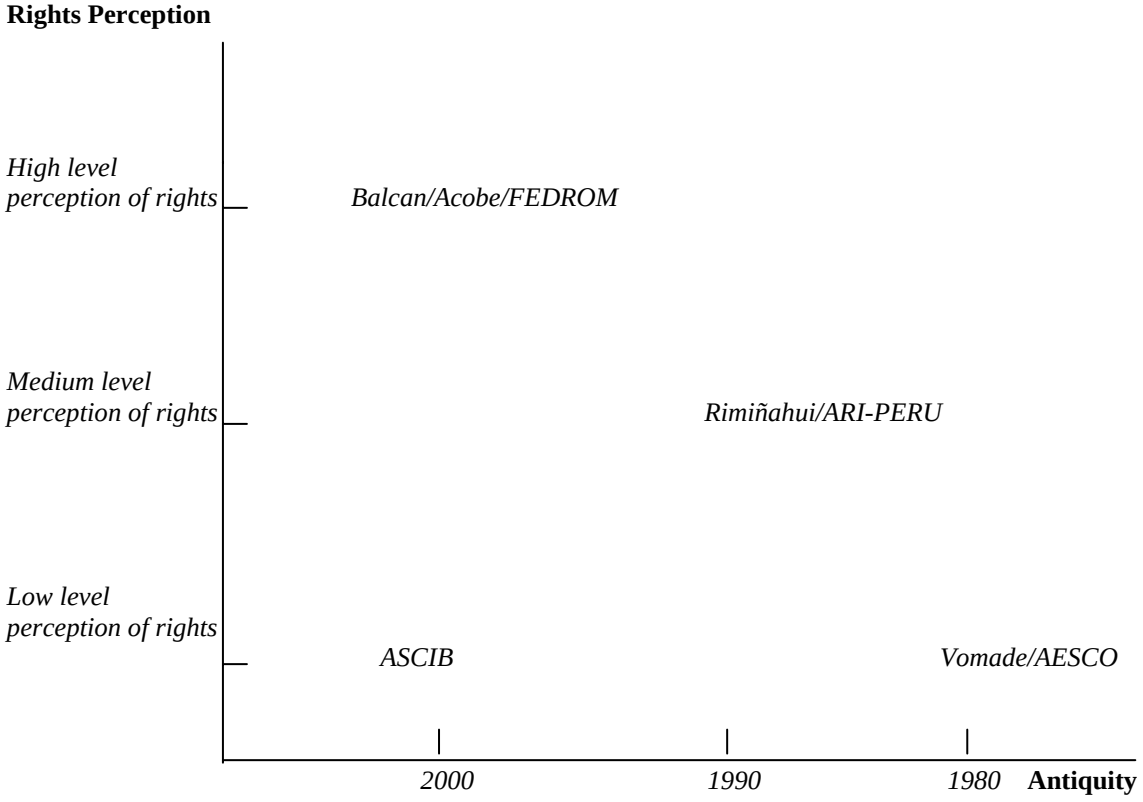
Other shared general complaints of the associations are lack of personnel, lack of funds, lack of networking, and lack of physical space. Some are completely funded by the state and others with a percentage of associate dues paid. In the case of AESCO, it is partially funded by a housing intermediary venture in the selling of real estate between countries of origin and Spain. Still, survival for all associations is based upon

[155] Pérez-Nievas, Santiago. "Percepciones sobre el impacto de la inmigración en la economía"; pg. 322.

subsidies from the government, of course setting a clear competitive playing field for all those involved.

In the following figures, I would like to demonstrate some very general correlations between response to the five themes already mentioned, specifically dealing with Antiquity, (when the association was formed), Political Voice in the National Forum (which has been translated to Collective Forum Participation Contentment), Definition of Integration, and the tendency towards Individual or Associative Representation. First, take a look at Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2: Perception of Rights vs. Antiquity Immigrant Associations



When dealing with responses to certain questions, for example the concept in the following figures termed as "perception of equal treatment" one might ask as to how such perception is measured after taking a look at the first figure dealing with interviewee variables (Figure 3.2). Simply put, it has been measured by the first

reaction in asking the question, "Do you think immigrants are treated as equals?" Sometimes the question was elaborated by mentioning the work place, in regards to bureaucratic structures, housing, day-to-day treatment etc. Some interviewees responded adamantly "No, no" that they are not treated equally and then proceeded to repeat a long list of how they are not treated equally. Others responded, "Not any differently than Spaniards", or "better than in other countries". The first are put into the category of "Low level of perception of equal treatment" and the second in "High level of perception of equal treatment". Those in between that rather diplomatically discussed individual situations in which there are difficulties, but not necessarily outright discriminations are in the category "Medium level of perception of equal treatment" Curiously, such responses do not have much to do with nationality, since Latin Americans appeared in all categories. Muslims on the other hand, could have more to do with nationality simply because of the greater difficulties that they have, and the two interviewees from ASCIB said as much from their point of views. Still, I would like to insist that as these associations do not represent faithfully their nationalities as a whole, then one cannot take away with them any conclusions as to how these nationalities think or are treated as collectives. These interviews simply reflect the perceived reality that each interviewee has lived, and intends to make some general correlations between these singular realities.

Before continuing, I would like to insist that such perception is just that: perception and nothing more since this entire study is based upon the perceptions of all of those involved, in the hope of finding some correlations within those perceptions. It does not signify by any means that Bolivians are treated better than Dominicans, or Moroccans are treated worse that Romanians—far from it. It simply means that the associations that deal with these collectives have that impression. Such impressions are

also effected by the length of time that each association has been in existence as seen also in the figures below. It seems that the longer the association has been around, the more they are concerned with rights and obligations in regards to their definition of integration and also their perception of equal treatment. As one can see in Figure 3.2, the older the association, the lower the level of perception of equal treatment. One could conclude by simple common sense that these associations, having lived through the time period since the 1985 Foreigner's Law, and thus the slow gaining of rights and Amnesty Bills through the years, would naturally have a more negative perception towards their perception of treatment, even though all believe that the overall opinion towards immigrants has worsened in the 4-5 years—they still are treated more equally than before, probably because of improved protection under the law and simply because of the clear fact that they have had more access to legal documentation and thus more rights as "almost" full citizens.

Another obvious correlation, or lack thereof, is that of the "Perception of Equal Treatment" and the "Definition of Integration" (Figure 3.4) as it seems that in general, most, when asked about how they would define integration, specified cultural aspects, cultural exchange, cultural "melting" and there really was no correlation between the two variables. Instead, it seemed that the older associations were the ones that referred to integration as a combination of cultural exchange and *rights and obligations.* Again, through common sense it seems, possibly the longer an association has been around, the more it has been exposed to the political aspects of integration, the fight for equal rights and obligations over the years, as opposed to more recent associations that entered the playing field with said rights and obligations already installed into the system, thus the focus upon cultural aspects only. The only exception would be Rumiñhui, that came to

be involved around the same time as ARI-PERU in the beginning of the 1990s, which is an in between point anyway.

Finally, one must wonder as to how the concept of "Collective Forum Participation Contentment" was considered in each interview. Again, it came about in the reaction to another question: "How do you see the level of participation in the National Forum?" Some associations' initial response was one of excitement and pride in the work that was being done as well as their participation in it, and thus they are considered to have a "High level participation". Others, on the other hand responded almost in a disappointed sense, explaining that it has changed over the years, converted into a body in which they are powerless to really get anything done, some even expressing their disappointment in the collective immigrant movement in their inability to come together and express themselves in one voice. These were put into the category of "Low level participation". Those in the middle, possibly more diplomatic in seeing the overall evolution, that might have worsened, but improved in some senses lately are labeled as those with "medium level participation". All are aware that it really is nothing more than a consultative body, but some are more content with said function than others. Again, it seems the older associations (AESCO and Vomade) are the most frustrated along with ASCIB. Rumiñahui and ARI-PERU again are in the middle ground between content with participation and frustrated too. ASCIB appears in the "Low level participation" when it comes to the Forum simply because they are quite frustrated in general with their lack of participation at all levels since most of their members must wait ten years in order to even apply for the naturalization process—in general, they do not feel as if they are taken at all that seriously. It is the most recent associations that seem quite content and even proud of their participation in all

consultative forums, maybe because of their lack of politicization born out of their brief involvement overall.

As a final point, it is quite curious that in Figures 3.4 and 3.5 it seems that the levels of participation and perception of treatment are completely interchangeable as shown in the combination of the two in that last two figures. It could lead one to conclude that each association's perception of the immigrant's treatment has a direct effect onto their contentment with their collective, consultative participation in the forums. Again, common sense leads one to the conclusion that those that believe the immigrant's treatment to be fair are content with simple consultative participation and those of a different opinion are not. Mind you, one must keep in mind that those same associations have a collective memory of times that were not so as equal as the present, and that will more than likely have an influence on their view of equal treatment. Even so, it seems that immigrant association that perceives the immigrant to be treated equally are less likely to seek a more active form of participation.

Thus, the key here to gaining a feeling of contentment in their part in the entire scheme is equal treatment, not necessarily further participation. It only makes sense that those who are treated equally are not as politicized, not as frustrated and can dedicate their time to other endeavors—in this case possibly more cultural ones. Still, a lack of direct or even indirect participation could lead to treatment becoming unequal in the future for a population that is dependent upon its host country continuing to treat them as equals. In the face of recent European Directives, especially that of detainment of undocumented immigrants (and here we are talking about illegal residents without any specific rights to equal treatment.) Spain now can only hold them up to forty days[156]—while the current administration under the PSOE regime would like to

[156] Reglamento de Extranjería, artículos 153.3 y 153.5

increase it to 60 days and due to the EU Directive, undocumented immigrants may be held up to 18 months until they are deported.[157] In 2002 Human Rights Watch was asked by the Academy of European Law to discuss EU immigration and asylum policy. While they did mention that in Great Britain, undocumented immigrants were detained for no reason and kept for long periods with no hope of true resolution simply for administrative purposes at times, the Spanish and Greek treatment of undocumented detainees was also mentioned." [158] Even so, when it comes to legislation guaranteeing *resident* immigrant rights, Spain is considered to successfully guarantee such rights better than most EU countries. Still, the rights of those undocumented obviously do not have the same guarantees. They can be detained, sometimes in unbearable conditions for long periods of time and even if Spain still insists upon raising the limit to only 60 days, under Eu Directive they could take the entire 18 months if they see fit in the future.

In regards to legal immigration, it is naturalization which is the ultimate goal of Spanish Immigrant Policy and not all have the same access to such a level of integration. In the face of an economic crisis where immigrants could be seen as

[157] European Parliament. "Parliament to vote on deportation of illegal immigrants"; News Press Service: 12-06-2008; http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news

[158] A Spanish detention center in the Canary Islands was described as such:
"In Spain, our research revealed similar conditions [as in Greece] in old airport facilities in the Canary Islands. Migrants detained there are held in two overcrowded old airport facilities on Fuerteventura and Lanzarote. At times, more than 500 migrants have been kept in a space that the Spanish Red Cross has determined to be designed to accommodate fifty people. Detainees are cut off from the outside world. There are no telephones. Visits are not permitted. Detainees can never leave the premises; they cannot exercise, and have no exposure to fresh air or sunlight. The state of medical care and sanitary conditions in the facilities also raised serious concern, particularly when the volunteer doctors at the facilities suspended their services in protest over the conditions. Furthermore, detainees receive virtually no information about their rights, are rarely provided with interpretation or translation—even when asked to sign documents authorizing their deportation—and have inadequate access to meaningful legal representation and individualized judicial oversight of their cases. Asylum seekers face additional obstacles, finding it difficult, at times impossible, to apply for asylum prior to, during, and after detention. In both Greece and Spain, the Ombudsmen have publicly criticized the detention conditions of undocumented migrants." Human Right Watch. The Human Rights Dimension of E.U. Immigration Policy:
Lessons from Member States Human Rights Watch Statement on the Occasion of the Academy of European Law Conference:"State of Play on European Immigration and Asylum Policy: Patching Up Tampere" Trier, Germany: April 25-26, 2002

competition for jobs instead of those occupying jobs no one else seems to want, immigrants could be looked upon in quite another fashion. These same immigrants are not all allowed to fully participate within the society and polity in which they live and work, regardless of their numbers. In regards to the Spanish government's policy, such difference seems to be exacerbated while at the same time other differences are ignored in hopes of the concept of semi-assimilation as represented by the idea of an Intercultural exchange between the Spanish society and those from third-country origins.

Getting back to the analysis of the immigrant associations in regards to individual participation and leading one into the role of naturalization as the ultimate form of participation, another curious observation is the fact that all associations believe in a combination of both individual participation and all types of associational participation regardless of their "Perceptions of Equal Treatment" of the "Contentment of Forum Participation". While competition for funds between them may exist, while politicization may vary among them, while political parties may play favorites and while associations may cater to these political realities, all declare that individual representation and associative participation are important. And while their level of the importance of such a combination may vary, none argue as to the importance of the concept of "Normalization". Again, not because immigrants are not normal, but in the Spanish sense that they should have all rights and obligations as any other native. Curiously, only the older associations named such "Normalization" in their definitions of integration while others limited their response to cultural aspects, but it did appear in discussion of their "Political Voice" and "Individual vs. Collective Association".

Figure 3.3 Perception of Equal Treatment vs. Individual or Associative Representation

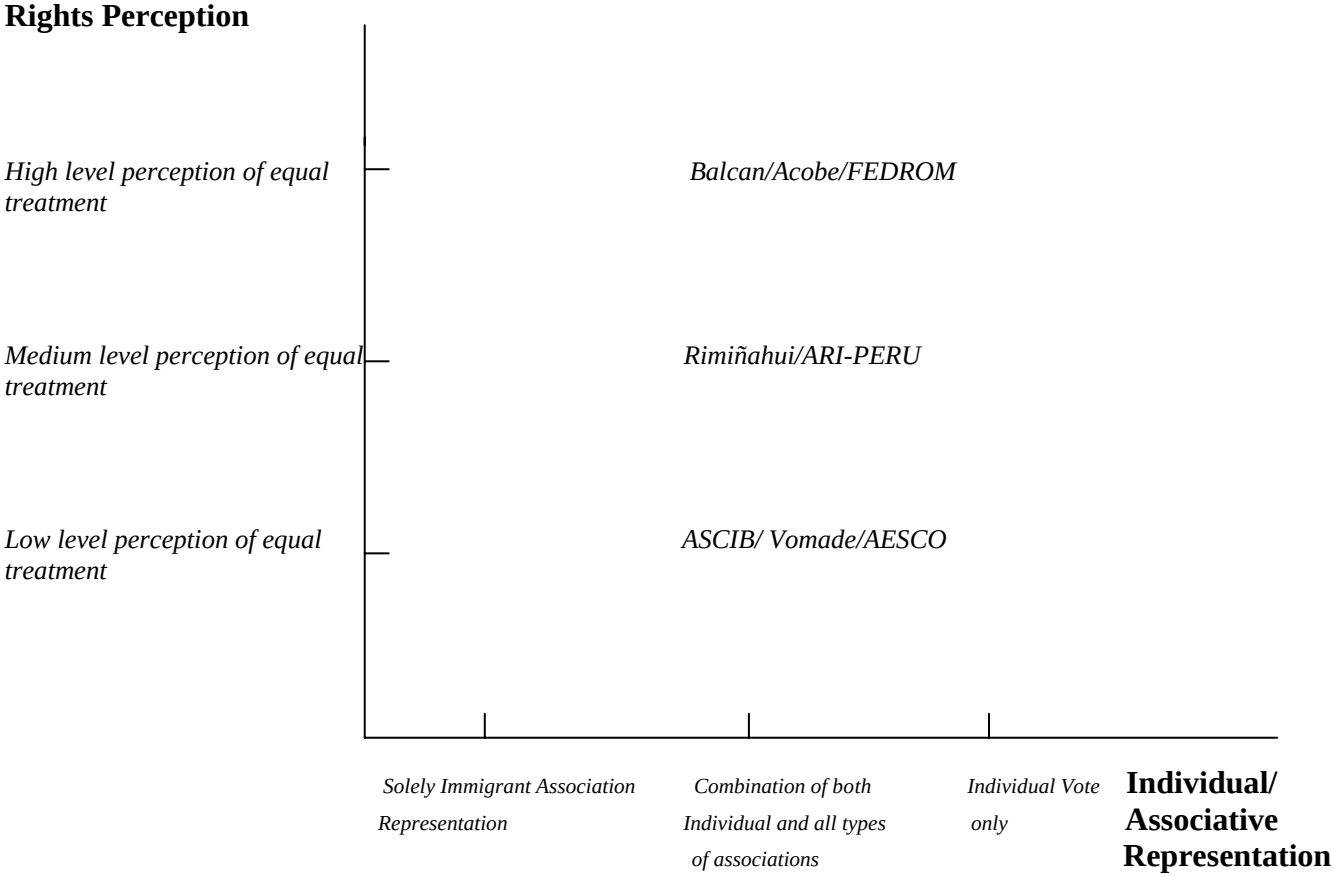


Figure 3.4 Perception of Equal Treatment vs. Definition of Integration

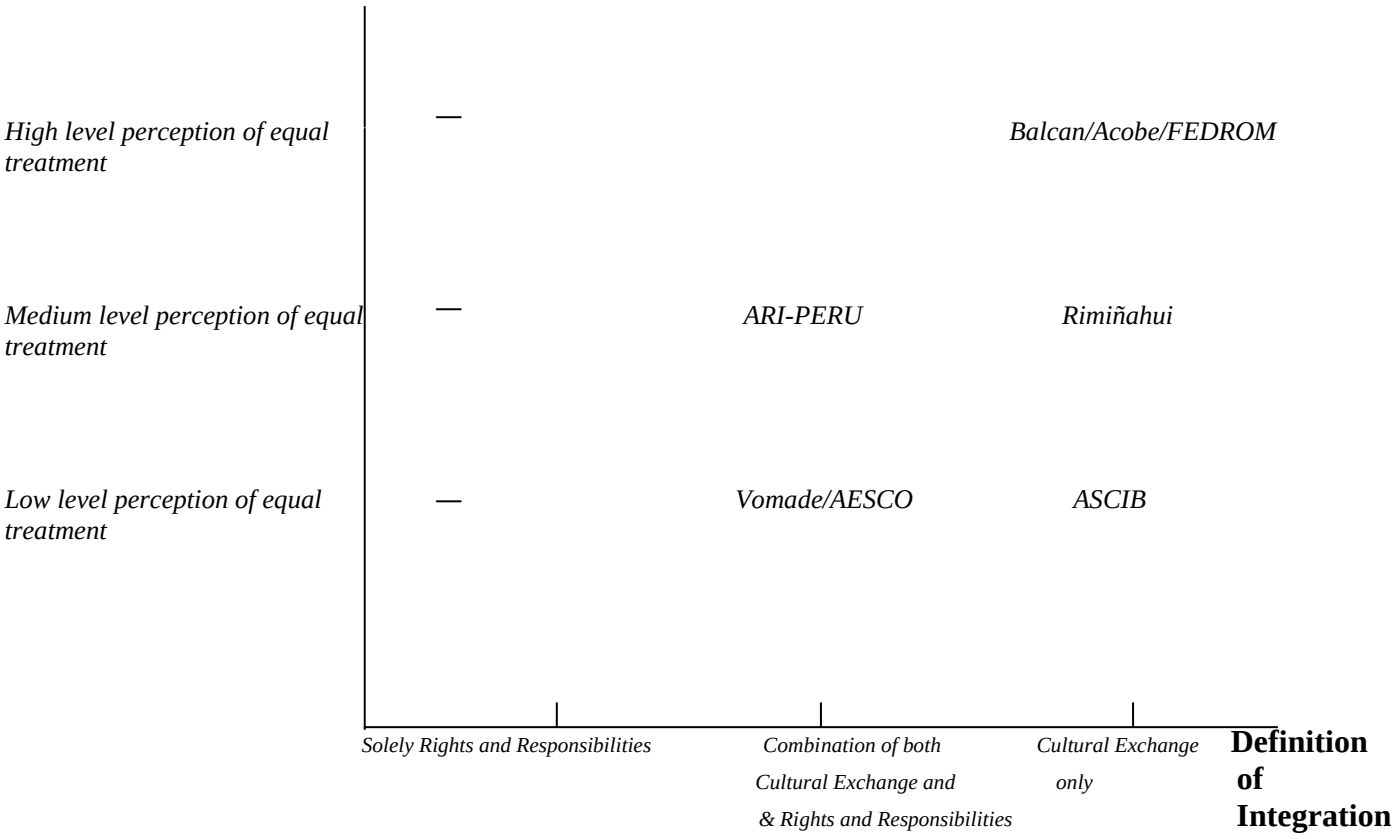


Figure 3.5 Collective Forum Participation Contentment vs. Individual or Associative Representation

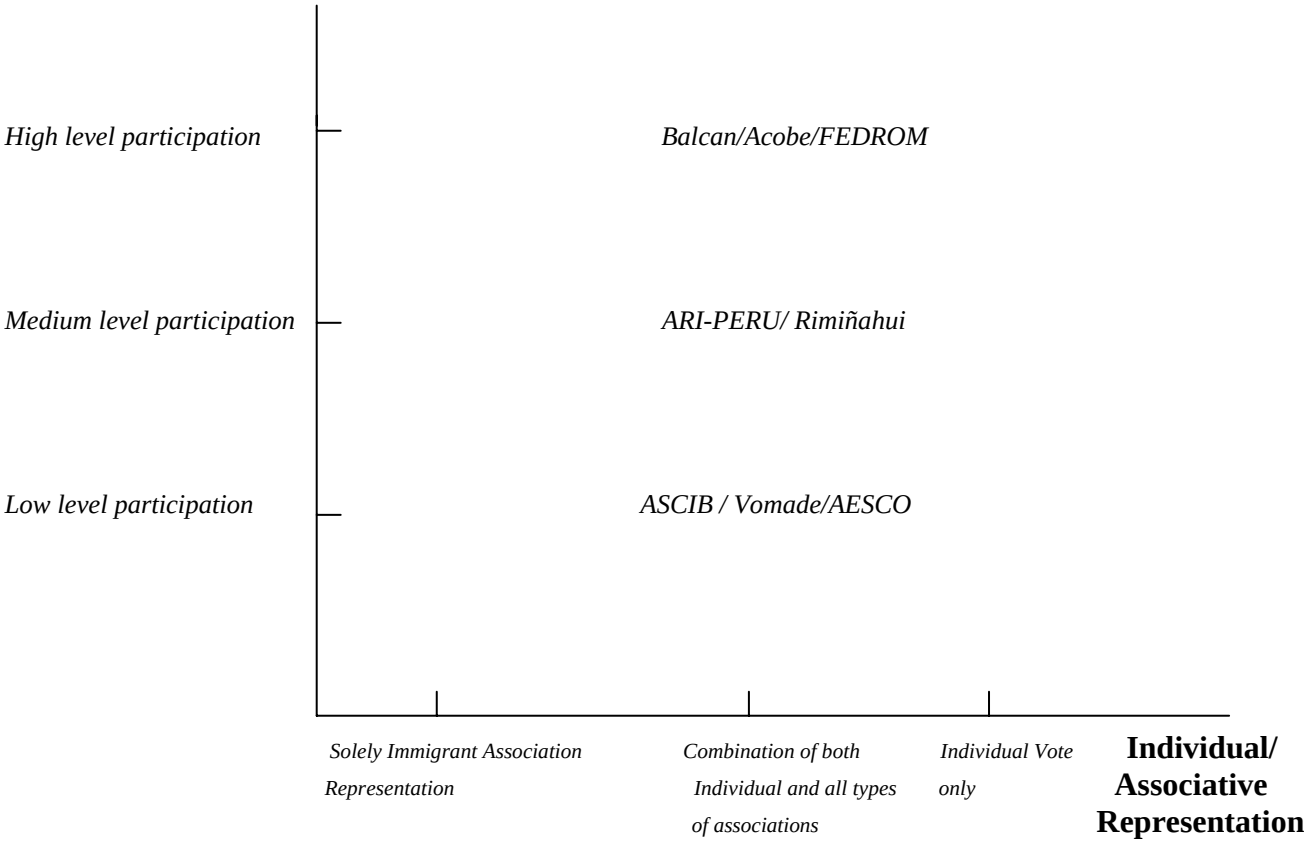


Figure 3.6 Collective Forum Participation Contentment vs. Definition of Integration

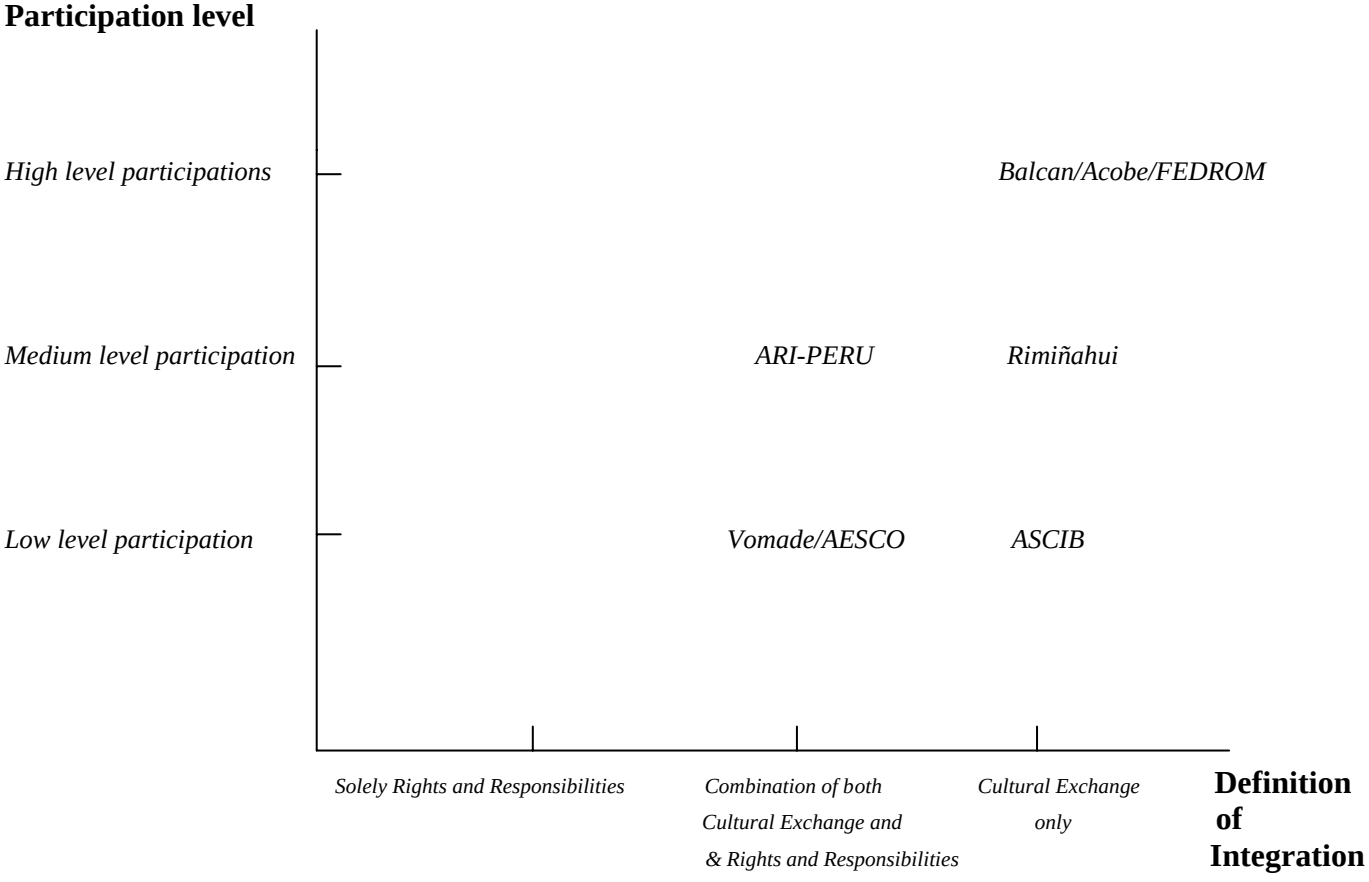


Figure 3.7 Combination of Collective Forum Participation Contentment/ Perception of Equal Treatment vs. Definition of Integration

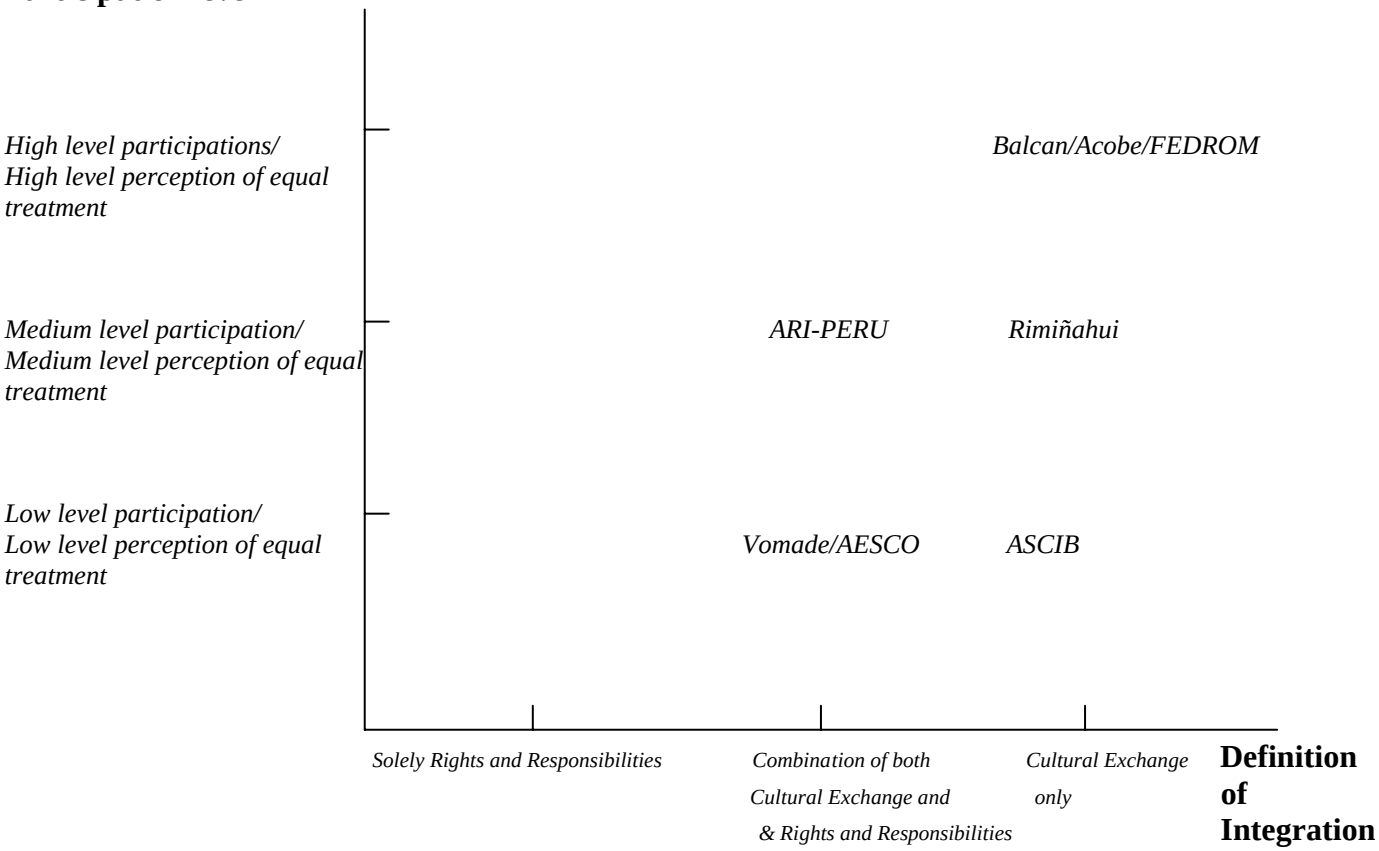
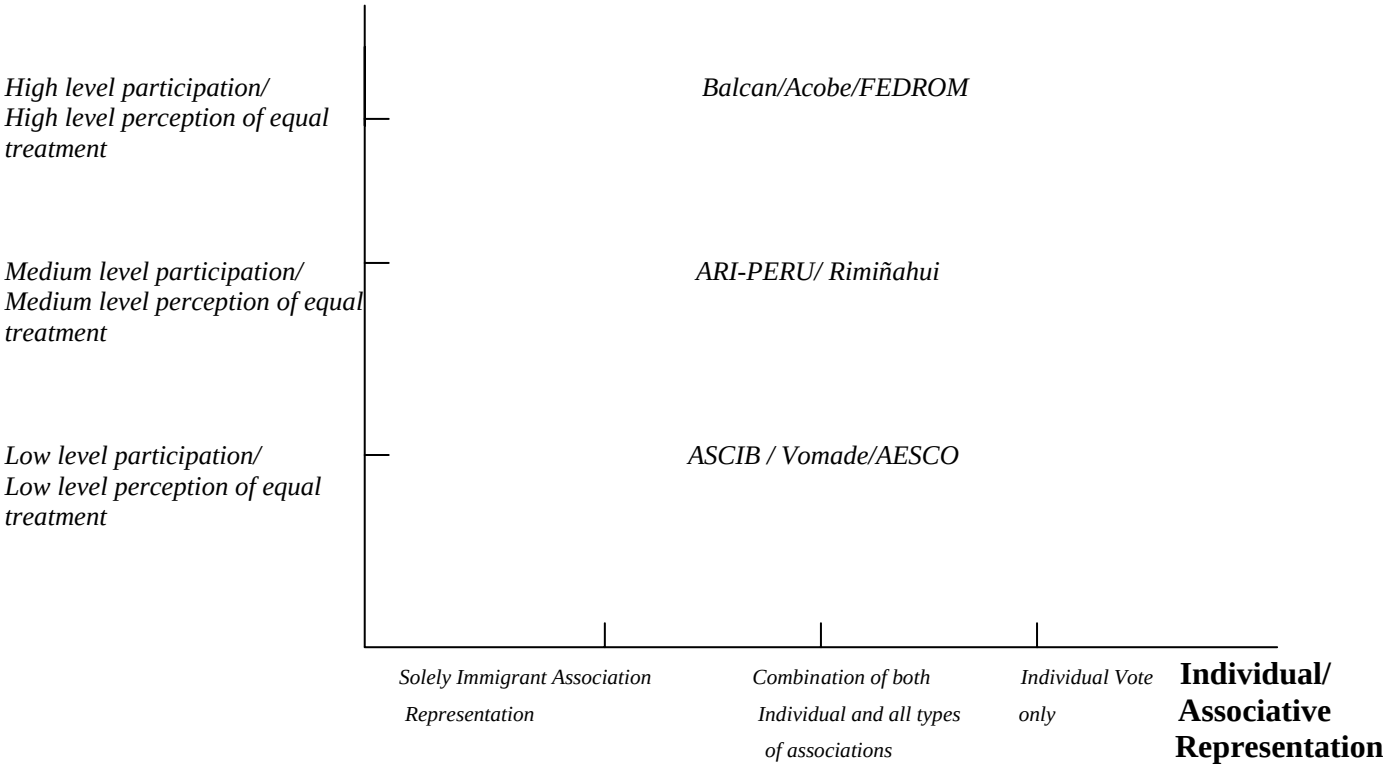


Figure 3.8 Combination of Collective Forum Participation Contentment/ Perception of Equal Treatment vs. Individual or Associative Representation



Overall, the vague sense of Intercultural exchange combined with the idea that immigrants should naturalize seems to be shared not only within the Spanish government but all associations and NGO's as well. Ironically, while the associations do state this as their goal, the idea that all become citizens may inadvertently mean that their very existence as immigrant associations be deemed unnecessary eventually unless the immigration rate continually increases without stop in the near future—something that has become impossible because of recent unemployment and economical difficulties in general throughout the world, not just within Spanish borders. An alternate route for immigrant associations "when immigrants are no longer immigrants but citizens" would be a cultural existence only, not a political or even bureaucratic one, but such a future would only be possible if all immigrants had the same access to citizenship anyway.

As one can observe in the following tables, the resulting conversations with the different organizations involved, as well as the local and autonomous community administrations, were quite similar, with each having a bit of their own point of view and implications. The most obvious difference was that of the two unions (UGT and CC.OO.) in that they view immigrants simply as workers. Their objective overall is to defend workers in general in order to create a similar reality of equality between them all, regardless of whether or not they are immigrants or not. Of course it is not in their interest that undocumented workers work for less under worse conditions just as it would not be in their interest that non-affiliated workers did the same. When discussing the definition of integration, the terms rights and responsibilities are present, with no real allusion to cultural terms. Again, "Normalization" is the goal.

Another case that stands out is that of the Employer Association (CEOE) that also just refers to immigrants as workers, as it is in their plain interest to gain access to

labor in general when needed. Here, the difference between the employer and the unions is that the employer more than likely looks for cheap labor, with or without the unions and is not one to express the concern for rights although "Normalization" to work within the parameters of legal employment is obviously in their interest also, not just simple cheap labor, but trained professionals with their documentation and degrees in order. All three, the two unions and the employer association see the Forums as positive consultative bodies although the CC.OO. states a deficit in Municipal elections since their forum is the youngest (he suggested that since they expected the municipal vote to be granted that it was deemed as unnecessary) All also agree that the Media has had a great deal to do with a recent social alarm and both express in one way or another that the possible recession could have an effect upon treatment of immigrants. The CEOE expressed the concern that the politicians have failed to properly address the situation to a public that more and more is preoccupied with concern over the topic of immigration.

In regards to the NGOs, the interviews were quite similar, except that they of course had a more immigrant targeted service-based relationship in general. All believe that the Forum is basically a positive consultative body that allows for participation in that sense, although CEAR admits that it is more passive then it has been in previous years and the representative from Cáritas believes it to act in a more reactive, than active nature. All mention public perceptions as dangerous, untrue or exaggerated either by the Media or public discourse. Cruz Roja and MPDL suggest that an increase in public resources such as public school meal tickets be increased due to the increased population so as not to add to the public's conception that the immigrants are taking what is theirs.

All organizations and administrations (NGOs, Unions, Employer Association, Municipal and Community Administrations) agree that the future of the immigrant lies in participation of all forms: individual and the associative movements of all kinds. The unions, both UGT and CC.OO. did make it clear that while associations are part of a democracy, and that the union looks for the equality for all workers. While they are not incompatible with associations, their unions cannot be split by nationalities. So it seems, at least to the degree that all interviewed parties "practice what they preach," that all eighteen are in agreement that the immigrant should participate in all forms, a normalized citizen like anyone else—and yet all agree that there is no actual Spanish model for Integration. Ironically, that is the exact model for Integration—the eventual naturalization of the immigrant into a citizen so that they are no longer considered to be immigrants, but citizens. One might argue that yes, there is not a straightforward "Model for Integration" on a national level in regards to implementation simply because it is blatantly liberal. Ultimately, the immigrant is not treated as such, but instead as a normalized individual and citizen, encouraged on a collective level to participate in grass-roots organizations of any kind available to them. Also, the very evidence of such lack of implementation is the fact that those entities involved do have a clear idea as to its purpose, or at least from where its purpose is coming from. Plus, yet again it must be mentioned that not all immigrants have the same access to citizenship, so that their ideal participation as citizens like everyone else is limited depending upon their country of origin.

As a replacement for direct participation, the idea of associative action is put forward as a viable via of communication within society—another way that immigrants could participate as citizens while they are unable to participate in other way._ Even so, when speaking of associative participation as an ideal form of integration for the

immigrant in neighborhood and parent associations would be exactly that: ideal. As the immigration population that works for less money, generally in manual labor, it hardly seems all that fair that all the society offers is the attendance to long, drawn-out meetings that the immigrant cannot understand because of language barriers in the first place. While this could be complimentary, it is not a substitute and may be the only venue that the biggest immigrant population has access to in their first ten years living in Spain—the Moroccans.

Though the immigrant association has made a collective voice audible up till now, all seem to arrive at the conclusion that it may not be all that representative of every immigrant. In fact, none made a claim to represent every immigrant, only to fight for the further granting of equality in rights and responsibilities. All claim to believe that the immigrant should be treated as any other native, and while some are proud to be different and even make a proud point to the outside world that they are not natives, and others see no reason why they must still be labeled as immigrants, that does not seem to effect the ultimate conclusion that immigrant or not, naturalized or not, the concept of equality is upheld.

In regards to defining the term integration, the Community of Madrid was the only interviewee that mentioned an adaptation of basic values of the community, and while recently such words are not that clear to what they refer to, the general leaning is towards an Intercultural exchange, quite like that mentioned by the NGOs (except the MPDL that focused on action within the society and ACCEM and Cáritas that mentioned the concept of a "sense of belonging" as well) and both administrative representatives when asked about their definition of the term integration. Both administration representatives also mentioned the Media as a negative factor towards contributing to social alarm in regards to the immigration issue, while refraining from

any mention of political discourse in contributing to such negativity. The Municipal representative, while admitting naturalization as an important aspect for the future of immigrant representation, insisted that since the granting of the municipal vote is not in their hands to give to the immigrants, that they really had not thought of the implications that it might have, and while it is in the national administrations power to grant it, obviously it would function within the municipal administration's sphere and it frankly seems doubtful that that they have not even thought about it.

Finally, while the previous tables dealing with the immigrant associations had a possible hypothesis in regards to each theme, individually with some leading to correlations between certain variable of the themes/questions, the only true conclusion drawn when discussing the topic with the NGOs, unions, employer association and administration are those discussed above. Also it is true that as immigration incremented, services offered, and funded by the government, incremented greatly also. Organizations that had originally dealt with the topic of emigration, or just asylum, came to deal with the impact of economic immigration and in greater numbers, demonstrating even further the liberal relationship of *incorporation* of immigrants in Spain, while not necessarily clearly defining what is its model of ***integration.*** Also, there is a definite difference in the treatment of the topic from the employer association and unions' standpoints as they generally deal with the individual as a worker only, while administrations and NGOs alike have a more broad view of the immigrant not only as a worker, but as a cultural contributor to society as well as an individual with rights and responsibilities.

Therefore, it is more so conclusions based upon the role of these social actors in regards to the immigration issue that come about as the result of these interviews conducted, not necessarily correlating variables based upon each experience. All those

involved have been part of the immigration experience in Spain from the very beginning of the transition from emigration to immigration or during the recent surge of immigration. Through financing from the administrations with the Autonomous Community acting as intermediary between the National and Municipal levels, these organizations have almost organically taken part in what many call a the Spanish immigration *phenomena*, but it most likely better described as the Spanish immigration *reality*. It may not be as quite as dramatic as the term phenomena, but it is the reality that has come to settle within the Spanish society, economic crisis or not. Even while a small percentage of the immigrant population may take advantage of the available help through these associations and organizations—funded although not directed by the government—and representation concerns aside, the help is there, the demand for rights and obligations also, along with the hope for full access to total participation socially as well as politically.

What is not absolutely clear is the extent of the Spanish government's intent in regards to its actual policy and implementation. In fact, when only 14% of immigrants in 2005 actually took part of the help offered by NGO's, it seems improbable to assume that the government's implementation is at all effective really, unless its intent is just that: to not directly deal with the immigrant population in any other form except that of those "immigrants that are no longer immigrants" but citizens. Once more, Spain's ultimate goal, though not as directly stated as that of Germany's policy, is to give equal rights and responsibilities, including suffrage, to citizens, not just permanent residents (with the exception of the EU reciprocal municipal vote of course). Therefore, as long as the ultimate goal of the immigrant is to eventually naturalize, Spain's Integration Policy is quite thorough in the most part. If an immigrant does not wish to naturalize, or must wait a considerable time to do so, then their possibilities for full integration are

existent but limited: one, third-country nationals have access to social benefits; two, responsibilities in the form of taxes; three, extra aid is available through private venues subsidized by the state even but they reach a small sector of the population; four, all have a free right to speech and association; fifth, immigrants only have access to political consultative representation through associational affiliation and such political participation is scarce, limited and generally based upon competing for subsidies, not actual representation. Finally, eventually all permanent residents have access to naturalization, but some must wait ten years in order to apply for it. Thus, all points for integration are touched upon, but not clearly spelled out and definitely not directly applied in equal fashion. All in all, it is not completely lacking in regards to policy, but definitely lacking in regards to actual implementation. In the end, citizenship can never be taken from the picture, because without it, integration in its purest form will be denied.

Table 3.16 Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT)[159]

Category:	Start, Evolution and Services in Immigration	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• 1991 set a up a legal network but started to seriously work the issue in 1996 • legal documentation • 1996 focus on employment and influence of legislation	• Part of the National Forum since its beginnings • good form of participation • holds a privileged position on a permanent commission "una asociación de inmigrantes nunca va a tener el peso que puede tener un interlocutor social"	• Equality of rights and respect same as a national or EU community worker= "Normalization" • Integration n all associations • Someday they will no longer be immigrants	• Union is a mirror of society: If everything goes well—everyone has a job—then everything is ok BUT if not, the weaker immigrant may be blamed	• Associations represent their associates • Equal treatment of all workers • Do not go backwards in regard to EU Directives • less rights for immigrants makes them more vulnerable which is not good for them or the native worker when the cheapest worker is hired. "a largo plazo la igualdad de derecho es garantía de paz social"
Hypothesis:	The more immigration, the more need for services managed by organizations and financed by the state administration.				

[159] Roc, Pilar. Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT). Personal Interview. 3 July 2008.

Table 3.17 Confederación Española de Organizaciones Empresariales (CEOE)[160]

Category:	Start, Evolution and Services in Immigration	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• Always worked with it within the Social Security Department	• Received a letter from the Ministry saying they had to name a representative for the National Forum • Thinks it to be a useful Forum that interests them	• "Normalization" • Proper documentation is in their interest strictly from an employment point of view they need workers to hire.	• Immigration worries Spaniards: think they are collapsing the Social Security system, taking school places therefore there is a necessity for politicians to quell the public alarm	• Sees participation of associations as active and positive • Normalization of workers in general so they are available for contract
Hypothesis:	Very straight forward need for labor—no hypothesis, only the commentary.				

Table 3.18 Asociación Comisión Católica Española de Migración (ACCEM)[161]

Category:	Start, Evolution and Services in Immigration	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• 1996 seriously involved with immigrants • asylum • legal assistance • psychological • Spanish classes • women in vulnerability • housing	• Part of the Forum since 1996 • Consultative body to express opinions • good participation: very active	• Belonging to a community of neighbors -parent associations -participation -equal rights and responsibilities	• Work conditions are worse • Nationality and gender discrimination • Housing • Political discourse dangerous: public perceptions that re not necessarily true • Fear of Recession	• The vote is important but not the only participation. • Associations make immigration visible making its work a positive • Immigrant associations can be immature and compete for public resources but they are helping their collectives.
Hypothesis:	The more immigration, the more need for services managed by organizations and financed by the state administration.				

[160] De Mar, Maria. Confederación Española de Organizaciones Empresariales (CEOE). Personal Interview. 3 July 2008.

[161] Barbero, Enrique. Asociación Comisión Católica Española de Migración (ACCEM). Personal Interview. 4 July 2008.

Table 3.19 Cáritas Española 162

Category:	Start, Evolution and Services in Immigration	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• Started to really be involved in 1986/87 • Social advice, psychological, legal network, housing and employment • Three basic ascpects 1.get immigrants in touch with friends and family 2.employment 3.housing	• Part of the Forum and considers it to have a reactive focus, not a clear agenda for work	• personal option • long process • feeling of belonging • recognition of value of one's different culture	• Media can be negative: talk of an "invasion" • At the same time, Spaniards generally get along with immigrant neighbors	• In favor of immigrant associations to a certain degree • Immigrants should take part in all kinds of associations but it is difficult when the native population is not active
Hypothesis:	The more immigration, the more need for services managed by organizations and financed by the state administration.				

[162] Gutierrez, Augustín. Cáritas Española. Personal Interview. 9 July 2008.

Table 3.20 Comisiones Obreras (CC.OO.)[163]

Category:	Start, Evolution and Services in Immigration	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• Became involved in 1988, after the Foreigner's Law of 1985 • Opened CITE (Centros de Información para Trabajadores Extranjeros) • Legal/Documentation • Everything to do with employment "Todo la dramática laboral que es apropiado de un sindicato" • All nationalities	• Interesting Participation • Consultative body • Deficit in municipal participation	• Recognition of equal treatment • Rights and Responsibilities	• Not equal treatment • Fear and discrimination • Different opinions but there is a lack of information in the Media	• Associations are part of democracy • The Union cannot be fractioned into pieces based upon nationality • The Unions and Associations are not incompatible • Immigrants should become part of society as citizens
Hypothesis:	The more immigration, the more need for services managed by organizations and financed by the state administration.				

[163] Jiménez, José Antonio. Comisiones Obreras (CC.OO.). Personal Interview. 9 July 2008.

Table 3.21 Movimiento por la Paz, el Desarme y la Libertad (MPDL) [164]

Category:	Start, Evolution and Services in Immigration	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• Since 1994 dealing with economic immigration • isolated issues • legal/ documentation • Spanish classes • Women	• Consultative body	• Outright action in social and political circles	• Media can be negative i.e.-meal tickets taken by immigrants when in reality only 13% in Madrid • earn less money • cannot get housing	• Participation of any kind is necessary: anything they have access to
Hypothesis:	The more immigration, the more need for services managed by organizations and financed by the state administration.				

Table 3.22 Comisión Española para la Ayuda al Refugiado (CEAR) [165]

Category:	Start, Evolution and Services in Immigration	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• 1979 created between Religious Organizations, Evangelistic Church, Muslim Community, Unions (/UGT CC.OO.), Human Rights Associations, and Political Parties (PP/PSOE/IU) • Went from legal help to employment and psychological help	• Consultative body: originally more active but now more passive	• There's no model in Spain yet • Equal rights and Responsibilities • Intercultural: social transformation for Spain and for immigrants=reciprocal process • New Concept of Citizenship: Nationality is more where you live than where you were born	• Extreme labor exploitation • Housing prices can form ghettos • Irresponsible attitude on part of the political parties • Media	• Immigrant participation is small • Municipal vote reciprocity: difficult to execute • Immigrants should be part of schools, unions, neighborhood associations etc.
Hypothesis:	The more immigration, the more need for services managed by organizations and financed by the state administration.				

[164] Sanchez, Enrique, Movimiento por la Paz, el Desarme y la Libertad (MPDL). Personal Interview. 14 July 2008.

[165] Jiménez, José Antonio. Comisiones Obreras (CC.OO.). Personal Interview. 9 July 2008.

Table 3.23 Cruz Roja 166

Category:	Start, Evolution and Services in Immigration	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• Started in the 1960s dealing with refugees • 1991 started dealing with immigrants • Reception • Family/Friend network • Medical check-up • Employment (legal formation or send undocumented immigrants toward other work) • language • legal/documentation • get children signed up for school	• Good participation in Forum in general	• Exchange of cultures and knowledge • Mutual respect: both natives and immigrants • Part of all association: parent, neighborhood and volunteers • Learning experience because both parties want to.	• Spain is not a xenophobic country in general • Problems such as school meal tickets should solved by increasing resources to match demand in general • Media and politicians can cause harm by speaking of an "invasion"	• Should have right to vote as citizens so as to participate as individuals • Personal opinion is concept of citizenship as a permanent resident • allows for right to vote
Hypothesis:	The more immigration, the more need for services managed by organizations and financed by the state administration.				

[166] De la Rocha, Maruxa. Cruz Roja Española. Personal Interview. 21 July 2008.

Table 3.24 Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Dirección General de Inmigración y Cooperación al Desarrollo [167]

Category:	Services	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• 1990-95 quantity of immigration increased but 2000-06 constituted the biggest quantity • Social services incremented along with increment of immigrants • Reception and Welcome for vulnerable populations especially sub-Saharan and Bulgarian gypsies • All services are principally managed by the Red Cross, CEAR and ACCEM	• Recent Forum has brought together native neighbors and immigrants: undocumented immigrants and minors and while recent shows great promise	• Madrid has a very specific model • Between French and Anglo-Saxon models: Intercultural • New neighbors and old neighbors • Respect of rights • Conservation of culture • "Convivencia" coexistence	• Reaction to recession a fear but thinks madrileños are welcoming in general because they are form other areas themselves • Slowness in renewing resident permits is a national level but says that administration needs time to catch up (compares it to a big elephant)	• View on municipal vote is non-existent since it is a national decision • Naturalization is important • Relation neighbor to neighbor is important
Hypothesis:	The more immigration, the more services offered and managed by private organizations.				

Table 3.25 Comunidad de Madrid [168]

Category:	Services	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• All services are principally managed by the Red Cross, CEAR and ACCEM • Financial intermediary between the National level and Municipal levels: municipal projects are analyzed and subsidies are handed out	• Community Forum works with representation of the immigrant associative movement: immigrant associations are only one via of participation (neighborhood, parent and city halls)	• Bi-directional: development of society and immigrant • Adaptation of basic values of community • Contribution to its progress • Long process • Citizen like any other • "Normalization"	• Recession is a fear. Discriminations could come about • Media talks of an invasion, criminality when prisons are full of natives, not immigrants	• Participation in all spheres, not just immigrant associations • Associations have become politicized because of Foreigner's Law • Associations want to speak in name off all immigrants but they are not representative • "Normalization" as any citizen
Hypothesis:	The more immigration, the more services offered and managed by private organizations.				

[167] Moreno Lopez, Gregorio. Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Dirección General de Inmigración y Cooperación al Desarrollo. Personal Interview. 15 July 2008.
[168] Tshitshi, Kayamba. Comunidad de Madrid. Personal Interview. 16 July 2008.

Conclusions

Citizenship, in and of itself is a simple concept that can only be defined and reduced into two categories: who is a citizen and who is not. Still, the question remains is what does such a plain actually idea entail. Inversely, and more importantly in regards to this thesis, what are the ramifications of a system based upon this ideal for the individuals that do not fit within the outline of those who belong and those that do not. Through modern history, if civil rights resulted in political ones, ultimately leading to social rights, then citizenship was the framework from within all rights and responsibilities came to be. A minimum welfare for all is existent because of the process within the framework of citizenship, and without the process, guarantees of such rights and responsibilities are fragile, if not non-existent. Populations are separated into citizens, in this case including EU citizens, and non-citizens. Non-citizens with guaranteed fluidity of all social rights are permanent residents, but these residents do not have access to the political rights that generated said social rights. In order to become part of the process and framework of citizenship, they must be naturalized and thus proclaimed as full members.

In the case of the German experience, even access to permanent residency was initially denied and temporary workers spread out through three generations. When their permanence became unavoidable, access to eventual naturalization was allowed to those that earlier were not even considered to be worthy of full membership. Initially, exclusion was clear and when inclusion was offered as an alternative, its access was equally distributed to its immigrant population, along with its clear intent of a form of assimilation to cultural norms. Lack of access to naturalization was used as a method, or outright denial, against permanent immigration, just as the Spanish's government uses different timetables for different immigrant populations based on origin today.

In the case of Spain, it is an implied denial of differences that guarantees rights to all legal residents within its constitution and then refers to them as citizens within its plan for integration. This could simply be an irresponsible misuse of terms or a purposeful implying of assimilation, considering that normalization as a citizen is the path towards integration. Regardless, it is the lack of outright definition of its purpose and goals that lacks transparency and responsibility. When it comes to representation on the part of various immigrant associations, they really have no direct corporate representation, and their role, though necessary as a result of bottom-up, reactionary policy implementation, is not meant to involve participation on the part of permanent residents. Instead, such associations as well as NGO's are subsidized in order to provide a service that the government has no intention of actually implementing themselves.

In accordance with the *Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía y Inmigración*, permanent residents are encouraged to become part of the framework of citizenry to the point that they are referred to as such before the fact. Also, some third-country nationals are considered to be even more so prepared for such a transition based upon their country of origin than others, as in the case of Latin Americans, while others must wait as long as ten year, as in the case of Moroccans. In fact, the consensus between most organizations involved in the plan is that there is not a clear plan at all, when in fact, it is its very lack of clarity that is the actual plan.

By passively ignoring integration head on through a clear and equalizing policy, a supposed Intercultural Exchange is reduced to assimilation through naturalization. Additionally, naturalization is directly offered to those that are considered to already have historical and cultural ties to Spanish society to begin with—not *jus soli* or *jus sanguinis*—simply an assumption of cultural pliability. Regardless of one's views on

how open an immigration policy should be for those wishing to take part, whether it is based upon assimilation, multiculturalism or intercultural exchange, one thing that a policy should be is clear and effective. The Spanish government's policy is neither of those things, and while it may include practically all of the points necessary to achieve integration (access to social benefits, responsibilities, aid and support through transition period, free right to association and speech, some political involvement, and naturalization access) it is weak in regards to its implementation of aid and support as it reaches a small number of immigrants, political involvement is limited really to true members through naturalization and that naturalization is not offered to all on the same terms or timetable. Effectively, the policy in fact pinpoints certain populations as being encouraged to be permanent members while others must hold out longer in order to gain such a right.

A Final Look at Immigrant Integration Policy in Spain

Third-country nationals, or legal permanent residents, are constitutionally allowed the same legal rights as Spaniards except for some geographic mobility limitations, for the right to vote and access to public posts, along with their lack of obligation towards the state in regards to military service. Again, as stated in Article 13 of the Spanish Constitution:

> "1.Los extranjeros gozarán en España de las libertades públicas que garantiza el presente Título en los términos que establezcan los tratados y la ley.
> 2.Solamente los españoles serán titulares de los derechos reconocidos en el artículo 23, salvo lo que, atendiendo a criterios de reciprocidad, pueda establecerse por tratado o ley para el derecho de sufragio activo y pasivo en elecciones municipales."[169]

Article 23 clearly states that only citizens have the constitutional right to suffrage and public service, the only exception being "tratado o ley" which in this case refers to citizens of European Member States who have the right to vote in municipal elections. In this sense, the exclusionary essence of citizenship consistently avails.

In regards to the actuality in Spain, its liberal and individualistic treatment to its immigrant population is in the first stages of development. Regarding the number of immigrants coming from specific countries to Spain, while most populations have been maintained as a total percentage of immigrants, it seems that third-country national Colombians and Ecuadorians have been gaining in not only numbers but also in percentile*(Colombians 6%, Ecuadorians 9.9% 2007).* Still, the Moroccan population accounted for 16 percent of the total immigrant population in 2007 and was still the largest group. Constitutionally, Spain treats its documented immigrants liberally in that they are offered the same individual rights, except for suffrage, as Spaniards. In relation to Spain's political parties, immigrants are treated mainly as individuals in accordance with the liberal model. The conservative PP party sees them in the purest liberal model

[169] Constitución Española, Título 1. Capítulo Primero. De los españoles y extranjeros.

sense, in that they are to hold to an economic model of necessity, integrated from an individual economic standpoint. The socialist PSOE seems to vie for their integration while it is only specific in regards to hoping for third-country national municipal suffrage, a reciprocal impossibility for those immigrants that originate from non-democratic societies. Finally, the leftist IU still sees immigrants as individuals, individuals with the same rights regardless of documentation or lack thereof. While the Spanish government has consistently contributed to what is known as the European Fortress by making it more and more difficult to acquire documentation outside Spanish borders, it has recently passed not one but two Amnesty bills through the parliament, admitting to its necessity for the immigrant workers within its borders. As of late, such necessity has declined as a result of economic crisis. Overall, conservative or socialist, the Spanish government's standing in regards to immigrant entry does not differ much, although in regards to integration, the PSOE's proposal of municipal suffrage, at least for legal immigrants, would be a step towards a limited further integration. While its reciprocal contingency in the Spanish constitution may keep many from actually voting, it is a step forwards toward political participation.

When one looks to public welfare, both the legal and illegal immigrant is allowed health care, but worker's compensation and pension is only for legal documented immigrants. In this sense, legal third-country nationals, as long as they continue their residency, are guaranteed the same public welfare as a citizen on an individual basis. Throughout all of this is the presence of voluntary associations that generally address the immediate needs of the immigrants in regards to asylum, housing, and protection against domestic violence, again classifying the Spanish system of Integration as liberal, because of its constant reliance upon these private organizations.

Generally, alternate options to naturalization are not at all that viable. Such concepts as Cosmopolitan Citizenship[170] and European Citizenship as a solution for third-country nationals to allow their inclusion into a society—and polity—may in theory function as an alternative, but in reality may not directly contribute to any form of actual integration. European Citizenship could be seen as yet another European exclusionary tactic since it is only offered to EU member citizens, and Cosmopolitan Citizenship could be considered to be a vague solution to a very complex, multicultural situation, especially when cultural identification seems to be the foremost preoccupation. By its very nature, citizenship is an exclusionary social contract identifying one, not just to a polity, but also to a citizenry and society that is culturally defined and blurred within the nation-state. Some citizens within the same nation-states continually find themselves unable to identify themselves fully with their own citizenship, but instead may identify themselves by their religion or ethnic origin. Nationalistic tendencies transcend these territorial lines and at the same time, migratory flows seem to be opening yet another source of multiculturalism in an even more extreme sense to the playing field. Culture, relative only in its comparison to its counterpart, has never been clearly defined, leading one to the conclusion that everything must be reduced to a common denominator in order to bring sense to such a complex situation. Personhood, basic human rights and inclusion, not only in nation-states that are receivers of migratory flows but also in emigrant nation-states, must be re-evaluated and defined in order to form a hypothesis as to what direction such global interaction is actually heading, and whether or not its true direction coincides with liberal democratic requirements.

[170] Inda García, Andrés. El cosmopolitismo y las nievas fronteras de la ciudadanía.

Integration in and of itself represents the individual's ability, or at least his/her possibility, of becoming a member in the society in which he/she resides. Consent plays a crucial part in all of this, on the part of the immigrant and on the part of the receiving society as well. It must be said that immigrants should have access to some sort of legal residency if their presence is needed and the circle of those that may benefit from a host country's prosperity should be widened as much as possible. Again, there exists always the fear that "they" will all come and the prosperity will be weakened in itself, a fear that has of yet to realize itself since generally immigrants come as a result of continued prosperity, not the prospect of its absence. Yes, there is a definite limit to the circle and a circle it remains, identifying who belongs and who does not. The nation-state defines who it identifies with and how, and the world is far from international cooperation in some sort of universal citizenship.

Still, a democratic state holds the responsibility of defending its workers' rights, citizen or not, and workers should have the right to some type of basic equal conditions—illegal immigrants do not have access to these equal conditions. Such conditions as a minimum pay, access to health care, education, and worker's compensation should be guarantees towards citizens as well as those that work along side them. As said before, integration must be approached by both sides—that of the immigrant and that of the host society. As such, being part of a society, being a member means contributing to the general welfare, in other words paying one's taxes, not just the employer but the employee also so that he/she may benefit from basic and equal conditions. This brings us back to Caren´s definition of justice and right: "… *the provision of some minimum level of welfare to all*…" Most democratic societies would agree upon the basic concept of rights and justice, and the fact that illegal immigration allows for a large quantity of the population to not have access to its benefits and its

responsibilities is simply incongruent. Membership is a bundle of rights and a bundle of responsibilities that ideally should not be separated from each other.

Returning to the Spanish experience, in regards to legal residents from third countries, most responsibilities have been assumed, but the rights may not be all present as citizenship remains to be a requisite for full membership. Also, immigrant associative movements do not seem to want to monopolize immigrant representation, but instead admit the importance of individual incorporation into society. Up until now, the Spanish government's lack of clarity in regards for its wish for complete normalization of its immigrant population in terms of naturalization has not negatively effected the population, considering that the need for workers was so great and jobs were available for plenty. One must consider the possible competition that could result as a reaction to the economic crisis or recession that Spain has embarked upon in 2008, but again, the positive is that there is no sense either in the NGOs, administrations, unions, employer association, or immigrant associations that there is any sign of any extreme xenophobic, racist or bigoted reaction to the immigration reality in Spain. While there may be isolated incidences of ignorance, a worsening of public opinion in general terms of the issue, Spanish society up until now has seemed to adjust quite nicely to an extremely rapid succession of economic immigrant inflow, extreme economic growth and necessity or not.

Still, Spanish government's lack of "proactiveness" also allows for a lack of equality, slowing down the equalizing process of naturalization, which is the ultimate goal of the administration to begin with. If simple naturalization is not offered within a reasonable time period, along with the ability to maintain dual nationality, political participation in and of itself is nonexistent. Spain's actual policy is naturalization as a path towards full integration means that citizenship is the only viable access road. An

answer to such a void of participation, may be participation in community associations of all forms as well as unions, but such participation should not be mandatory for anyone and depends upon other priorities in one's life. Plus, it can never be a substitution for full membership into a society: civil, political and social.

If one is only to take into account the actualities of Spanish and German immigration policy, the full political participation of residents without naturalization is impossible. Again, Spain has brought up the issue in regards to municipal elections, but such participation must be reciprocal, making such an idea difficult to execute as mentioned before. In regards to Germany, they have just recently accepted the idea that residents living within its borders up to three generations have the right to even naturalize—their entire concept of what it is to be German has been revolutionized, not a small feat by any means.

In conclusion, full integration for a simple permanent resident is impossible if such integration is based upon the principle of equality as full access to rights and responsibilities as a full member—basically full citizenship. Thus it can be assumed that if such access is impeded, entirely or partially, the possibilities of integration are of course limited. In the case of Spain, yes there is an immigration integration policy, but its finite goal, that of normalization through naturalization is not clearly set forth. Also, those that have immediate access to what is considered to be total integration in the form of citizenship are those that are considered to have a historical relationship from the onset, even before they set foot on Spanish territory in the first place. In sharp contrast, some are required to have completed ten years of legal residency in order to become full members of society. Granted that such consideration is up to each individual government and such a point is not to be argued here, but it is its lack of equal access which makes it inconsistent, along with its outright lack of proclamation in

regards to its ultimate goals. In other words, its policy should be more straightforward in its terms, and such straightforwardness would go a long way in furthering its implementation. On the other hand, its lack of efficacy in regards to implementation could very well be part of executing its unwillingness to allow full membership to recent arrivals; and in that case, its methods could result in some sort of vague congruence. Still, such vagueness in regards to a policy that is of utmost importance in a nation-state that has recently undergone a great change of demographic proportions does not sit well. Its lack of transparency, and thus resulting lack of responsibility, in times of economic progress leads one to wonder how it will react, instead of act, in times of economic pressure.

Annex

Table 1.1- Classifying Factors of Incorporation Models

Relationship between state and individual?	Statist	Corporate	Liberal
Type of right assigned as?	Individual	Group	Individual
Who organizes the relationship?	State through the state	Private group through the state	Private group/individual through private group/individual
How is the right exercised?	Individually	Individually and *collectively*	Individually

Table 2.1 - Naturalization in Germany 1998-2005

Country	1998	% of total immigrant population	1999	% of total immigrant population	2000	% of total immigrant population	2001	% of total immigrant population	2002	% of total immigrant population	2003	% of total immigrant population	2004	% of total immigrant population	2005	% of total immigrant population
Turkey	**59,664**	**.8%**	**103,900 ***	**1.4%**	**82,861**	**1.1%**	**76,573**	**1%**	**64,631**	**.9%**	**56,244**	**.8%**	**44,465**	**.7%**	**32,661**	**.7%**
Iran	1,171	<.1%	1,529	<.1%	14,410	.2%	12,020	.16%	13,026	.17%	9,440	.1%	6,362	<.1%	4,482	<.1%
Afghanistan	1,200	<.1%	1,355	<.1%	4,773	<.1%	5,111	<.1%	4,750	<.1%	4,948	<.1%	4,077	<.1%	3,133	<.1%
Morocco	4,981	<.1%	4,312	<.1%	5,008	<.1%	4,425	<.1%	3,800	<.1%	4,118	<.1%	3,820	<.1%	3,684	<.1%
Serbia and Montenegro	2,404	<.1%	3,120	<.1%	9,776	.1%	12,000	.16%	8,375	.1%	5,504	<.1%	3,539	<.1%	8,824	<.1%
Lebanon	1,782	<.1%	2,491	<.1%	5,673	<.1%	4,486	<.1%	3,300	<.1%	2,651	<.1%	2,265	<.1%	1,969	<.1%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	3,469	<.1%	3,745	<.1%	4,002	<.1%	3,791	<.1%	2,357	<.1%	1,770	<.1%	2,103	<.1%	1,907	<.1%
Croatia	2,198	<.1%	1,536	<.1%	3,316	<.1%	3,931	<.1%	2,974	<.1%	2,048	<.1%	1,689	<.1%	1,287	<.1%
Vietnam	3,452	<.1%	2,270	<.1%	4,489	<.1%	3,014	<.1%	1,482	<.1%	1,423	<.1%	1,371	<.1%	1,278	<.1%
Other Countries	26,469	.4%	18,412	.3%	52,380	.7%	52,747	.7%	49,852	.7%	52,585	.7%	57,462	.9%	57,462	.9%
Total	**106,790**	**1.5%**	**142,670**	**1.9%**	**186,688**	**2.6%**	**178,098**	**2.4%**	**154,547**	**2.1%**	**140,731**	**1.9%**	**127,153**	**1.9%**	**117,241**	**1.9%**

Source: OECD International Migration Outlook Annual Report 2006

**Note the height of naturalization for the Turkish population was in 1999, the year before the 2000 law took effect and foreign births were no longer "foreign"*

Graphic 2.1 - Naturalization in Germany 1998-2005

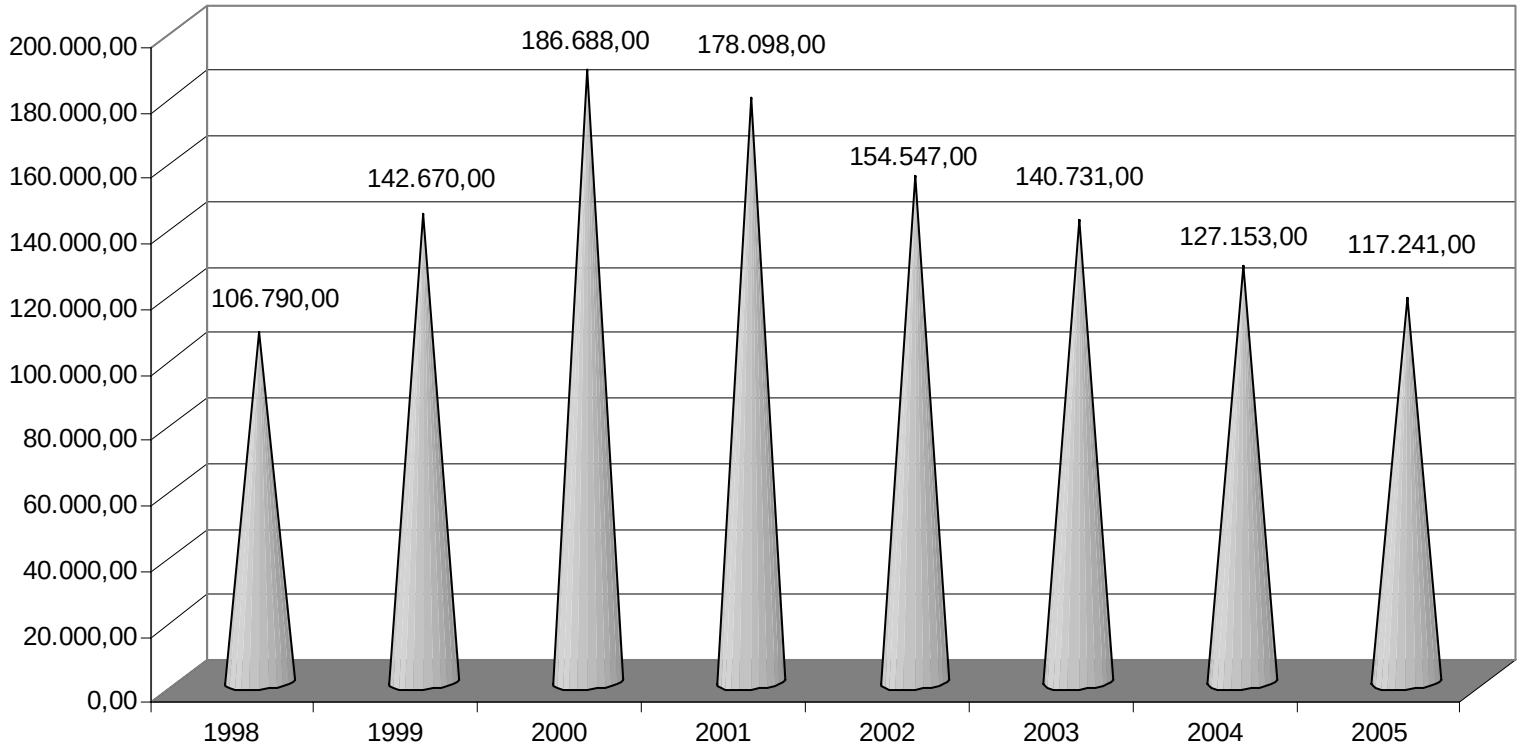


Table 2.2 - Foreign national residents in Germany 1998-2005

Country	1998 % of total		1999 % of total		2000 % of total		2001 % of total		2002 % of total		2003 % of total		2004 % of total		2005 % of total	
Turkey	2,110,200	28.8%	2,053,600	28%	1,998,500	27.4%	1,947,900	26.6%	1,912,200	26.1%	1,877,700	25.7%	1,764,300	26%	1,764,000	26%
Italy	612,000	8.4%	615,900	8.4%	619,100	8.4%	616,300	8.4%	609,800	8.3%	601,300	8.2%	548,200	8.1%	540,800	8%
Former Yugoslavia	---------	-------	---------	-----	----------	-------	----------	-------	----------	-------	----------	--------	381,600	5.6%	196,900	2.9%
Greece	363,500	5%	364,400	5%	365,400	5%	362,700	5%	359,400	4.9%	354,600	4.8%	316,000	4.7%	309,000	4.6%
Poland	283,600	3.9%	291,700	4%	301,400	4.1%	310,400	4%	317,600	4.3%	326,900	4.5%	292,100	4.3%	326,600	4.8%
Croatia	208,900	2.9%	214,000	2.9%	216,800	3%	223,800	3%	231,000	3.1%	236,600	3.2	229,200	3.4%	228,900	3.4%
Russian Federation	81,100	1.1%	98,400	1.3%	115,900	1.5%	136,100	1.9%	155,600	2.1%	173,500	2.4%	178,600	2.7%	185,900	2.8%
Austria	185,200	2.5%	186,100	2.5%	187,700	2.5%	189,000	2.6%	189,300	2.6%	189,500	2.6%	174,000	2.6%	174,800	2.6%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	190,100	2.6%	167,700	2.3%	156,300	2.1%	159,000	2%	163,800	2.2%	167,100	2.3%	156,000	2.3%	156,900	2.3%
Ukraine	63,800	.9%	76,800	1%	89,300	1.2%	103,500	1.4%	116,000	1.6%	126,000	1.7%	128,100	1.9%	130,700	1.9%
Serbia and Montenegro	719,500	9.8%	737,200	10%	662,500	9%	627,500	8.6%	591,500	8%	568,200	7.7%	125,800	1.9%	297,000	4.4%
Portugal	132,600	1.8%	132,600	1.8%	133,700	2%	132,600	2%	131,400	2%	130,600	1.8%	116,700	1.7%	115,600	1.7%
Netherlands	112,100	1.5%	110,500	1.5%	110,800	1.5%	112,400	1.5%	115,200	1.6%	118,700	1.6%	114,100	1.7%	118,600	1.8%
Spain	131,100	1.8%	129,900	1.8%	129,400	1.8%	128,700	2%	127,500	1.7%	126,000	1.7%	108,300	1.6%	107,800	1.6%
France	105,800	1.4%	107,200	1.5%	110,200	1.5%	111,300	1.5%	112,400	1.5%	113,000	1.5%	100,500	1.5%	102,200	1.5%
Other Countries	2,020,100	27.6%	2,057,800	28%	2,099,800	28.8%	2,157,300	29.5%	2,203,000	30%	2,225,200	30.3%	2,005,300	30%	1,999,300	29.6%
Total	**7,319,600**		**7,343,600**		**7,296,800**		**7,318,600**		**7,335,600**		**7,334,800**		**6,738,700***		**6,755,800**	

Source: OECD International Migration Outlook Annual Report 2006 Edition/2007 Edition

*****Note change in 2004—****relatively stable number of foreign residents up until that time: change due to AZR register cross check and decline in number of foreign births (result of 2000 law granting of nationality at birth for children with one parent resident of eight years and right to permanent residence)*

Graphic 2.2 - Foreign national residents in Germany 1998-2005

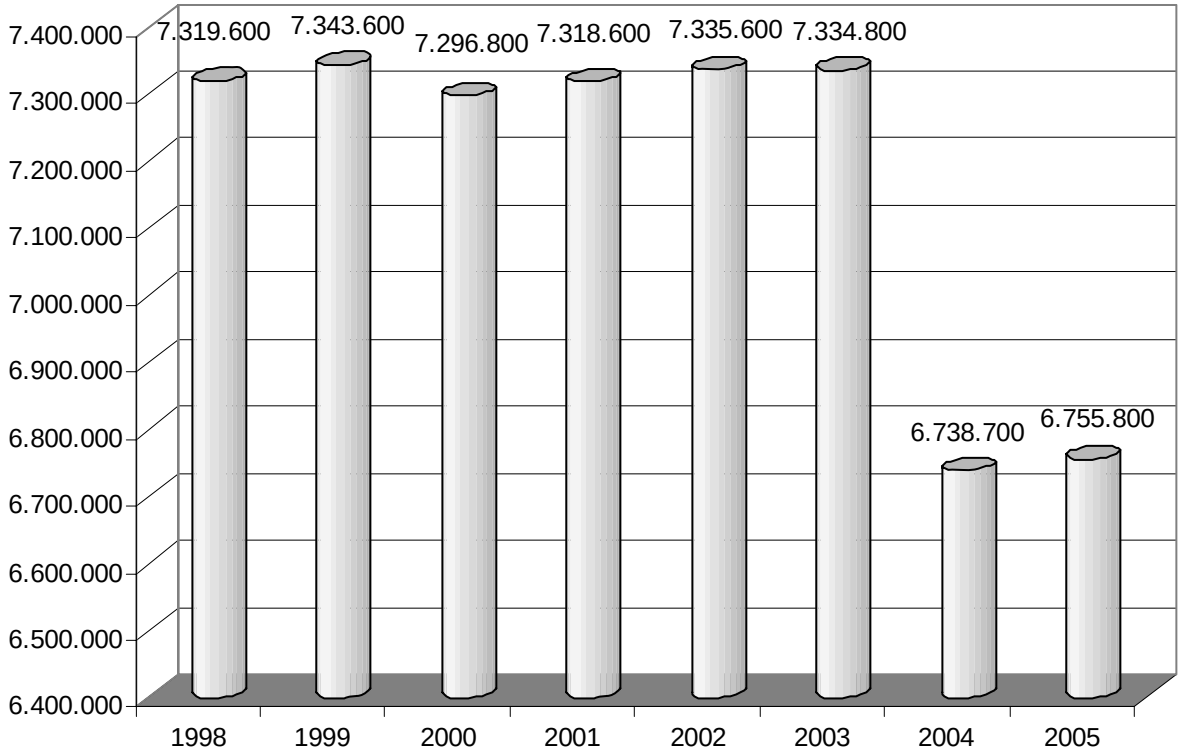


Table 3.1 - Immigrant national residents in Spain with permits 2000-2007

Continent/ Area/ Country	2000		2001		2002		2003		2004		2005		2006		2007	
EU	306,203	**34%**	325,511	**29%**	362,858	**27%**	406,199	**25%**	498,875	**25%**	569,284	**20.7%**	661,004	**22%**	1,546,309	**39%**
Rest of Europe	54,442	**6%**	81,170	**8%**	107,574	**8%**	154,001	**9%**	168,900	**8.5%**	337,177**	**12.3%**	367,674**	**12%**	114,936**	**2.9%**
**Romania*													211,325	**7%**		
Total Europe	360,64	**40.2%**	412,522	**37%**	470,432	**35%**	560,200	**34%**	667,775	**33.8%**	906,461	**33.1%**	1,028,678	**34%**	1,661,245	**42%**
**Great Britain*	73,98	**8%**	80,183	**7%**	90,091	7%	105,479	**6%**	128,283	**6%**	149,071	5.4 %	175,870	5.8 %	198,638	5 %
**Romania as EU member*															**603,889**	**15%**
Latin America (including Mexico)	184,973	**20.6%**	283,778	**26%**	364,569	**27.5%**	514,485	**31%**	649,122	**32.8%**	986,178	**36%**	1,064,916	**35%**	1,215,351	**30.5%**
**Colombia*	24,702	**2.7%**	48,710	**4.4%**	71,238	**5%**	107,459	**6.5%**	137,369	**7%**	204,348	**7.5%**	225,504	**7.5%**	254,301	**6%**
**Ecuador*	30,878	**3.4%**	84,699	**7.6%**	115,30	**8.7%**	174,289	**10.5%**	221,549	**11%**	357,065	**13%**	376,233	**12.5%**	395,808	**9.9%**
North America (Canada & the U.S.)	14,991	**2%**	15,020	**1%**	15,774	**1%**	16,163	**0.98%**	16,964	**0.9%**	17,052	**0.6%**	18,109	**0.6%**	19,256	**0.5%**
Africa	261,385	**29%**	304,149	**27%**	366,518	**28%**	432,662	**26%**	498,507	**25.2%**	649,251	**23.7%**	709,174	**23.5%**	841,211	**21%**
**Morocco*	199,782	**22.3%**	234,937	**21.2%**	282,432	**21%**	333,770	**20%**	386,958	**20%**	493,114	**18%**	543,721	**18%**	648,735	**16%**
Asia	71,807	**8%**	91,552	**8%**	104,66	**8%**	121,455	**7%**	142,762	**7.2%**	177,423	**6.5%**	197,965	**6.5%**	238,770	**6%**
**China*	28,693	**3.2%**	36,143	**3.2%**	45,815	**3.4%**	56,086	**3.4%**	71,881	**3.6%**	85,745	**3%**	99,526	**3.3%**	119,859	**3%**
Oceania	902	**0.1%**	944	**0.1%**	1,024	**0.07%**	1,018	**0.06%**	1,112	**0.05%**	1,466	**0.05%**	1,819	**0.06%**	2,051	**0.05%**
Other***	1,017	**0.1%**	1,095	**0.1%**	1,019	**0.07%**	1,028	**0.06%**	1,049	**0.05%**	1,101	**0.04%**	1,147	**0.04%**	1,130	**0.03%**
Total	**895,720**		**1,109,060**		**1,324,001**		**1,647,011**		**1,977,291**		**2,738,932**		**3,021,808**		**3,979,014**	

Source: Anuarios Migraciones 2000-2007; www.extranjeros.mtas.es/

*	Countries that contribute most to migratory influx in Spain
**	Great increase due mainly to increase in Romanian population and decrease in 2007 due to Romania's entry into the EU
***	Stateless persons and others**(All percentages are based upon the total legal resident population of each year)**

Graphic 3.1 - Immigrant national residents in Spain with permits 2000-2007

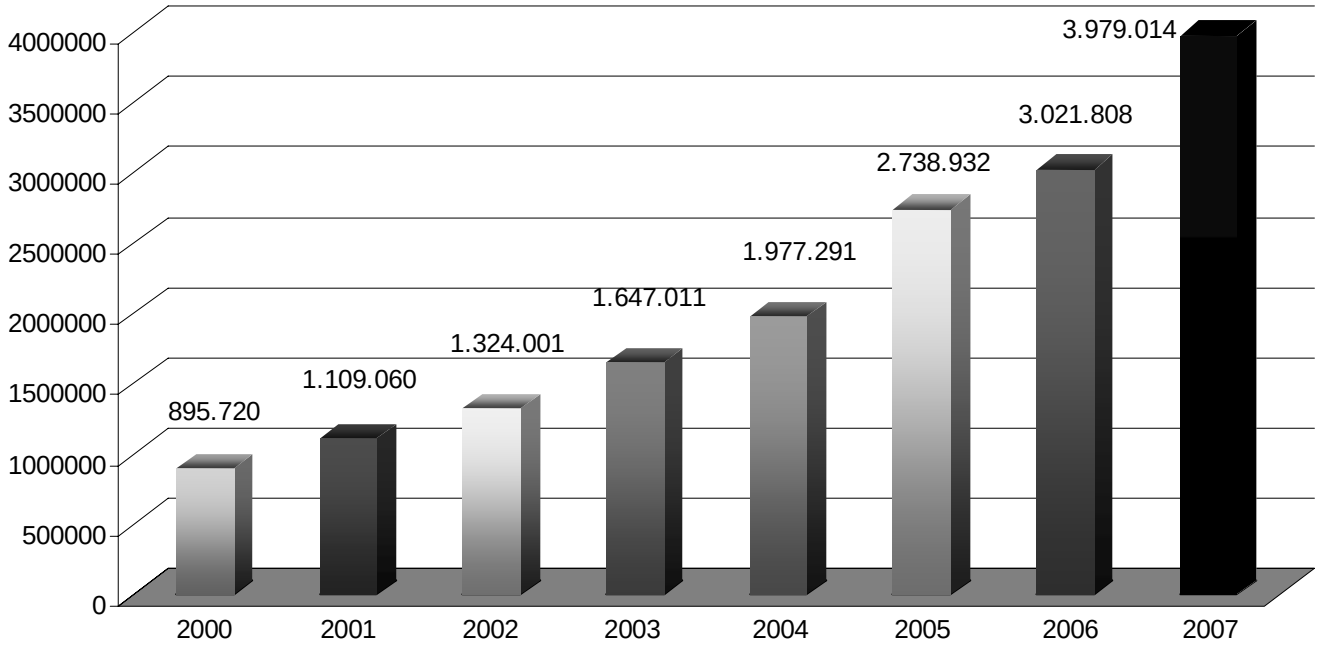


Table 3.2 - Increment in legal residents in Spain by year 2000-2007

Continent/ Area/ Country	2000- Total** increase or decrease	2001 Increase in % or decrease	2001-2002		2002-2003		2003-2004		2004-2005		2005-2006		2006-2007	
EU	+25,149	**-4%**	+37,347	**-2%**	+43,341	**-2%**	+92,676	**+0.2%**	+70,409	**-4.3%**	+91,720	**+1.3%**	+885,305	**+17%**
Rest of Europe	+26,728	**+2%**	+26,404	**+0%**	+46,427	**+1%**	+168,900	**-0.5%**	+168,277	**-3.8%**	+30,497	**-0.3%**	-252,738	**-3.8%**
Total Europe	+51,877	**-3.2%**	+57,910	**-2%**	+89,768	**-1%**	+107,575	**-0.3%**	+238,686	**-0.7%**	+122,217	**+0.9%**	+632,567	**+8%**
**Great Britain*	+9,908	**-1%**	+9,908	**+0%**	+15,388	**-1%**	+22,805	**± 0%**	+20,788	**-0.6%**	+26,799	**+0.4%**	+22,768	**-0.8%**
Latin America (including Mexico)	+98,805	**+5.4%**	+80,791	**+1.5%**	+149,916	**+3.5%**	+134,637	**+2.8%**	+337,056	**+3.2%**	+78,738	**-1%**	+150,435	**–4.5%**
**Colombia*	+24,008	**+1.7%**	+22,528	**+0.6%**	+36,221	**+1.5%**	+29,910	**+1%**	+66,979	**+0.5%**	+21,156	**±0%**	28,797	**-1.5%**
**Ecuador*	+53,821	**+4.2%**	+30,602	**+1.1%**	+58,988	**+1.8%**	+47,260	**+0.5%**	+135,516	**+2%**	+19,168	**-0.5%**	+19,575	**-2.6%**
North America (Canada & the U.S.)	+29	**-1%**	+754	**+0%**	+389	**-0.02%**	+801	**+0.02%**	+88	**-0.3%**	+1057	**± 0%**	+1147	**-0.1%**
Africa	+42,764	**-2%**	+62,369	**+1%**	+66,144	**-2%**	+65,845	**-0.8%**	+150,744	**-1.5%**	+59,923	**-0.2%**	+132,037	**-2.5%**
**Morocco*	+35,155	**0%**	+47,495	**-0.2%**	+51,338	**-1%**	+53,188	**± 0%**	+106,159	**-2%**	+50,607	**±0%**	+105,014	**-2%**
Asia	+19,745	**0%**	+13,113	**+0%**	+16,790	**-1%**	+21,307	**+0.2%**	+34,661	**-0.7%**	+20,542	**-0.7%**	+40,805	**-0.5%**
**China*	+7,450	**0%**	+9,672	**+0.2%**	+10,271	**± 0%**	+15,795	**+0.2%**	+13,864	**-0.6%**	+13,781	**+0.3%**	+20,333	**-0.3%**
Oceania	+42	**0%**	+8	**-0.01%**	-6	**-0.01%**	+94	**-0.01%**	+354	**± 0%**	+353	**+0.1%**	+232	**-0.1%**
Other***	+70	**0%**	-71	**-0.01%**	+9	**-0.01%**	+21	**-0.01%**	+52	**-0.01%**	+46	**+ 0%**	-17	**-0.01%**
Total	**+213,332**		**+214,874**		**+323,010**		**+330,280**		**+761,641**		**+282,876**		**+957,206**	

Source: Anuarios Migraciones 2000-2007; www.extranjeros.mtas.es/

*	Countries that contribute most to migratory influx in Spain
**	All foreign populations have increased except for Oceania in 2003, Rest of Europe in 2007 due to entry of countries into EU and also Other in 2007.. Still, total percentage relative to the total population have either decreased or increased.
***	Stateless persons and other
****	Decrease could be accounted for by the naturalization of stateless persons.
All percentages are based upon the total legal resident population of each year	

Graphic 3.2 - Increment in legal residents in Spain by year 2000-2007

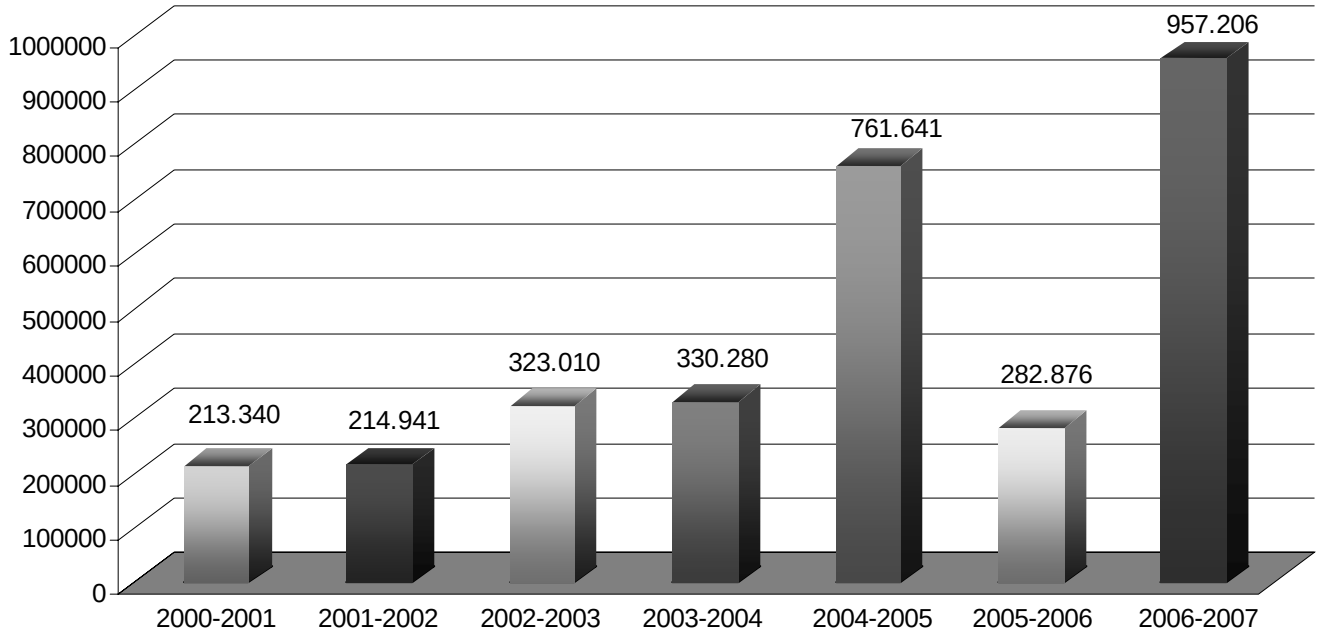


Table 3.3 - Immigrant residents in Spain with permits 2000-2007 and immigrants registered in Municipalities (Empadronados)

Continent/ Area/Country	2000		2001		2002		2003		2004		2005		2006		2007	
	Legal residents	Municipal registry														
EU	306,203	375,487	325,511	417,310	362,858	489,813	406,199	---	498,875	---	569,284	---	661,004	979,864	1,546,309	1,749,890
Rest of Europe	54,442	54,358	81,170	116,095	107,574	211,249	154,001	---	168,900	---	337,177	---	367,674	671,707	114,936	183,108
**Romania*													211,325	394,078		
Total Europe	360,645	436,994	412,522	533,405	470,432	701,062	560,200	936,271	667,775	1,047,206	906,461	1,668,136	1,028,678	1,651,571	1,661,245	1,932,998
**Great Britain*	73,983	99,017	80,183	107,326	90,091	128,121	105,479	161,507	128,283	174,810	149,071	227,187	175,870	261,116	198,638	299,264
**Romania as EU member*															603,889	507,736
Latin America (including Mexico)	184,973	189,464	283,778	414,290	364,569	730,460	514,485	1,047,564	649,122	1,237,806	*** 986,178	1,445,796	*** 1,064,916	1,534,230	*** 1,215,351	1,617,202
**Colombia*	24,702	---	48,710	87,209	71,238	191,018	107,459	244,684	137,369	248,894	204,348	271,239	225,504	263,339	254,301	260,989
**Ecuador*	30,878	---	84,699	139,022	115,30	259,522	174,289	390,297	221,549	475,698	357,065	497,799	376,233	446,111	395,808	415,328
North America (Canada & the U.S.)	14,991	17,374	15,020	28,598	15,774	22,103	16,163	25,963	16,964	24,613	17,052	28,697	18,109	23,374	19,256	21,492
Africa	261,385	268,190	304,149	317,242	366,518	423,045	432,662	522,682	498,507	579,372	649,251	713,974	709,174	725,960	841,211	737,400
**Morocco*	199,782	173,158	234,937**	233,415	282,432	307,458	333,770	378,979	386,958	420,556	493,114	511,294	543,721	513,007	648,735	524,021
Asia	71,807	88,167	91,552**	75,141	104,665**	98,942	121,455	128,952	142,762	142,828	177,423	186,848	197,965	206,476	238,770	207,850
**China*	28,693	---	36,143**	27,574	45,815**	37,651	56,086**	51,228	71,881**	62,498	85,745	87,731	99,526	94,942	119,859	95,926
Oceania	902	1,264	944	1,472	1,024	1,746	1,018	2,105	1,112	1,920	1,466	2,321	1,819	2,555	2,051	2,612
Other* **	1,017	413	1,095	508	1,019	587	1,028	631	1,049	581	1,101	721	1,147	---	1,130	---
Total	**895,720**	**923,879**	**1,109,060**	**1,370,657**	**1,324,001**	**1,977,946**	**1,647,011**	**2,664,268**	**1,977,291**	**3,034,326**	**2,738,932**	**3,730,610**	**3,021,808**	**4,144,166**	**3,979,014**	**4,519,554**
Difference in Totals: Estimate of illegal immigrants	**28,159**		**261,597**		**653,945**		**1,017,257**		**1,057,035**		**991,678**		**1,122,358**		**540,540**	

Sources:Anuarios Migraciones 2000-2007; www.extranjeros.mtas.es/ and Revisión del padrón municipal Instituto Nacional de Estadística www.ine.es

*	Countries that contribute most to migratory influx in Spain
**	less municipal registry than legal residency could be a result of residents that have changed their domiciles but have not reregistered and are in between the renewal of their permits. Proves unreliability of this estimation of undocumented immigrants.
***	Closing of the gap in between legal residents and those registered in municipalities from 2004 to 2005(especially in regards to Ecuadorians) is most likely due to the Amnesty Bill passed that year.

Graphic 3.3 - Immigrant residents in Spain with permits 2000-2004 and immigrants registered in Municipalities (Empadronados)

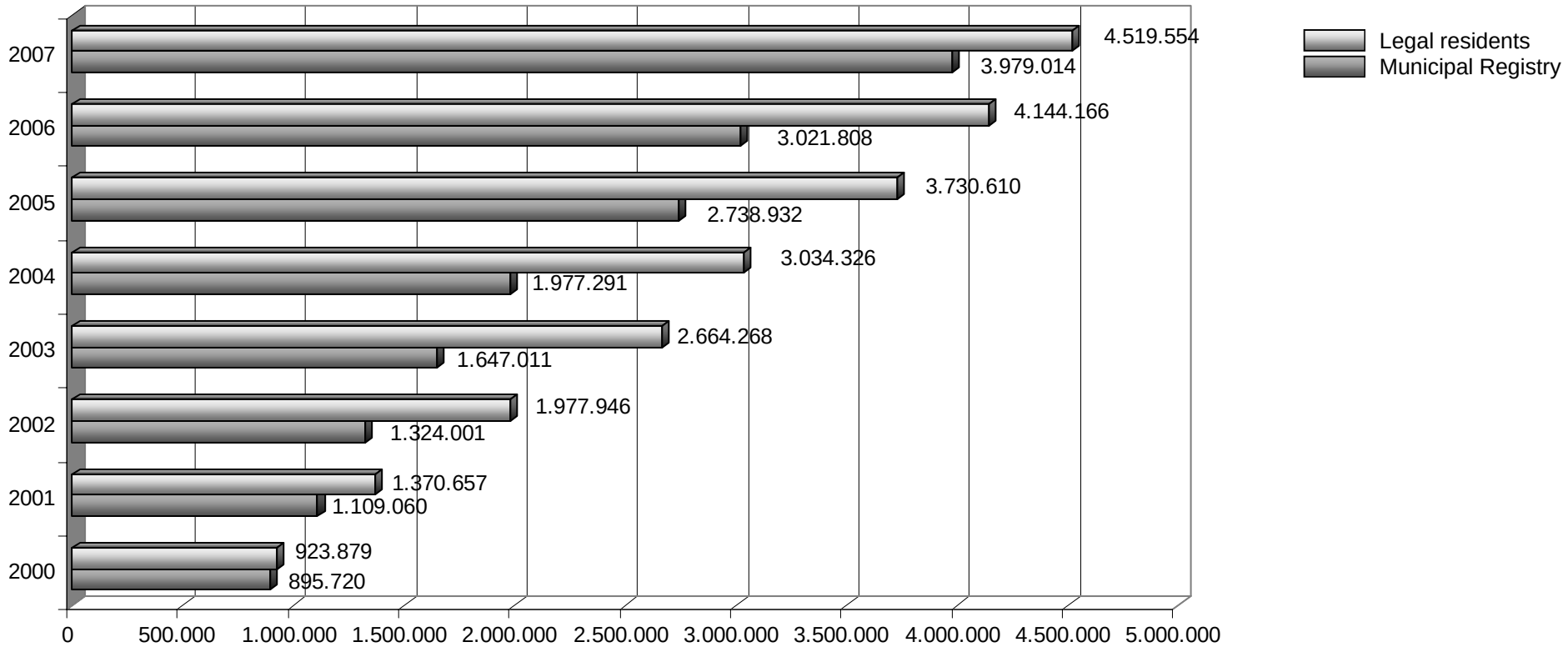


Table 3.4 - Simple percentage of naturalization in Spain 1992-2005

Continent / Area / Country	1992-2005
EU	5.3%
Rest of Europe	1.68%
Total Europe	6.98%
Latin America (including Mexico)	**62.43%**
**Colombia*	8.45%
**Ecuador*	9.10%
**Peru*	10.96%
North America (Canada & the U.S.)	.57%
Africa	20.66%
**Morocco*	15.71%
Asia	8.66**%**
**China*	1.33%
Oceania	0.02%
Other**	0.25%
Total	**100%= 234,694**
Total vs Total Immigrant population in 2005	**8.6% of immigrants naturalized**

Source: Plan Ciudadanía e Integración 2007- 2010; www.extranjeros.mtas.es/

*	Countries that contribute most to migratory influx in Spain
**	Stateless persons and others

Table 3.5 - Percentage of concessions of naturalization each year versus legal resident population in that year

Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
# Naturalizations	11,996	16,735	21,805	26,555	38,335	42,829
Total Legal Residents	895,720	1,109,060	1,324,001	1,647,011	1,977,291	2,738,932
Combined # of naturalized and legal residents	907,716	1,125,795	1,345,806	1,673,566	2,015,626	2,781,761
% of naturalization vs. legal residents	**1.3%**	**1.5%**	**1.6%**	**1.6%**	**1.9%**	**1.5%**

Sources: Anuarios Migraciones 2000-2005; www.extranjeros.mtas.es/
Plan Ciudadanía e Integración 2007-2010; www.extranjeros.mtas.es/

Graphic 3.5 - Percentage of concessions of naturalization each year versus legal resident population in that year

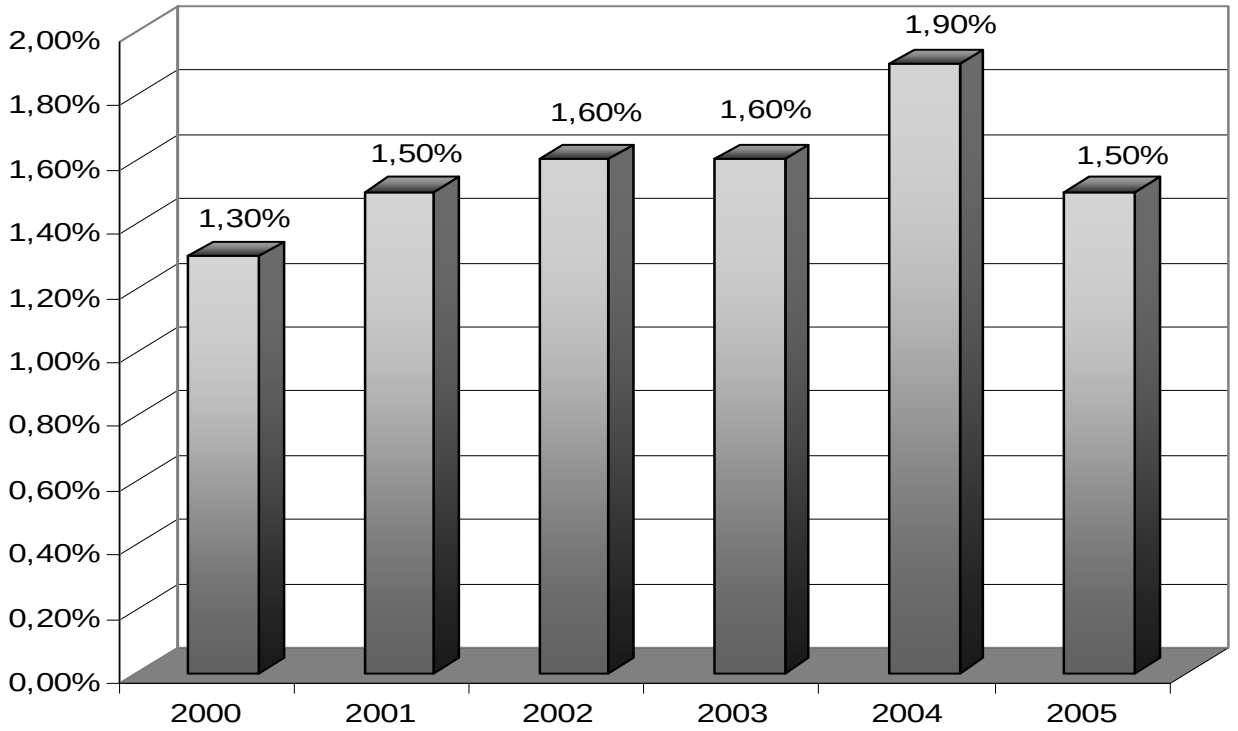


Table 3.6 - Percentage of naturalization in Spain 2005 vs. foreign country-born population

Continent/ Area/Country	2005 Total legal residents		***2005 naturalized citizens	2005 3rd-crountry residents +naturalized citizens	2005 % of naturalization for each region or country
EU	569,284	20.7%	12,439	581,723	2.1%
Rest of Europe	337,177**	12.3%	3,943	341,120	1.2%
Total Europe	906,461	33.1%	16,382	922,843	1.8%
Latin America (including Mexico)	986,178	36%	146,519	1,132,697	12.9%
**Colombia*	204,348	7.5%	19,714	224,062	8.8%
**Ecuador*	357,065	13%	21,357	378,422	5.6%
North America (Canada & the U.S.)	17,052	0.6%	1,338	18,390	7.3%
Africa	649,251	23.7%	48,488	697,739	6.9%
**Morocco*	493,114	18%	36,870	529,984	6.95%
Asia	177,423	6.5%	20,324	197,747	10.3%
**China*	85,745	3%	3,121	88,866	3.5%
Oceania	1,466	0.05%	47	1,513	3.1%
Other* **	1,101	0.04%	587	1,688	34.8%
Total	**2,738,932**		**234,694**	**2,973,626**	****Average by region: 7%**

Source: Plan Ciudadanía e Integración 2007-2010; www.extranjeros.mtas.es/
Anuarios Migraciones 2000-2005; www.extranjeros.mtas.es/

*	Countries that contribute most to migratory influx in Spain
**	Stateless persons and others
***	based on records from 1992 - 2005
****	This is not including stateless persons and others. This percentage based on region is rather high in comparison to the overall percentage because the European population represents about one third of the population and has a low naturalization since 1992. Also, this is an overall rate from 1992 —2005, not a yearly rate.*Rainer Bauböck, Transnational Citizenship p 247*

Table 3.7- Measures of Intervention for the Strategic plan for Citizenship and Immigration 2007-2010

Medidas de Intervención del Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Inmigración 2007-2010

Initial Welcome	➢ Supply immigrants with tools necessary to become sufficiently autonomous in order to have access to goods and services in equal conditions as those of the native population. ➢ Articulate a nation-wide welcoming network able to provide integral solutions to those immigrants that are particularly vulnerable or those that have special needs.
Education	➢ Guarantee an equal obligatory education in equal conditions with that of the native population. ➢ Guarantee a quality obligatory education to all students regardless of condition or background of each student. ➢ Transform the educational system so that it may be adequate for the needs of a diverse student body, acquiring knowledge and intercultural competence. ➢ Transform schools into environments in which communication, cooperation and integration can thrive. ➢ Facilitate the immigrant further, non-obligatory education. ➢ Better the access to adult education and training. ➢ Better the transfer of foreign academic degrees.
Employment	➢ Guarantee the equality of rights and responsibilities of employment and Social Security. ➢ Better the management of migratory flows. ➢ Promote the maintenance of employment. Professional promotion and training and competence of the immigrant workers for job opportunities. ➢ Better the devices of intermediation in the job market. ➢ Fight the irregular hiring and contracting of immigrants in the "illegal" market. ➢ Fight against discrimination and for equal access of opportunities for immigrants in the job market and in businesses. ➢ Foment a diverse management in businesses.
Housing	➢ Increase protected housing and promote a greater equilibrium for collectives with lower incomes. ➢ Prevent neighborhoods that are solely those of low-income inhabitants. ➢ Fight discrimination of immigrants in the housing market. ➢ Better the co-existence and prevent residential segregation.
Social Services	➢ Adjust the public social service system to the needs of a more diverse society in order to guarantee an equal minimal amount of access to all citizens.*[171] ➢ Supply equal social services to all citizens that are in special need of help. ➢ Develop methods of institutional coordination of management and information so that different administrations and entities that work in the social service sector will have access to.

[171] *Here there is a bit of confusion, and responsibility, as to the use of the word "citizen" as it is assumes that access to social citizens is open not just to actual citizens but also to permanent residents by law.

Health	➢ Guarantee the right to the protection of their health to all immigrants. ➢ Better the identification of the health necessities of the immigrant population. ➢ Better the training of health personnel and management techniques for the health of the immigrant population.
Infancy and Young People	➢ Favor the access of immigrant minors and young people for programs for children and young people. ➢ Promote the attention and social intervention for immigrant children and young immigrants in vulnerable situations. ➢ Support the social participation of immigrant children and young people
Equal Treatment	➢ Fight against the discrimination for racial or ethnic reasons so as to guarantee equal opportunity. ➢ Include equal treatment in all public policy. ➢ Start the promotion of instruments of equal treatment against discrimination for racial or ethnic reasons.
Women	➢ Incorporate the theme of different sexes into all the phases of migratory policy. ➢ Favor the normalized access of immigrant women into programs made especially for women in general. ➢ Facilitate the integration of especially vulnerable immigrant women.
Participation	➢ Consolidate the immigrant association movement and their interaction with the already existing associations. ➢ Increase the level of participation of immigrants in general associations. ➢ Increase and better the political participation of immigrant citizens.
Public Sensitivity	➢ Better the public image of immigration and promote positive aspects of a diverse society. ➢ Generate attitude changes towards immigration.
Co-Development: **Migrations and Development**	➢ Identify and promote development opportunities in countries of origin. ➢ Incorporate the co-development perspective into the process of immigrant integration.

Source: Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales.

Nota de Prensa: El Gobierno aprueba el Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración 2007-2010; www.tt.mtas.es/periodico

Table 3.8 - Chosen members for participation in the *Foro para la integración social de los inmigrantes*

Immigrant and Refugee Associations	Social Support Oraganizations
➢ Asociación de trabajadores e Inmigrantes Marroquíes en España (ATIME) ➢ América-España Solidaridad y Cooperación (AESCO) ➢ Asociación Socio-Cultural Ibn Batuta (ASCIB) ➢ Voluntariado de Madres Dominicanas-Voluntariado Integración Colectivos Internacionales de Trabajadores (VOMADE-VINCIT) ➢ Asociación de Refugiados e Inmigrantes Peruanos (ARI-PERÚ) ➢ Asociación Rumiñahui Hispano-Ecuatoriana para Colaboración al desarrollo de África y América Latina ➢ Asociación de Chinos en España (ACHE) ➢ Asociación de Cooperación Bolivia-España (ACOBE) ➢ Federación de Asociaciones de Inmigrantes Rumanos en España (FEDROM) ➢ Asociación de Inmigrantes Búlgaros en España (AIBE BALSAN)	➢ Cruz Roja Española ➢ Cáritas Española ➢ Asociación Comisión Católica Española de Migración (ACCEM) ➢ Consorcio de Entidades para la Acción Integral con Inmigrantes ➢ Red Acoge ➢ Asociación de Solidaridad con los trabajadores Inmigrantes (ASTI) ➢ Comisiones Obreras ➢ Confederación Española de Organizaciones Empresariales ➢ Confederación Española de la Pequeña y Mediana Empresa ➢ Unión General de Trabajadores

Figure 3.1 Function of the Liberal Model in Spain

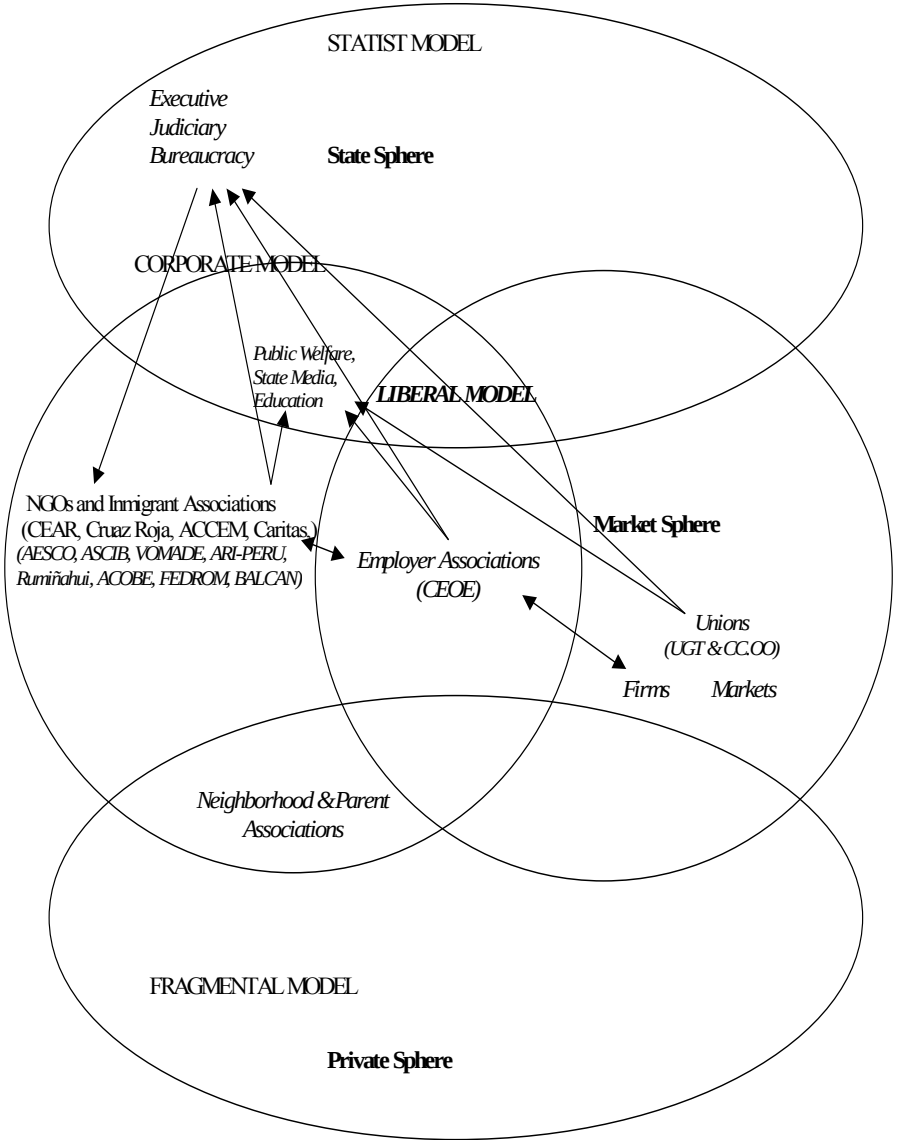


Figure 3.2 Non-existent Change to Function of the Corporate Model

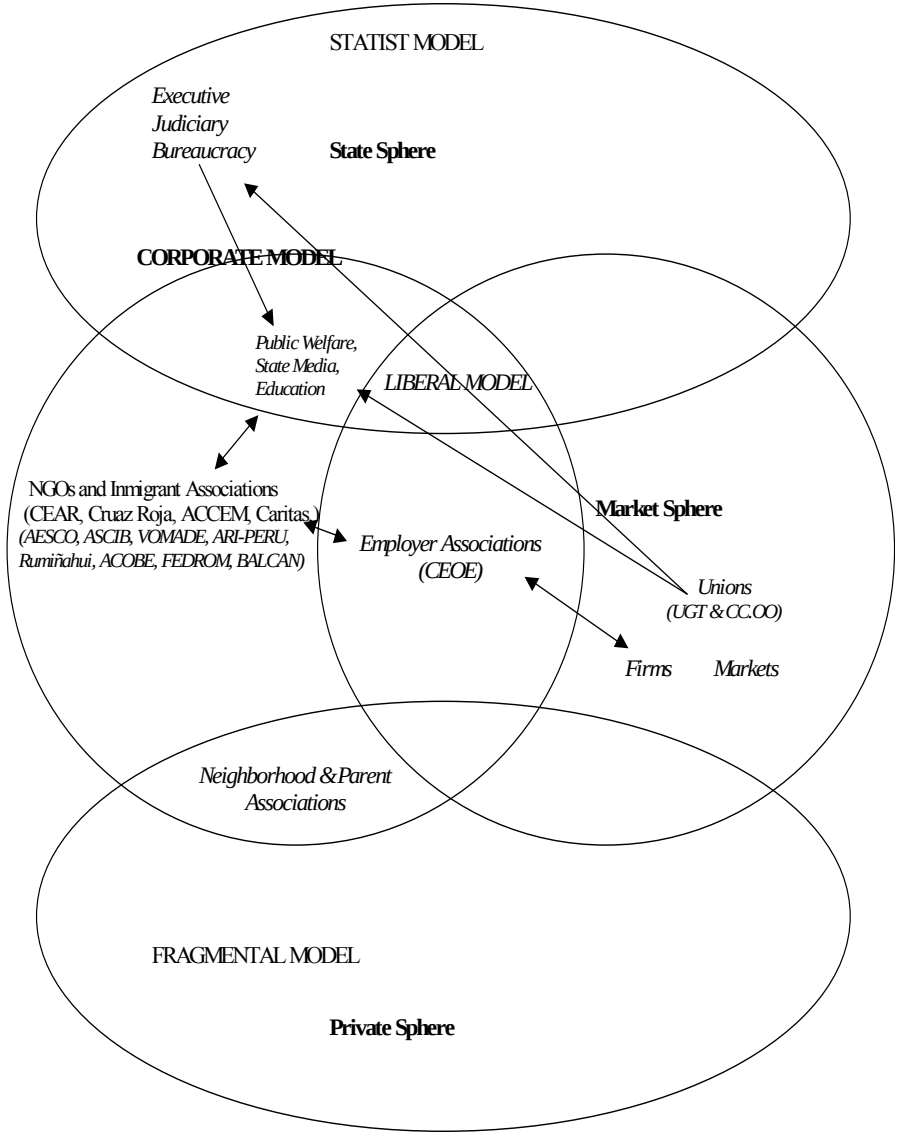


Table 3.8 Asociación Rumiñahui Hispano-Ecuatoriana para Colaboración al desarrollo de África y América Latina 172

Category:	**Start, Evolution and Services**	**Political Voice**	**Definition of Integration**	***Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion***	***Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association***
Property:	• Based on need for services/Amnesty Bill • "…nuestras demandas y nuestras necesidades al gobierno de España…servicios específicos..." • legal help/ documentation • psychological help • education/school enrollment • entertainment activities • development in countries of origin	• The Forum is solely a consultative body because they really do not have a majority vote on order to change anything. "…no somos un foro…" "...un espacio de participación mínimo..." "...por lo menos..para expresar su opinión..."	• Process of constructing and creating tools to ask for integration • "No hay un modelo de integración acá." • Intercultural: respect between cultures and getting to know one another. Respect without discrimination. • Mutual respect to be able to say that one feels as if they are part of society.	• Not treated equally within any sphere. • Thinks Foreigner Law allows for institutionalization of difference between the native and the immigrant. • last 4 years the public's opinion has changed and the immigrant is made to feel different. • Political discourse has changed opinion of people.	• Dual nationality is an option if one feels it to be convenient but does not mean full rights. i.e. family reunion EU Directive (even though effects natives the same)
Hypothesis:	The more immigration, the more need for service not necessarily offered by the state administration making the association an entity in and of itself, an institution by filling a void.	Having a consultative body may offer a taste of participation but could frustrate in the end in the absence of direct control.	Since there is no defined model on integration, therefore integration is a simple mutual respect between both sides.	Public discourse has changed due to political discourse in the Media.	When rights are taken away, regardless of whether they are taken from natives also, it reinforces collective, fighting nature of discourse.

[172] Aguirre Hidalgo, Dora. Asociación Rumiñahui Hispano-Ecuatoriana para Colaboración al desarrollo de África y América Latina. Personal Interview. 1 July 2008.

Table 3.9 Asociación Socio-Cultural Ibn Batuta (ASCIB)[173]

Category:	Start, Evolution and Services	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• 1994 in Barcelona/Madrid past 5 years • legal/documentation • employment • social orientation • community level: integration of immigrants • sensitizing: respect & tolerance • works with NGOs in a network	• In National and Municipal Forums • Want to work in a network • Right to vote necessary but naturalization is an option in 10 years • Do not want to limit the immigrant to its associations • Want immigrants to be neighbors with rights and responsibilities	• Maintain contact with country of origin and country of residence • The advantage of richness of both cultures and learn new things so as to create something new.	• Great deal of discrimination: same bureaucratic infrastructure as 10-15 years ago so that immigrants cannot get documentation renewed, thus no access to employment and unemployment • Housing • Negative commentaries heard on the street	• Do not want to limit the immigrant to its associations • Do not want to limit the immigrant to its associations • Immigrants need a sense of belonging to this society • If immigrants have the vote then politicians will fight to get their vote
Hypothesis:	The more immigration, the more need for service not necessarily offered by the state administration making the association an entity in and of itself, an institution by filling a void and not limited to one nationality.	Least amount of participation makes the right to vote very important .	The least amount of participation makes integration more of a cultural thing, not a political fight—also least amount of cultural similarity to host country.	Lack on institutions can be interpreted as a form of discrimination.	When the level of individual, direct participation is limited, the future of immigrant's participation is within the individual.

[173] Oukhiar, Samira & Allaouzi, Abdel Asis. Asociación Socio-Cultural Ibn Batuta (ASCIB). Personal Interview. 2 July 2008.

Table 3.10 Voluntariado de Madres Dominicanas-Voluntariado Integración Colectivos Internacionales de Trabajadores (VOMADE-VINCIT)[174]

Category:	**Start, Evolution and Services**	**Political Voice**	**Definition of Integration**	***Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion***	***Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association***
Property:	• 1985 started to work with domestic service: Dominican women. • 1994 started to work with all nationalities • Welcome/Reception and information • employment insertion • computer courses/hairdresser training	• Want to work in a network • Part of National Forum since its beginnings • Consultative body to study situation, not any further • 33% of Dominican collective naturalized	• With women working in Spanish houses there was an "automatic integration" • Normalization: rights and responsibilities in a "normal life"	• Not treated the same: will also try to play them since they are immigrants • Contracts are not equal • Political clientism • Called delinquents • same bureaucratic institutions and more immigrants • racist and xenophobic language	• Individual: should be regarded as a citizen like everyone else • "reconocimiento pleno del inmigrante como ciudadano"
Hypothesis:	The more immigration, the more need for service not necessarily offered by the state administration making the association an entity in and of itself, an institution by filling a void and not limited to one nationality	Higher level of individual participation renders Forum inadequate consultative body.	The more integrated culturally, the more integration is a simple "Normalization" of rights and responsibilities.	Regardless of level of perceived cultural integration, there is still a high level of discrimination on other levels.	The fact that there are obvious discriminations does not create the tendency towards isolation on the basis of the immigrant associative movement: instead it is the concept of "Normalization".

[174] Álvarez, Pedro. Voluntariado de Madres Dominicanas-Voluntariado Integración Colectivos Internacionales de Trabajadores (VOMADE-VINCIT). Personal Interview. 3 July 2008.

Table 3.11 Federación de Asociaciones de Inmigrantes Rumanos en España (FEDROM) [175]

Category:	Start, Evolution and Services	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• 4 years as a Federation • In 2005 went from 4 to 11 associations and now there are 27 • Associations originally started out as religious organizations: Adventist religion is 40% of associations' population. • cultural, social and confessional (religious) nature although legal services are offered	• Now part of the EU and this Community members with the right to municipal vote • Forum is a platform where over 80 entities come together: -to work and express their opinions -elaborate an opinion for society, not just the administration -create a network	• Acceptance within the society in the face of other societies like France and Germany where it seems to have not worked out—more of a rejection instead of an acceptance.	• Again, here there are some difficulties but in the face of greater difficulties in France and Germany, they do not seem so negative. • Fear of economic crisis	• Idea of permanent resident suffrage at all levels (national and municipal) regardless of naturalization • Associations are there more for cultural reasons, not political reasons.
Hypothesis:	The reasons for these immigrant associations were originally for religious lack of acceptance in their home country although economic immigration is taking place recently from Romania, thus its roots and perspective is a cultural, social and religious one.	The less this association, or in this case a federation, fights for political rights, the more the Forum is a consultative body in the positive sense and the more the focus of the association is on cultural issues.	The more this association concentrates on social and cultural services, the more its definition is simpler—the idea of simply not being rejected.	In the face of greater difficulties/ discriminations in other societies, Spain does not seem all that bad although difficulties in the future due to economic strain are there.	Even if the associations are less political, voting is just as important.

[175] Fonda, Miguel. Federación de Asociaciones de Inmigrantes Rumanos en España (FEDROM). Personal Interview. 9 July 2008.

Table 3.12 Asociación de Cooperación Bolivia-España (ACOBE)[176]

Category:	Start, Evolution and Services	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• 2004: Mixed association of Bolivians and Spaniards came about in the Amnesty process • legal/documentation • psychological help • social workers	• Belongs to Forums on all levels: National, Community and Municipal • Wants Immigration issue to be treated properly • Immigrant "voices" are heard • Thinks the immigrant vote is important and that a great deal of Latin Americans that received documentation during the Amnesty Bill of 2005 are now applying for it.	• Getting to know one another • Getting past the fear of something different	• Most societies are perceived as similar: in Spain it is the same for everyone as it depends on who you get at the "ventanilla" and whether or not you carry with you the proper documentation. • The infrastructure is what it is and they assume a 5-month wait for processing of renovations of residency cards. • Media and political discourse can have a negative effect • At the same time, Spaniards do make friends with immigrants even while "social alarm" exists	• Thinks in near future its associates will have the vote as they naturalize in greater numbers. • "Normality" within the Spanish society
Hypothesis:	Since this organization was simply and recently created out of legal need, then it is more concentrated on offering services, not culturally based.	The more politically involved in the forums and the younger this association is, makes it believe itself to be a representative "voice"—assumption of representation but they do not see the individual vote as unnecessary. It is natural.	Simply getting to know one's surroundings is a result of the short period this association has been working for simple documentation. Political involvement, paired with recent creation results in a simple definition of integration.	Treatment here is considered to be understandable since the association has dealt with the same problems since its recent beginnings and sees them to be almost normal.	While general treatment is considered to be good, "Normalization" here is also the goal.

[176] Santiestevez, Paola. Asociación de Cooperación Bolivia-España (ACOBE). Personal Interview. 11 July 2008.

Table 3.13 Asociación de Inmigrantes Búlgaros en España (AIBE BALSAN)[177]

Category:	Start, Evolution and Services	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• 5 years ago got together principally for social reasons • motivation • legal/documentation • employment • permanent follow-up • weekend school for children • dance group • Spanish classes	• Belongs to National Municipal Forums • Opinion is seen as important • Believes want to individually vote is a natural result, and choice, of an immigrant being part of the society	• Adaptation • Getting to know one's surroundings • Language is an extreme barrier • Culture exchange between neighbors i.e. sharing traditional dishes	• There are discriminations but the same hold for Spaniards (does admit that physically Bulgarians blend in with native population)	• There is no word in the future for the word "immigrant" • They will vote if they feel it comes naturally to them since they feel part of society
Hypothesis:	Since this organization was recently created simple services are offered out of need.	The more recent this association this is, sees forums as positive venues of opinion.	Since political rights, although limited, are present in the individual form, integration is simply an exchange with a discussion of rights and responsibilities.	Feels that treatment is based upon one be treated well themselves. Thinks those that discriminate are being discriminated themselves and thus finds no difference between treatment of native and of Bulgarian population.	Here there is a limited political participation and therefore integration becomes an individual endeavor of getting to know one another-not fighting for political rights.

[177] Doseva, Katya. Asociación de Inmigrantes Búlgaros en España (AIBE BALSAN). Personal Interview. 15 July 2008.

Table 3.14 Asociación de Refugiados e Inmigrantes Peruanos (ARI-PERÚ)[178]

Category:	Start, Evolution and Services	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• 1993 began as a cultural organization i.e. trips to museums • In 1994 economic integration turned it into a more legally focused entity: offered asylum help to economic immigrants because it was a linger process that allowed immigrants to reside in the country while being processed. • study the reality of immigration • accompany the law-making process	• Has been part of all Forums "nosotros no somos españoles y siempre hemos intentado visibilizar esa diferencia" • Consultative body	• Equilibrium • Circular movement • Equality of enjoyment of rights and liberties	• Immigrants need geographic mobility and some do not have it. • Immigrants have less money, less time for a social life • Poor immigrants are "tolerated" "…la tolerancia no es bueno en la perspectiva de la igualdad"	• The majority of Peruvians have dual nationality. "…pero no porque no quieren ser peruanos…porque tienen menos dificultades para convivir en el sentido de quitarse de encima todo el rollo de papel…se faculta el ejercicio de derechos." • Associations are manipulated politically • There are a lot of new ones (80% in a study of Peruvian associations they have conducted) that offer no activities at all • Federation they have tried does work well • Peruvians are integrated and involved in general associations too.
Hypothesis:	The more immigration, the more services offered to fill the void and the more political involvement for this association.	The more politically involved this association has been for relatively more time, has made its focus a fight more for demands and rights.	Since this association has been around longer and is politically active, then integration is more based upon the idea of equality and rights, not cultural.	Treatment here is based upon the idea of lack of equal opportunity in society as a whole, not just said instances of difficulties.	Even though this is a very politically involved association, it still comes down to individual voting, dual nationality, involvement in other associations and a realization that the associations have their limits.

[178] Sanabria, Rosario. Asociación de Refugiados e Inmigrantes Peruanos (ARI-PERÚ). Personal Interview. 17 July 2008.

Table 3.15 América-España Solidaridad y Cooperación (AESCO)[179]

Category:	Start, Evolution and Services	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• 20 years ago started as an association to help in the area of Columbian refugees, but then turned to Latin-American economic integration • legal/ documentation • programs for women, education, employment, mediators between employees and employers, formation • work with countries of origin to prevent "unordered immigration" (Colombia, Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia) • Networks within the immigrant community	• Belongs to Forums on all levels: National Community and Municipal • see it as a sphere of participation in a moment where the immigrant is incapable of having one voice • Is adamant that the association represents itself, not immigrants as a while	• Cycle dependent on the "biology of the person" • Not assimilation/no ghettos/no ethnic focus • "Normalization" • Bi-directional • Access to society	• Barriers to access of society: employment, housing and education • History of Spain is one of rejecting what is different i.e. expulsion of moors and jews "el racismo sociológico también está institucionalizado"	• Thinks all participation is important: immigrant and public associations BUT problem is that such participation is no fomented in Spanish society in general, thus making such participation difficult
Hypothesis:	Since this organization was recently created simple services are offered out of need.	Since this association has been around quite a bit and has been politically active, there is a realization of its lack of its representation of the immigrant collective.	There are a great deal of political rights here: possible dual nationality and political involvement through the years in forums and thus the discourse comes down to the idea of "Normalization", not culturally based.	Perception of treatment here is based upon an overall view of centuries of rejection and not at all based upon nowadays reality and therefore a pessimistic view of future.	Here there is participation at all levels and it comes down to the individual again having access to the society as a whole.

[179] Rois, Juan Carlos. América-España Solidaridad y Cooperación (AESCO). Personal Interview. 23 July 2008.

Figure 3.2: Perception of Rights vs. Antiquity Immigrant Associations

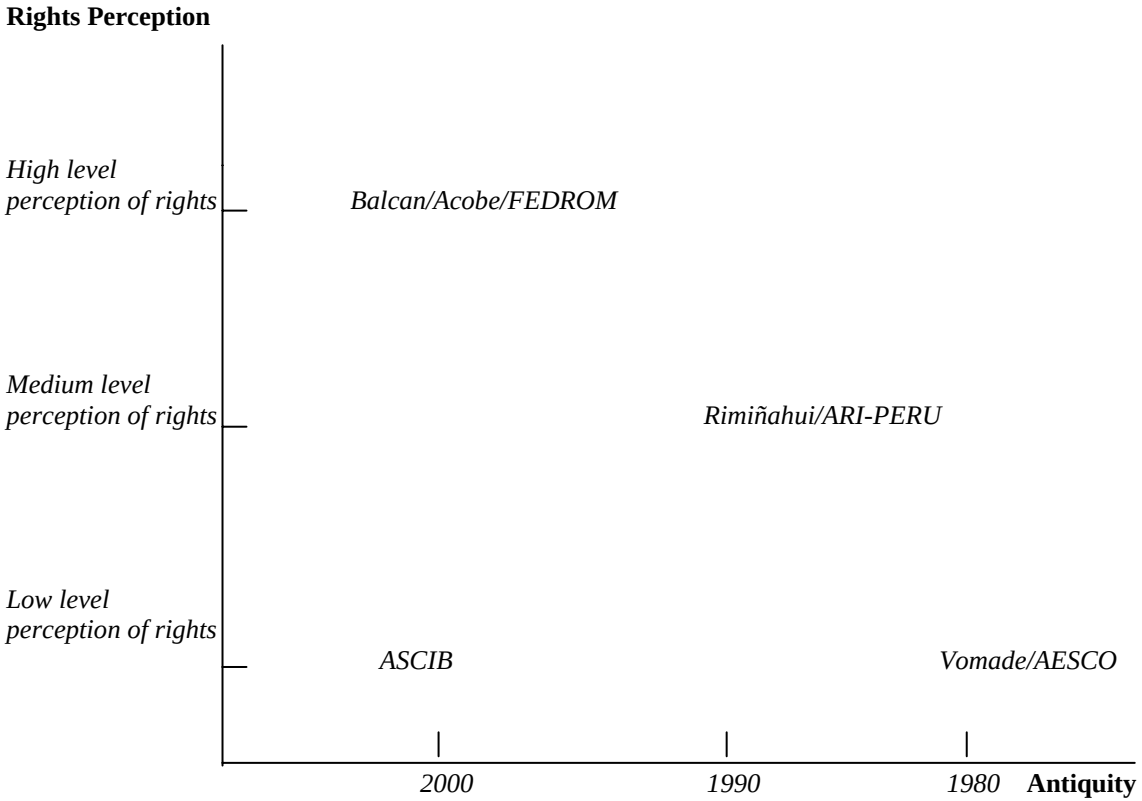


Figure 3.3 Perception of Equal Treatment vs. Individual or Associative Representation

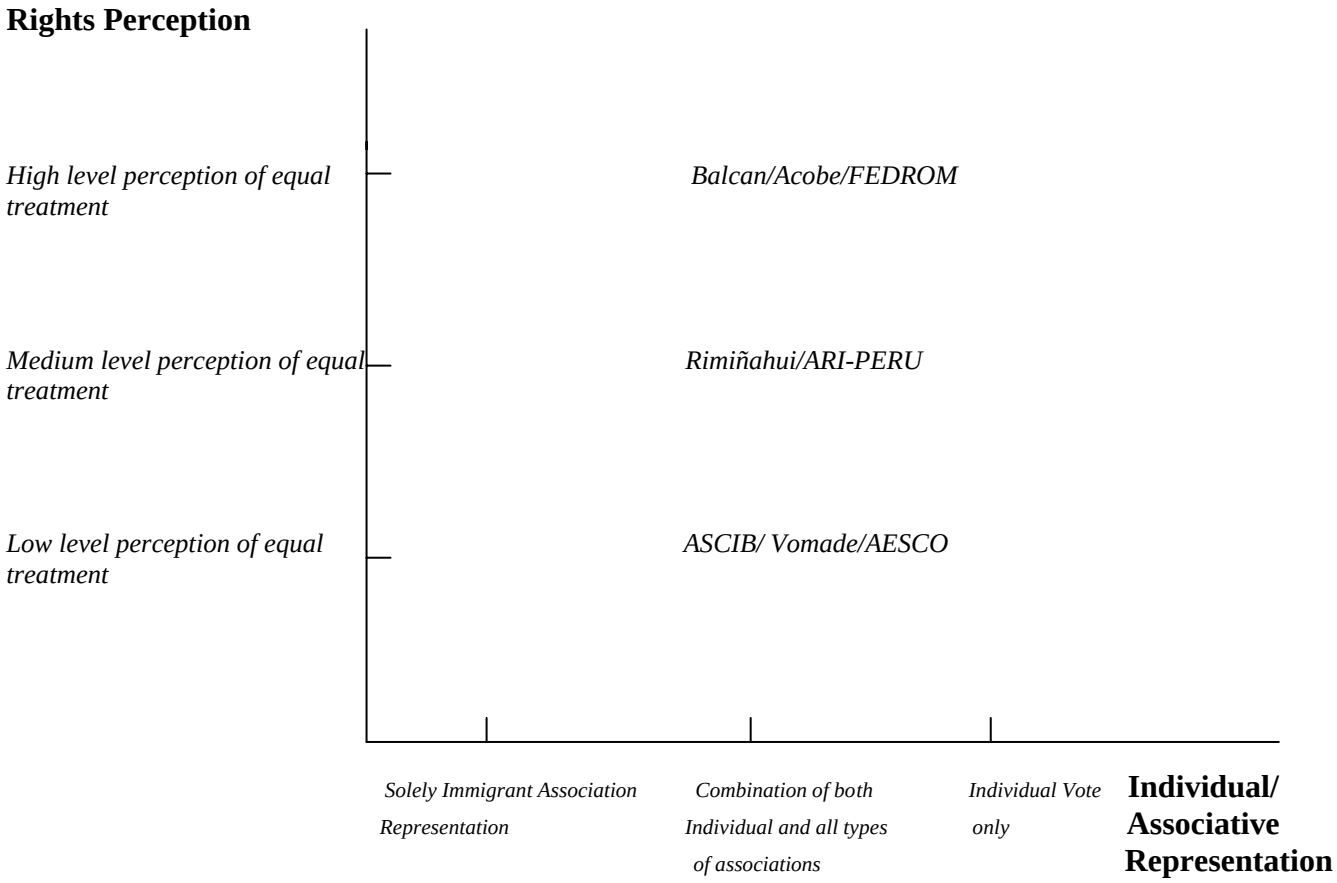


Figure 3.4 Perception of Equal Treatment vs. Definition of Integration

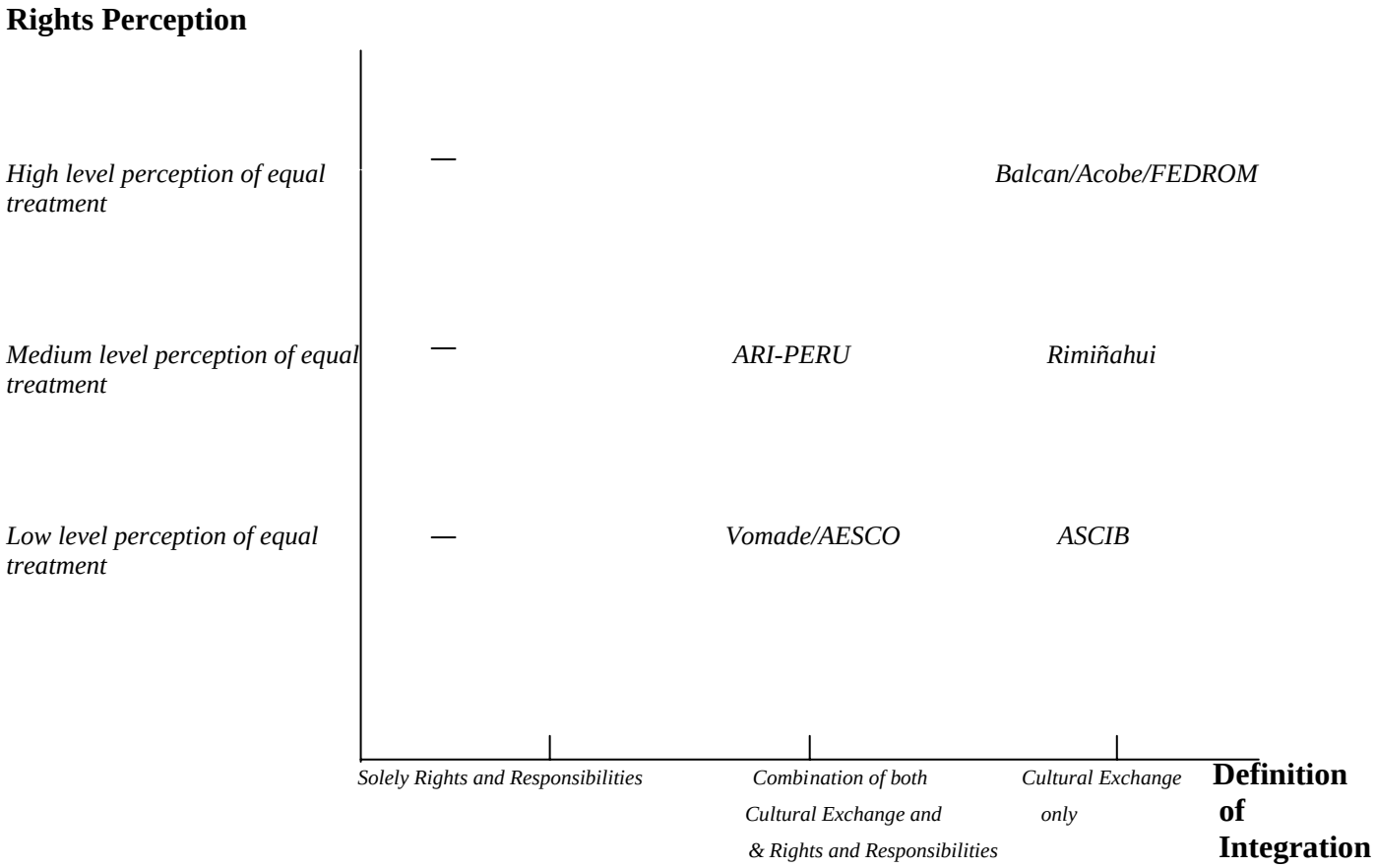


Figure 3.5 Collective Forum Participation Contentment vs. Individual or Associative Representation

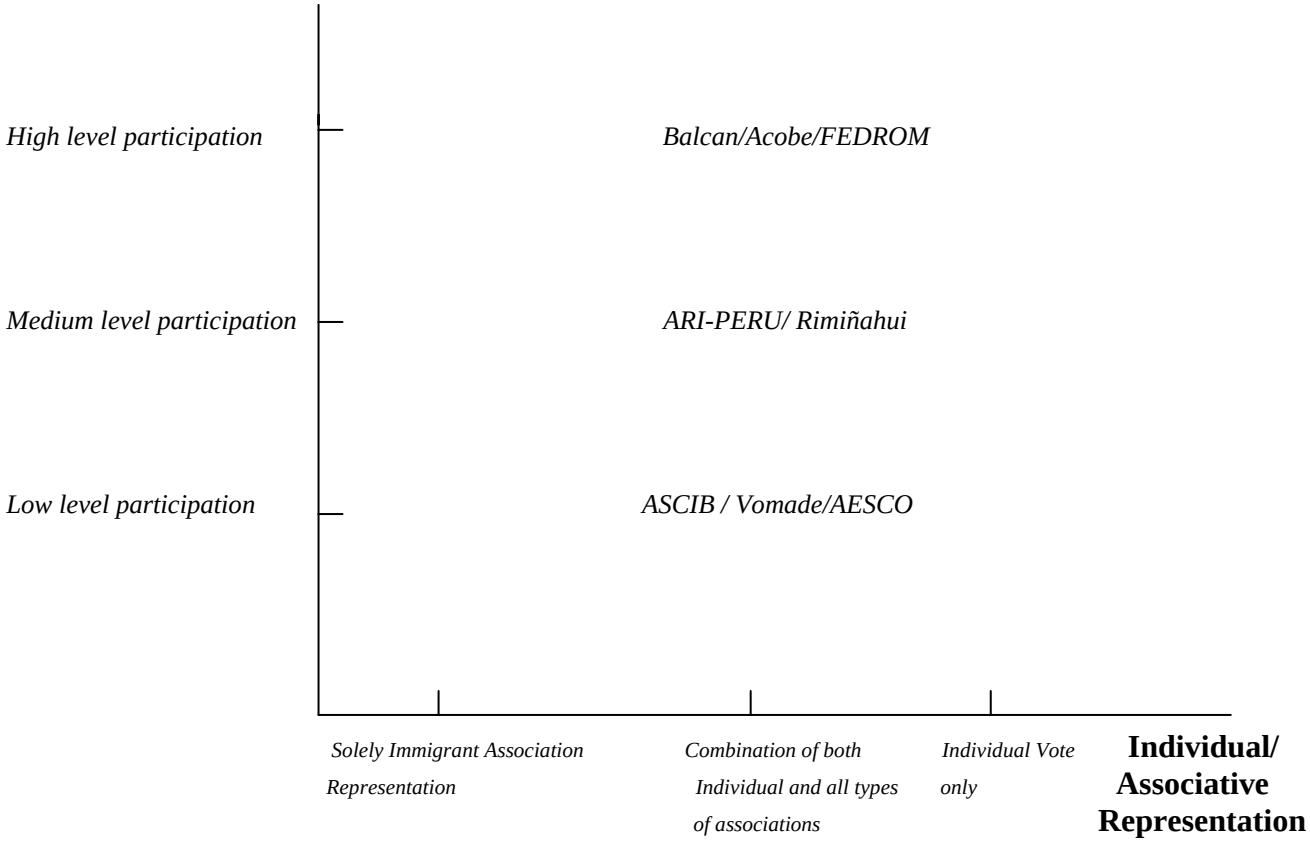


Figure 3.6 Collective Forum Participation Contentment vs. Definition of Integration

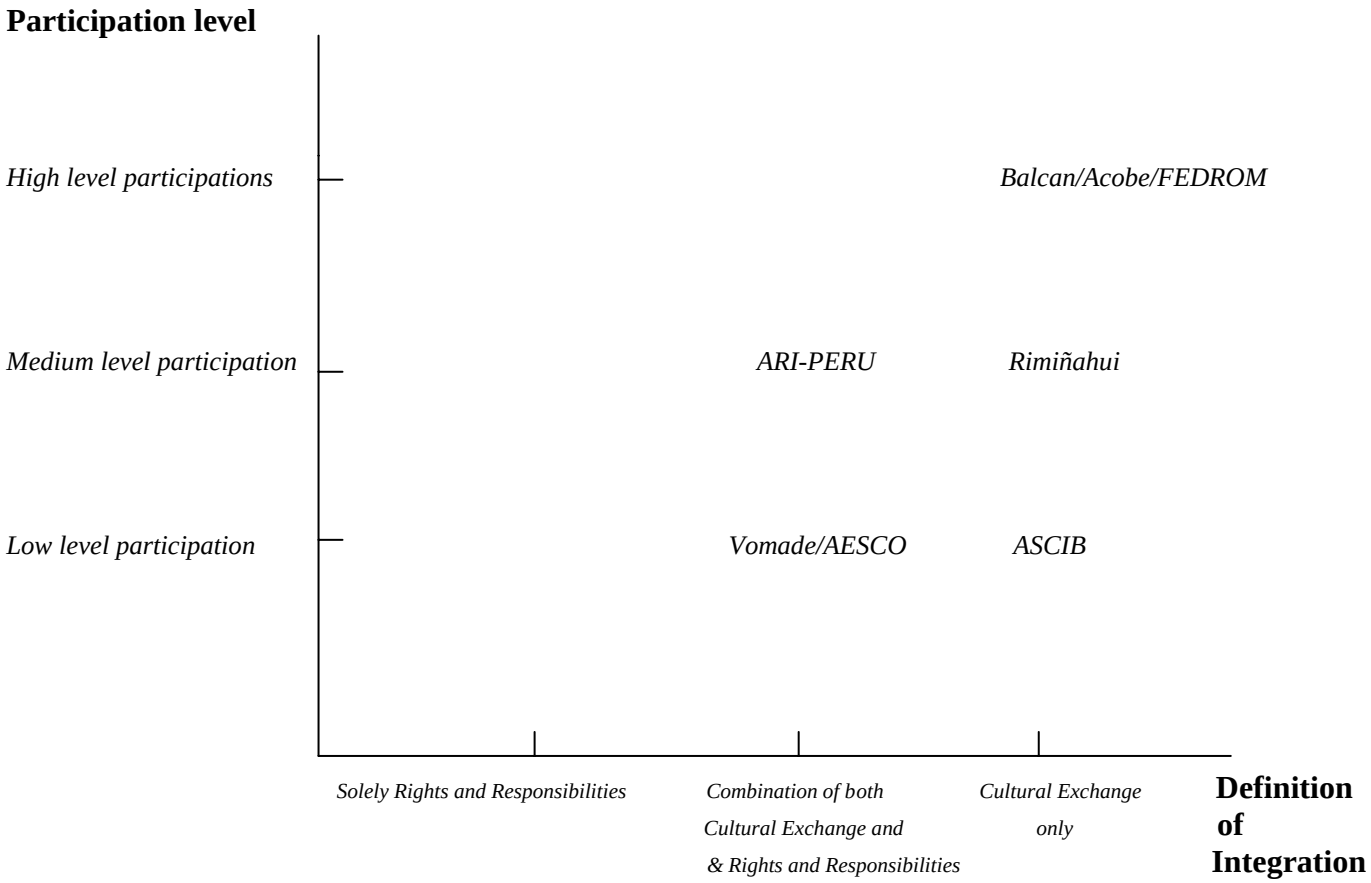


Figure 3.7 Combination of Collective Forum Participation Contentment/ Perception of Equal Treatment vs. Definition of Integration

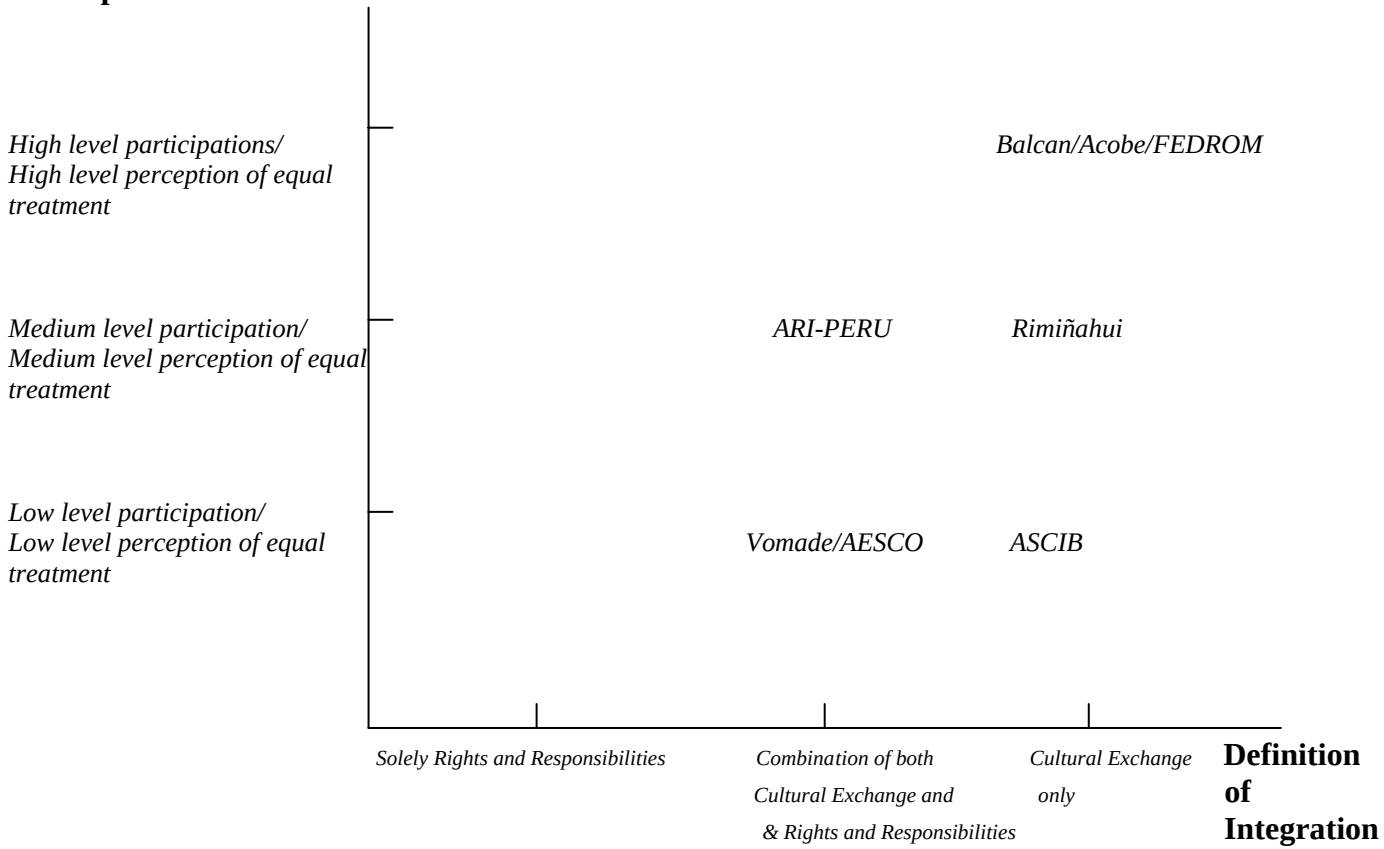


Figure 3.8 Combination of Collective Forum Participation Contentment/ Perception of Equal Treatment vs. Individual or Associative Representation

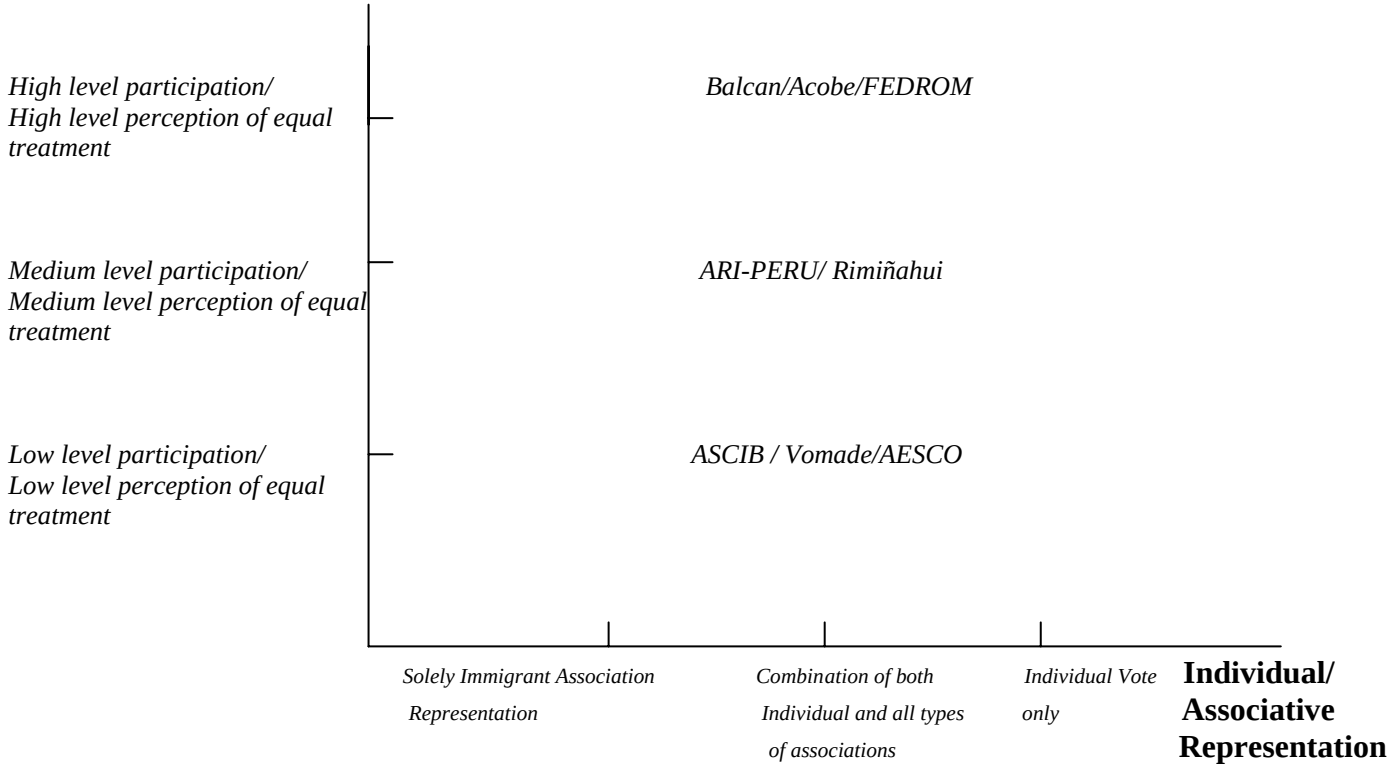


Table 3.16 Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT)[180]

Category:	Start, Evolution and Services in Immigration	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• 1991 set a up a legal network but started to seriously work the issue in 1996 • legal documentation • 1996 focus on employment and influence of legislation	• Part of the National Forum since its beginnings • good form of participation • holds a privileged position on a permanent commission "una asociación de inmigrantes nunca va a tener el peso que puede tener un interlocutor social"	• Equality of rights and respect same as a national or EU community worker= "Normalization" • Integration n all associations • Someday they will no longer be immigrants	• Union is a mirror of society: If everything goes well—everyone has a job—then everything is ok BUT if not, the weaker immigrant may be blamed	• Associations represent their associates • Equal treatment of all workers • Do not go backwards in regard to EU Directives • less rights for immigrants makes them more vulnerable which is not good for them or the native worker when the cheapest worker is hired. "a largo plazo la igualdad de derecho es garantía de paz social"
Hypothesis:	The more immigration, the more need for services managed by organizations and financed by the state administration.				

[180] Roc, Pilar. Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT). Personal Interview. 3 July 2008.

Table 3.17 Confederación Española de Organizaciones Empresariales (CEOE)[181]

Category:	Start, Evolution and Services in Immigration	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• Always worked with it within the Social Security Department	• Received a letter from the Ministry saying they had to name a representative for the National Forum • Thinks it to be a useful Forum that interests them	• "Normalization" • Proper documentation is in their interest strictly from an employment point of view they need workers to hire.	• Immigration worries Spaniards: think they are collapsing the Social Security system, taking school places therefore there is a necessity for politicians to quell the public alarm	• Sees participation of associations as active and positive • Normalization of workers in general so they are available for contract
Hypothesis:	Very straight forward need for labor—no hypothesis, only the commentary.				

Table 3.18 Asociación Comisión Católica Española de Migración (ACCEM)[182]

Category:	Start, Evolution and Services in Immigration	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• 1996 seriously involved with immigrants • asylum • legal assistance • psychological • Spanish classes • women in vulnerability • housing	• Part of the Forum since 1996 • Consultative body to express opinions • good participation: very active	• Belonging to a community of neighbors -parent associations -participation -equal rights and responsibilities	• Work conditions are worse • Nationality and gender discrimination • Housing • Political discourse dangerous: public perceptions that re not necessarily true • Fear of Recession	• The vote is important but not the only participation. • Associations make immigration visible making its work a positive • Immigrant associations can be immature and compete for public resources but they are helping their collectives.
Hypothesis:	The more immigration, the more need for services managed by organizations and financed by the state administration.				

[181] De Mar, Maria. Confederación Española de Organizaciones Empresariales (CEOE). Personal Interview. 3 July 2008.

[182] Barbero, Enrique. Asociación Comisión Católica Española de Migración (ACCEM). Personal Interview. 4 July 2008.

Table 3.19 Cáritas Española [183]

Category:	Start, Evolution and Services in Immigration	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• Started to really be involved in 1986/87 • Social advice, psychological, legal network, housing and employment • Three basic ascpects 1.get immigrants in touch with friends and family 2.employment 3.housing	• Part of the Forum and considers it to have a reactive focus, not a clear agenda for work	• personal option • long process • feeling of belonging • recognition of value of one's different culture	• Media can be negative: talk of an "invasion" • At the same time, Spaniards generally get along with immigrant neighbors	• In favor of immigrant associations to a certain degree • Immigrants should take part in all kinds of associations but it is difficult when the native population is not active
Hypothesis:	The more immigration, the more need for services managed by organizations and financed by the state administration.				

[183] Gutierrez, Augustín. Cáritas Española. Personal Interview. 9 July 2008.

Table 3.20 Comisiones Obreras (CC.OO.)[184]

Category:	Start, Evolution and Services in Immigration	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• Became involved in 1988, after the Foreigner's Law of 1985 • Opened CITE (Centros de Información para Trabajadores Extranjeros) • Legal/Documentation • Everything to do with employment "Todo la dramática laboral que es apropiado de un sindicato" • All nationalities	• Interesting Participation • Consultative body • Deficit in municipal participation	• Recognition of equal treatment • Rights and Responsibilities	• Not equal treatment • Fear and discrimination • Different opinions but there is a lack of information in the Media	• Associations are part of democracy • The Union cannot be fractioned into pieces based upon nationality • The Unions and Associations are not incompatible • Immigrants should become part of society as citizens
Hypothesis:	The more immigration, the more need for services managed by organizations and financed by the state administration.				

[184] Jiménez, José Antonio. Comisiones Obreras (CC.OO.). Personal Interview. 9 July 2008.

Table 3.21 Movimiento por la Paz, el Desarme y la Libertad (MPDL) [185]

Category:	Start, Evolution and Services in Immigration	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• Since 1994 dealing with economic immigration • isolated issues • legal/ documentation • Spanish classes • Women	• Consultative body	• Outright action in social and political circles	• Media can be negative i.e.-meal tickets taken by immigrants when in reality only 13% in Madrid • earn less money • cannot get housing	• Participation of any kind is necessary: anything they have access to
Hypothesis:	The more immigration, the more need for services managed by organizations and financed by the state administration.				

Table 3.22 Comisión Española para la Ayuda al Refugiado (CEAR) [186]

Category:	Start, Evolution and Services in Immigration	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• 1979 created between Religious Organizations, Evangelistic Church, Muslim Community, Unions (/UGT CC.OO.), Human Rights Associations, and Political Parties (PP/PSOE/IU) • Went from legal help to employment and psychological help	• Consultative body: originally more active but now more passive	• There's no model in Spain yet • Equal rights and Responsibilities • Intercultural: social transformation for Spain and for immigrants=reciprocal process • New Concept of Citizenship: Nationality is more where you live than where you were born	• Extreme labor exploitation • Housing prices can form ghettos • Irresponsible attitude on part of the political parties • Media	• Immigrant participation is small • Municipal vote reciprocity: difficult to execute • Immigrants should be part of schools, unions, neighborhood associations etc.
Hypothesis:	The more immigration, the more need for services managed by organizations and financed by the state administration.				

[185] Sanchez, Enrique, Movimiento por la Paz, el Desarme y la Libertad (MPDL). Personal Interview. 14 July 2008.

[186] Jiménez, José Antonio. Comisiones Obreras (CC.OO.). Personal Interview. 9 July 2008.

Table 3.23 Cruz Roja 187

Category:	Start, Evolution and Services in Immigration	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• Started in the 1960s dealing with refugees • 1991 started dealing with immigrants • Reception • Family/Friend network • Medical check-up • Employment (legal formation or send undocumented immigrants toward other work) • language • legal/documentation • get children signed up for school	• Good participation in Forum in general	• Exchange of cultures and knowledge • Mutual respect: both natives and immigrants • Part of all association: parent, neighborhood and volunteers • Learning experience because both parties want to.	• Spain is not a xenophobic country in general • Problems such as school meal tickets should solved by increasing resources to match demand in general • Media and politicians can cause harm by speaking of an "invasion"	• Should have right to vote as citizens so as to participate as individuals • Personal opinion is concept of citizenship as a permanent resident • allows for right to vote
Hypothesis:	The more immigration, the more need for services managed by organizations and financed by the state administration.				

[187] De la Rocha, Maruxa. Cruz Roja Española. Personal Interview. 21 July 2008.

Table 3.24 Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Dirección General de Inmigración y Cooperación al Desarrollo [188]

Category:	Services	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• 1990-95 quantity of immigration increased but 2000-06 constituted the biggest quantity • Social services incremented along with increment of immigrants • Reception and Welcome for vulnerable populations especially sub-Saharan and Bulgarian gypsies • All services are principally managed by the Red Cross, CEAR and ACCEM	• Recent Forum has brought together native neighbors and immigrants: undocumented immigrants and minors and while recent shows great promise	• Madrid has a very specific model • Between French and Anglo-Saxon models: Intercultural • New neighbors and old neighbors • Respect of rights • Conservation of culture • "Convivencia" coexistence	• Reaction to recession a fear but thinks madrileños are welcoming in general because they are form other areas themselves • Slowness in renewing resident permits is a national level but says that administration needs time to catch up (compares it to a big elephant)	• View on municipal vote is non-existent since it is a national decision • Naturalization is important • Relation neighbor to neighbor is important
Hypothesis:	The more immigration, the more services offered and managed by private organizations.				

Table 3.25 Comunidad de Madrid [189]

Category:	Services	Political Voice	Definition of Integration	*Generalized Perception of Treatment of Immigrant and Native Population Opinion*	*Immigrant's Future: Individual vs. Collective Association*
Property:	• All services are principally managed by the Red Cross, CEAR and ACCEM • Financial intermediary between the National level and Municipal levels: municipal projects are analyzed and subsidies are handed out	• Community Forum works with representation of the immigrant associative movement: immigrant associations are only one via of participation (neighborhood, parent and city halls)	• Bi-directional: development of society and immigrant • Adaptation of basic values of community • Contribution to its progress • Long process • Citizen like any other • "Normalization"	• Recession is a fear. Discriminations could come about • Media talks of an invasion, criminality when prisons are full of natives, not immigrants	• Participation in all spheres, not just immigrant associations • Associations have become politicized because of Foreigner's Law • Associations want to speak in name off all immigrants but they are not representative • "Normalization" as any citizen
Hypothesis:	The more immigration, the more services offered and managed by private organizations.				

[188] Moreno Lopez, Gregorio. Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Dirección General de Inmigración y Cooperación al Desarrollo. Personal Interview. 15 July 2008.
[189] Tshitshi, Kayamba. Comunidad de Madrid. Personal Interview. 16 July 2008.

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