WP 3

STUDY ON THE LOCAL IMPLEMENTATION OF INTEGRATION / INTRODUCTION COURSES FOR NEWCOMERS

CASE STUDY BARCELONA / SPAIN

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About the Project

While integration policies as such are not new, and in some countries date back to the 1980s and beyond, there have been important shifts in the debates on integration and in related re-configurations of integration policymaking in the past decade or so. One of the main recent trends is the linkage of integration policy with admission policy and the related focus on recent immigrants. A second trend is the increasing use of obligatory integration measures and integration conditions in admission policy, and third, integration policymaking is increasingly influenced by European developments, both through vertical (more or less binding regulations, directives etc.) and through horizontal processes (policy learning between states) of policy convergence.

An increasing number of EU Member States have, in fact, adopted integration related measures as part of their admission policy, while the impact of such measures on integration processes of immigrants is far less clear. In addition, Member States’ policies follow different, partly contradictory logics, in integration policy shifts by conceptualising (1) integration as rights based inclusion, (2) as a prerequisite for admission residence rights, with rights interpreted as conditional, and (3) integration as commitment to values and certain cultural traits of the host society.

The objective of PROSINT is to evaluate the impact of admission related integration policies on the integration of newcomers, to analyse the different logics underlying integration policymaking and to investigate the main target groups of compulsory and voluntary integration measures.

The project investigated different aspects of these questions along five distinct workpackages. These analysed (1) the European policy framework on migrant integration (WP1), (2) the different national policy frameworks for the integration of newcomers in the 9 countries covered by the research (WP2), the admission-integration nexus at the local level in studied in 13 localities across the 9 countries covered by the research (WP3), the perception and impacts of mandatory pre-arrival measures in four of the nine countries covered (WP4) and a methodologically oriented study of the impact of admission related integration measures (WP5).

The countries covered by the project were Austria, the Czech Republic, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. Apart from individual cases project reports generally cover the period until end of 2010.

For more information about the project visit http://research.icmpd.org/1429.html.
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1 Introduction

The local setting chosen for this study has been Barcelona due to several reasons. First, Barcelona appears to be an interesting case for research as it has traditionally been an active city in the provision of plans and measures for integration and it is large enough to make an in-depth insight of how these are managed and framed within the local policymaking, gathering a wide range of perspectives. Also, it is the capital of Catalonia and as it has been pointed out in the WP2 report, this region has been the leading one in Spain in establishing progressively the link between integration and immigration through different policies and laws, such as the Llei d'Acollida\(^1\) in 2010. Finally, in terms of accessibility we have more facilities to gather information from interviewees and organisations that are placed in the same city as the research centre.

We have considered it quite illustrative to include statistical data, when possible, to complement and contrast the interviewees’ points of view, as well as further literature review such as reports produced by the local government and academics on issues of integration, reception and immigration. However, the main information included in this report comes from eight interviews, as these have provided a big input when analysing and evaluating the policy frames and when mapping the local integration landscape with relevant and useful comments. The interviewees have been key informants, implementers and beneficiaries from institutions and organisations, as well as one lawyer. More specifically, the interviews have been conducted with: the Commissioner of immigration in Barcelona, the Director of the immigration department of the City Hall\(^2\), the reception officer (tècnic d’acollida) within the same department, two reception agents (agent d’acollida), two representatives of two associations\(^3\), one teacher of the Consortium for the Linguistic Normalisation (CNL)\(^4\) and one lawyer working in the immigration department of the regional government Comunidad Valenciana.

Non-participant and participant observation in the reception sessions (sessions d’acollida) of two different districts has also been of use to examine the profile of migrants, the dynamics of the group and to chat briefly with those attending and with the reception agent.

\(^1\) ‘Acollida’ (in Catalan) or ‘acogida’ (in Spanish) refers to the term of ‘reception’, ‘introduction’ or ‘first welcome’ once the immigrants have arrived in the host society. The Llei d’Acollida is a law that regulates the services, rights and duties of migrants and of the host society.

\(^2\) The original name is ‘Gabinet Tècnic d’Immigració’

\(^3\) These are the coordinators of the training area of the organisations ‘Espai d’Inclusió i Formació Casc Antic’ (EICA) and Apropem-nos. They are juridically non-profit organisations, but they are not referred to as such, but rather as ‘entitats’. In this report, we will call them organisations or associations.

\(^4\) In Catalan, ‘Consorci per la Normalització Lingüística’
II Local Migration-Integration Policy Frames - An overview

II.1 Migration / Integration

In order to understand the perception of the link between integration and immigration (and admission) within the local policy frame, this must be first contextualised in the national one. In Spain, the integration-related admission nexus is considered to be weak, although recent changes in the last immigration law (LOEX 2/2009) have included new clauses related to issues of integration when renewing a permit of residence, obtaining nationality or reuniting a family member. Also, the political debate has embraced opinions of right wing political parties which advocate the inclusion of measures of integration in the policy and legal frame understood from the cultural sphere and as a mechanism of control and selection of the ‘good migrants’. At the regional level, the Llei d’Acollida has introduced two important issues: the juridical value that the reception certificate can have for the legal procedures mentioned above and the possibility to develop reception practices in the countries of origin (acollida a l’exterior), although it is broadly mentioned without specifying the Who, How, When, Where and What.

The interviewees have displayed awareness of the changes introduced by the LOEX and the Llei d’Acollida, but not exactly of what these will imply in the future, as the implementation of both laws (the reglamento, stipulating how the law must be applied in practice) are still underway. In general, they don’t agree with the idea of integration being compulsory and believe that the local policies are designed with the aim of providing tools for the autonomy of migrants and of facilitating the integration rather than making it more difficult.

The current formal policy frame in Barcelona is described in the Immigration Working Plan 2008-2011. The areas of intervention and the actions are i) furthering and disseminating information about migration, ii) strengthening and adapting the city’s immigrant reception strategy, iii) dealing with municipal responsibilities relating to immigration, iv) working on interculturalism and promoting participation to guarantee full integration and v) guaranteeing transversality and an integral approach to immigration.

This is effected through two main plans: the Reception Plan set in 2006 and the Interculturality Plan, which is still underway. The first aims at guaranteeing access to basic information for everyone and at orientating them to the reception itineraries so that they can become autonomous in the city. Access must be normalised in all basic services, such as in the registration in the City Hall, legal assistance, civic education, learning of the language, employment assistance, health system, education or the social emergency services. It is also important to promote the social participation of migrants in the city, the coordination between social agents that work in the reception area and the involvement of the host society in the processes of first welcome.

5 LOEX stands for Ley Orgánica de Extranjería
6 In Spanish, ‘empadronamiento’, which is a very special measure, as it is unique in whole Europe and it gathers main socio-demographic information as well as place of residence. This is a duty for all people who live in any municipality in Spain and it is necessary to have access to any services, such as health or education. In the area of immigration, this is very relevant, as it also includes illegal migrants as well.
According to the Director of the immigration department there has been a recent shift from the reception to the interculturality policy due to several reasons. First, the largest flows of immigration were in 2000, 2006 and 2007 (due to the regularisation of 2005). In 2007 there was a big mass of people entering the country and many of them were illegal in the first stage. After this, with the economic crisis Barcelona within Spain stopped being attractive as a destination and the flows decreased. In this situation, they saw that they had fewer people entering, but more than 300,000 people that had been living in the city for a while and would not leave it. This is why in 2008 a bigger emphasis started to be made in terms of interculturality. The working plan on immigration mentioned above included a whole section towards its promotion and a process of debate was initiated to come up with an intercultural plan which currently is about to be finalised.

The interculturality plan is understood as a new strategy from the City Hall and it is based on three main principles: the promotion of migrants’ autonomy, the recognition of diversity emphasising the common and shared values and the positive interaction. This strategy is supposed to penetrate all spheres (e.g. society, culture, employment or politics) in which reception is also included. As a result, this may be articulated with the involvement of the whole society through an interactive dialogue between the host society and migrants. However, policies for the equality of opportunities must be developed from the educational system, urbanism, culture, security, etc. as a previous condition to achieve interculturality. It is also very important to put in common the values to avoid the fragmentation of the community. The commissioner of immigration affirms that “we want a plural society, but not a plurality of societies” for which there is the need of a will for the exchange, the creativity, the innovation, the dialogue and the knowledge. According to him, anti-discrimination policies are also key to achieving equality and these need to be promoted above all in access to the labour market to enable social mobility. He stated “society needs to accept the diversity as a key element of our current identity”.

In order to involve the host society, different practices are being designed, such as “the anti-rumour strategy” directed to all people including migrants, the dissemination of materials and reports that explain the social reality of migrants (e.g. through the web site of the City Hall) with statistical data and sociological studies.

Responsibilities relating to immigration that were transferred to municipal councils in 2005 made it necessary to set up a technical management structure (the Gabinet Tècnic d’Immigració) to put in action and coordinate the new services. These services entailed the production of two reports: a ‘social rooting’ (arraigo social) report for applicants for work and residency permits for exceptional reasons and a housing availability report for applicants for family reunification.

From the perspective of the City Hall, dealing with these two reports may give access to some very useful information, as a better understanding of the current situation and trends can be achieved, which also helps to develop other actions and projects such as support for family reunification and control over housing over-occupancy. It should be mentioned that one of the main challenges facing municipalities when it comes to handling these competences is moving forward towards the definition of common, shared criteria for drawing up these reports to avoid any disparities that may lead to situations of inequality and cause people to move around between municipalities. In this sense, this is one of the key elements that the Llei d’Acollida wants to solve.
In terms of how the integration-related immigration link is perceived at the local level, there seems to be an awareness of two different rationales when dealing with the concept of integration. Whilst the first advocates promotion of rights for improved integration, the second implies that integration is first necessary in order to obtain rights. The latter is more restrictive and goes in hand-in-hand with some of the national admission policies adopted by some EU member states. According to the Director of the immigration department, “it has a very paternalist philosophy behind it and everyone is suspicious”. He considers that Spain has so far adopted the first one, although he is aware that the recent changes introduced by the LOEX aim to restrict the permanence in the country. He affirms that “integration is not a test, it cannot be decreed and this is what these legal measures are trying to make. Integration is a social process, from the community, from everyone, from those who arrive and those who are here and this is what legislators sometimes don’t understand”. “On the other hand, he affirms that “a middle ground needs to be taken. Sometimes you need to give clear messages to the immigrant because not everyone is open and you must cut off their water”. Here the interviewee was referring to the need for establishing some limits in the acceptance of behaviours and practices from foreign people, such as the marriage of minors, the genital mutilation or the gender equality, but accepting that the large majority of migrants don’t pose these questions on the debate.

According to the reception officer, the discourse of the City Hall is for the integration as Barcelona and Catalonia have always been reception lands, but the practices undertaken by the institutions are not always so, as it can be seen by the government sub-delegation in Barcelona or by the Employment Department of the regional government (which is dealing with work permits since last October).

II.2 Llei d’Acollida

In regard to the Llei d’Acollida, different opinions have emerged. According to the Director of the immigration department, a positive aspect is that the law homogenises the criteria of reception plans for all local governments. This will be particularly important to finish with the large discretion that every municipality currently has to decide what being ‘rooted’ means when dealing with the certificate of social rooting. The law will establish common criteria, at least in what regards the level of language and the holding of courses related to knowledge of Catalan society and issues of employment training. The commissioner on immigration believes that whilst it may be more egalitarian to have common requirements for the level of language, it may be more difficult to unify the criteria in other issues, such as participation in associations or networks, certificates of other courses or the holding of a library card. There should be elements to be considered as complementary, according to the context of each town or city bearing in mind that the services provided by big cities might not be as extensive as in small towns.

On the other hand, there are some localities that are not offering any reception plan and according to the Director of the immigration department, this is the real problem, as the

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7 Some governments have been asking for a level C of Catalan which is the equivalent to the level when someone finishes the high school.
migrant population remains unattended and presents more difficulties to gain access to basic goods and services.

Negative elements of the law are related to an excess of systematisation and a lack of margin and flexibility for adaptation to the local contexts. According to the commissioner, throughout the process of making the law there has been tension between the local and regional governments. The first have traditionally been in charge of conducting reception policies and now the latter is telling them that reception may start with the new law and is defining what reception is, how to do it and who should be responsible for it. He affirms that “we have been able to give our opinions and there has been a dialogue within the federation of municipalities and other platforms […], but the law has specified too much the details […] Our reception strategy is composed of local policies and a public service provider called SAIER⁸ which includes an extensive network of associations, which has proved to be very successful”.

The law establishes that Catalan courses will be provided by the CNL, the sessions of civic knowledge of Catalonia will be split from the language courses and be carried out by the Immigration Agency (still to be created) and employment training (which is new) by the Employment Department of the regional government. This changes the current structure in which the associations have been the main actor providing the courses of language which also include civic knowledge. In this context, the commissioner expresses his concerns on what will happen with the network of associations. These could keep doing courses, but if they cannot supply the formal certificates that may be required for legal processes, people might not conduct them there, but rather in the CNL.

Another decisive factor will be the amount of funding allocated to manage this structure. Until now, associations have received financial support from the City Hall to develop their activities of reception. With the change of competences, the associations may see their funding reduced. The Immigration Agency could externalise the competence of the civic courses to the associations, although according to the law, these would be only 20 hours in comparison to the 135 hours of Catalan. They could also be in charge of providing the courses of Spanish, since there is not an institution like the CNL responsible for offering courses of Spanish to migrants, but the problem would be again the funding. According to the commissioner, there are doubts on the real capacity of the government to afford the investment in the Catalan courses so there may be even less for Spanish, especially bearing in mind that the hours of Catalan have considerably increased and that the budget assigned to reception policies of next years will probably

⁸SAIER stands for ‘Servei d’Atenció als Immigrants, Estrangers i Refugiats’. It provides:
- Social care for foreigners newly arrived in the city who still have not established their residence in a neighborhood, are homeless, or don’t have documentation.
- Advice on general legal issues related to immigration.
- Advice and legal defense of applicants for asylum and refuge.
- Advice and processing of documentation relating to the legal status (permits residence and employment, family reunification, student residence, etc.).
- Programs of social and working people of immigrant and / or refugees.
- Information for access to housing.
- Information and advice for official approval of studies.
- Accompanying linguistic and cultural translation and interpretation services for population using the SAIER, language courses, etc.

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decrease. As a result, the lack of economic resources might have repercussions on a low degree of application of the law.

Apart from the feasibility of this law, there is much debate in terms of what the optimal language policy would be. On one hand, there is the question of the preference given to Catalan over Spanish from the regional government. In this sense, there was a claim lodged by María Luisa Cava de Llano (the national ombudsman in functions) in the Constitutional Court last august and this has been admitted for discussion. She comments that Catalan is the common language for managing the reception and integration policies and about the linguistic competences assigned to the regional government in this regard. However, the majority of interviewees agree that the Catalan acquires such recognition as long as it is promoted, but not obliged, except for some that believe that it might be a bit excessive and unnecessary. The position of each individual in this regard might be related to their political orientation on the issue of nationalism in Catalonia. The immigration secretary of the regional government responsible for the Llei d'Acollida is under the left wing and pro-independence party⁹ and the immigration department of the City Hall under the Catalan Socialist Party, which is not particularly nationalist.

Another discussion is into what extent the language must be promoted or obliged. Although the law is voluntary and does not oblige migrants to do any courses, the certificates of reception may have juridical value for the immigration legal proceedings. The fact that this has already been included in the law is relevant, as it seems to point to the European tendency of linking integration and admission. Nevertheless, the State will be the decisive actor who establishes the actual value of these certificates when dealing with a social rooting, a renewal of a residence permit, a family reunification or the nationality and this will not be clear until the Llei d'Acollida and the last immigration law are implemented.

In general, all experts agree that the language must be promoted and given more relevance than the current one, although they reject the idea of obligation. The commissioner and the director of the immigration department have stressed the importance of the language in the integration process beyond the legal value that it can obtain. In this sense, they think that the increase of hours suggested by the Llei d'Acollida is appropriate and positive for the social cohesion. According to them, there are still sectors of the migrant population, such as Pakistani women, that are not much involved and this may pose a risk in the involvement of the education of their children, for example.

This is related to another discussion raised by the commissioner: language courses are required for those illegal migrants applying for a social rooting, but not for the family migrants who have a legal status and represent the largest group of migrants in Spain. According to him, “it is a bit incongruous to invest resources so that illegal migrants learn the language and the legal ones don’t”. Family migrants should be encouraged to take the courses at some point of their integration process. For this, a middle point should be found between obligeing everyone to do a test and assuming that the language will be learnt automatically. Also, the levels of requirement should depend on the context of every migrant. According to the politician, a Latin American person might get

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⁹ Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC)
along easier than a Pakistani person. Therefore, the first might be more required to learn Catalan, whereas the latter just or as a first step Spanish.

At the same time, he is aware that if migrants need to learn the language, they must have it easy, with many available and free courses spread in the territory. In this sense, the City Hall has decided to create special courses for Pakistani and Chinese people, as these were the communities that least attended the courses. Immigration policymaking has always tried to be based on universal criteria, so that the measures are addressed to any group. However, in this case, the need of designing special policies to attract their participation was seen and the rate of attendance has dramatically increased. The director of the immigration department affirms that “although this might be seen as segregation, it is only in the first stage for the first course and it might help in ensuring the equality of opportunities”.

II.3 Social rooting

To obtain the certificate of social rooting, the ‘rooting officer’ (técnico de arraigo) conducts an interview to test the level of language as well as the extent to which the person participates in social networks and in society. In this interview, no certificates of language are required if the person is able to communicate well in any of the national languages (in the case of Catalonia, Catalan or Spanish). If the rooting officer decides that this is not the case, they recommend that the individual attend a course, with another later interview to assess if the person has improved their language proficiency. According to the commissioner and the director of the immigration department, there must be flexibility when making the interviews to test the language proficiency. The certificates of the courses are useful as a guideline, but there might be people without certificates who display a good knowledge and people who despite having done the courses do not fulfil the requirements of the administration. This is why they believe that the law should include the relevance of the language beyond the legal value this might have to obtain a residence permit.

II.4 Reception in origin

The Llei d’Acollida introduces the concept of ‘reception abroad’ (acollida a l’exterior), which is supposed to be held at the country of origin. Although it is not meant to be an important section of the law, it is worth noting that the concept and therefore, the possibility to implement it, are already there. This kind of reception could be conducted in the offices that the regional government has abroad called SILOs which are focused mainly on providing assistance to those workers that are contracted in the country of origin (subcontratación en origen). The State stipulates what vacancies in which sectors exist, according to the offer of available jobs both in the public and private sector. This way migrants enter the country legally with a work contract that can be or not limited to a certain period of time. This kind of migrant workers, however, has decreased through the years and it currently represents a low percentage within the whole

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10 Service of Mediation and Labour Training in Origin (‘Servei d’Intermediació i Formació Laboral en Origen’)
migrant population. Nevertheless, the law does not refer only to the subcontracting in origin, so it could be applied to any other category.

The commissioner believes that the reception in the countries of origin is not feasible in practice mainly due to issues of resources and logistics. First, as mentioned above, there are not enough resources to fully implement the reception here with the changes that the law has introduced (e.g. increase of hours of Catalan), so it seems less reasonable that there will be enough to develop it abroad. In terms of logistics, he appears to be sceptical of how the necessary structures to implement it could be managed all over the world. Where would these offices be? If they were in big cities, this would mean that inland people may have to spend two days to go there to do the courses and according to him, this would not be practical neither egalitarian. He stated that “if what you want is that poor migrants don’t come, then call it as such and let’s talk about the background debate: if you want to discriminate against certain groups and select the good migrants”.

He also affirmed, however, that if there was enough budget to implement it, he would support this initiative within certain conditions of justice, as it should not put obstacles to the right to family reunification and should be “easy to implement”. He is not much in favour of making tests in origin, but it would be positive to provide as much information of the country of destination as possible (e.g. language, history, culture or administrative organisation of the region and city), so that when they arrive, they can more easily integrate. Actually, the City Hall is already carrying out a family reunification program in which the reception of the family migrant begins six months before they arrive. The City Hall has been in contact with the web site www.parla.cat of the CNL to raise awareness of the Catalan language abroad and to inform to what extent it is used (e.g. in school and at work), how it sounds, etc. According to him, it is a way to bring the language and culture nearer to the public and this helps migrants very much in their process of integration when they arrive.
III The Local Integration Landscape - A mapping of integration / introduction courses

In this section, a mapping of the courses of reception is provided following a list of items. In order to follow the reading, a table of equivalence of the courses with the European framework has been made at the beginning by distinguishing the actors offering them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>European framework</th>
<th>CNL</th>
<th>Associations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>Initial 1</td>
<td>Reception</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Initial 2(^\text{11})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Basic 1</td>
<td>Spanish 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Basic 2</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Basic 3</td>
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<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>Elemental 1</td>
<td>Spanish 2</td>
</tr>
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<td>Elemental 2</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Elemental 3</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Note: The equivalences between the courses of the associations and of the CNL and with the European framework are for guidance just for the purposes of this study and they are not officially recognised as such, whereas those between the CNL and the European framework are official. Although the courses offered by the CNL have their own names, they are all embraced within the so called ‘reception levels’ (nivells d’acolliment), as they are targeted to migrant people. The associations also offer courses of Catalan, but they are not always equivalent to the same levels of Spanish.

III.1 Integration Courses

III.1.1 How the courses were set up, when, why and who took the initiative

The courses began around the same time that Spain started experiencing a dramatic increase in migration flows, namely in 2000. These were offered by some associations placed in the old town and one of the oldest was Espai Inclusió Casc Antic (EICA). The aim was to support migrants in their process of integration by offering courses of language (Catalan and/or Spanish). It was not until 2006 that the City Hall became involved and started giving economic and technical resources to the associations. This was with the creation of the immigration department, the so-called Gabinet Tècnic d’Immigració mentioned above. Since then, the number of organisations offering courses has increased until the current economic recession.

\(^{11}\)This is normally conducted only by the Chinese community. The rest of groups jump from the initial 1 to B1.
According to one member of EICA and one of ‘Apropem-nos’, the City Hall has learnt from the reception strategy carried out by the associations and the contact with them is very important, as it represents a door to communicate with migrants.

In this decade the evolution has been in terms of more demand, more offer and more variety of nationalities at class until the economic recession since 2007 that the offer of the associations (but not that of the CNL) has been limited. Whilst the CNL has been the institution in charge of the Catalan courses since 2006, the associations tend to offer more Spanish than Catalan. In 2009 there were 32 associations offering courses of Spanish and 296 courses in total. In the CNL, the number of students registered in all courses has increased a 9%, which means 3.311 students more respect 2008 and there have been 48.322 students registered in the initial levels.12

Until now, the language and civic courses have been the same. Their learning aims are to learn the language, the culture, history and traditions of the host society, to promote the participation of migrants in social issues, to provide tools for their autonomy and facilitate their reception. The Llei d’Acollida is supposed to split the course into 130 hours of Catalan and 20 hours of civic issues (two different courses). The language is considered to be a key element of the integration process and therefore it is given much importance from the administration, as mentioned in the Immigration Working Plan 2008-2011.

Apart from the language courses, there are ‘sessions of reception’ (sessions d’acollida) of 2.5 hours. This comes from an initiative of mainly two associations of the district of Sants (‘Poble Sec per Tothom’ and ‘Formiga’), which perceived the need to organise them and proposed it to the City Hall in 2006. In 2009 the district of Sant Martí joint the initiative and this is recently being implemented in all districts of Barcelona. There are two modalities of the sessions: the itinerant ones which are included in the regular language courses (if the associations ask for them) and fixed ones which are held in the district building once per week or every two weeks and are open to everyone. Those already enrolled in a language course do not need to do anything to attend these sessions, as they are held within the normal timetable. Those people who want to go to the fix ones are normally derived from another organisation or the same administration registers them when they are doing the municipal registration (padrón) in the Attention to the Citizen Office (OAC).

Whilst it may be valued as positive that these sessions are able to attract those migrants who don’t necessarily attend a language course, the OACs sometimes do not ask migrants if they want to do the session and enrol them directly. This is especially true when they see that are not aware of the basic steps to do when they arrive and it normally happens when they go accompanied by someone that has lived in the city for a certain time. The rationale behind is that the City Hall does not want people to be excluded from the society and they want to promote the interaction with the host society. The OACs provide the private details to the reception agent responsible for the session. Before the session, the agents always have to call everyone who wants to do it to ensure the number of people attending. According to the reception agent of the district of Sants, the problem is that sometimes people don’t know about this session (as they have been registered without asking) and get afraid when they realise that the City

12 “L’acolliment lingüístic al Centre de Normalització Lingüística de Barcelona: aprenentatge i coneixement de l’entorn” (Consorci de Normalització Lingüística)
Hall is calling them. She believes that this is not ethic, as people should attend these sessions voluntarily and she should not have access to the data of the municipal registration.

According to her, the project has suffered important changes since the *Llei d'Acollida* started to be debated in 2009. She affirmed that the City Hall wanted to institutionalise the reception programs in front of the regional government and this is why these sessions were broadened in the whole city. Since then, the reception agents have to introduce themselves as members of the City Hall and those who belong to the associations who started offering these sessions in 2006 in Sants like her cannot do it as representatives of the association anymore. She believes that this puts more distance with people and does not help in creating a relationship of trust.

III.1.2 Funding sources

Until 2006, the associations used their own budget to organise the courses although these were receiving public support for the overall activities. Since 2006, the City Hall has provided financial support to those associations that offer courses and collaborate with them. However, which percentage of this budget comes from the regional government, the State or from the EU is unknown.

It is worth noting that with the economic recession, the funding assigned to the associations from the regional government has been reduced by 30% which has obliged some to downsize human resources, slightly increase the price of the material of the courses, optimise the spaces and look for alternative funding, such as private sources.

III.1.3 The network of actors involved in the implementation of the courses

As mentioned above, the actors involved in the implementation of the courses are the CNL for Catalan and the associations mainly for the Spanish courses, although some of them offer also Catalan. A third actor involved in the courses of Spanish are the ‘schools of adults’. These have traditionally offered courses of literacy and have progressively widened their scope with different courses adapted to new social groups. Today, migrants are an important audience of the initial courses of language. In Barcelona, there are 14 schools of adults and 472 groups (including all kind of courses). The problem is that they are not flexible in the registration dates (there are only two weeks) and the offer of the courses is limited in timetables and in number.

There are 33 organisations that offer language courses, 3 of which offer only Catalan, 6 only Spanish and the rest offer both. These appear to be poorly coordinated with the schools of adults and just some remain in contact to redirect students that have not found free places in a school. In contrast, the coordination between the associations and the CNL is much stronger, as there is a ‘coordinator of the language’ (*Coordinadora de la Llengua*) managed by the City Hall. All organisations meet four times a year to exchange points of view and pedagogical methodologies, to announce new courses, to discuss and evaluate the existing ones and to update all participants of the last news.

Whilst the associations and the schools of adults work at the local level and per districts, the scope of the CNL is all over Catalonia with 21 main offices.
The associations normally have voluntaries as teachers, whilst the CNL and the schools of adults have their own remunerated professionals. The CNL also provides courses in associations and in SAIER as these are big platforms attracting many migrant people and it is a way to take advantage of the groups that already exist there. In 2009, the CNL offered 221 courses and there were 5,801 people registered, which means a 26% more than in 2008. According to the associations’ representatives, it makes a huge difference when the teachers are professionals, as they have much more experience and resources, such as material or abilities to teach. The voluntaries are scarce and the organisations cannot select them, according to their competences. Whilst they value as positive that they offer their time to do such work, they don’t have so much responsibility and cannot receive so many requirements as the professionals. Also, the representatives affirm that some of them may have attitudes of “indoctrination”. This is, according to them, “a good chance to work with the voluntaries (and therefore with the host society)” and make pedagogy of integration trying to emphasise the interculturality, “a room where everyone learns from everyone”.

III.1.4 Target groups and/or groups explicitly exempted

The courses are targeted to any migrant including the EU nationals and from outside Catalonia who wish to learn Catalan and are open to everyone (except minors), as there is no selection processes. The courses close when they are full, according to the date of registration. In terms of groups, the largest ones are the family and labour migrants and those who don’t have a legal residence status. Illiterate persons may do special courses of literacy that are normally offered by the schools of adults or the associations. In this sense, the director of the immigration department affirms that “we are doing work that we shouldn’t, as it is the competence of the department of education”.

They normally get informed about the courses by word of mouth from friends, relatives or known people. Some are redirected from other organisations that don't have courses or from migrant organisations of their ethnic group. According to the data provided from Apropem-nos, in 2008 and 2009 a 78% of the students got to know the courses through known people, users of the organisation and other students, whilst a 20% through publicity and advertisements of the organisation.

If we look at the data of the CNL, the majority of students in the reception courses (initials, B1, B2 and B3) that learn Catalan come from South America (50,87%), especially from Bolivia and Peru. The second biggest group is from the EU (10,93%), the third is the rest of Spain (10,12%), the fourth Central America (including Mexico and the Caribbean, 8,82%) and the fifth is Asia (8,42%). The biggest ethnic group from Asia are Pakistanis and from Africa Moroccans. Since 2005 the percentage of foreign-born people has increased from a 73% to a 89% in 2009. There are a total of 168 nationalities within the courses. The 10 largest groups according to the number of registrations are:

1. Bolivia 3,128  
2. Perú 2,458  
3. Colombia 1,749  
4. Italia 945  
5. Brasil 921  
6. Venezuela 841

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13 Record of activities of 2009 from CNL in Barcelona ('Memòria d‘activitats 2009 del CNL de Barcelona')
5. Argentina 1.468 10. Pakistan 758

The CNL has designed special initial courses for the Chinese community (one more general and the other adapted to the commercial sector) to respond to the special needs of this group, as mentioned in the first section. In 2009, there were 427 students from China.

On the other hand, the CNL also offers courses focused on the sector of catering and on geriatrics, as these are two sectors of employment largely occupied by migrant people with a distinction of gender, as the second one is more female workers oriented. There was the idea of designing one on the construction sector, but the economic crisis has affected it very much and many people from this sector have moved to the catering one.

The registration in the reception courses has increased a 12,8% from 2008 and a 68% of the students registered have finished the courses and a 89% have passed them. In the initials and B1 levels between a 15% and a 18% of the registered students have not conducted the course and in the B2 and B3 courses a 12%. The duration of stay in the courses increases as they are more intensive and last less. In this sense, the monthly intensive courses have a tax of completion 10 points higher than the three-monthly ones.

In the case of Apropem-nos, the target group of the language and civic courses is “the whole community of the district of Poble Nou [where they are based] with difficulty to communicate in either Catalan or Spanish including foreign people and autochthons in the case of Catalan”. In terms of duration of stay, in 2008 there was a 82,7% that attended regularly the courses and a 71,8% that finished them. The largest age from the students was in 2008 between 20 and 30 years (a 39,3%) and between 41 and 50 years (a 39,4%) in 2009. In terms of origin we can see in the following table which are the largest groups (Pakistanis, Latin Americans and North Africans) and how it changes, according to gender. This responds to the socio-demographic composition of the immigrant population in the district and in Barcelona.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North Africa</td>
<td>27 (14.7%)</td>
<td>33 (14.2%)</td>
<td>28,9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub Saharan Africa</td>
<td>5 (2.8%)</td>
<td>47 (20.2%)</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>58 (31.7%)</td>
<td>13 (5.6%)</td>
<td>37,1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>28 (15.3%)</td>
<td>18 (7.8%)</td>
<td>23,1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>18 (9.9%)</td>
<td>67 (29%)</td>
<td>38,9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others Asia</td>
<td>26 (14.2%)</td>
<td>29 (12.5%)</td>
<td>26,7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Europe</td>
<td>8 (4.3%)</td>
<td>13 (5.6%)</td>
<td>9,9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>13 (7.1%)</td>
<td>12 (5.1%)</td>
<td>12,2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>44,1%</td>
<td>55,9%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: data from 2008 provided by Apropem-nos
In 2009, the largest ethnic origins are more or less the same, but their percentage changes: Pakistanis (23.6%), Latin Americans (22%), Sub Saharan (15.1%) and the North African (14%). According to gender, there was a 38.2% of women and a 61.8% of men, which gives a bigger majority to male migrants from 2008. More than a 60% of the users lived in the same district, in Poble Nou and have lived in Barcelona between 1 and 2 years (27.2%) or more than two years (41.1%) in 2008, and between 6 months and 2 years (39.7%), and more than 2 years (28.8%) in 2009.

In regard to the level of education, we can see in the following table that the majority of students have studied until the high school. However, the percentage of the illiterate appears to be quite high as well, which explains the introduction of literacy courses in many associations like Apropem-nos.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Percentage 2008</th>
<th>Percentage 2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
<td>14.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>22.6%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>28.2%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superior</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
<td>12.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A data</td>
<td>22.4%</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: data from 2008 and 2009 provided by Apropem-nos

The data provided by EICA shows that from 2002 until today, there has been an equality of gender just with a slight higher percentage of men in some years like in 2002 (60.9%). The nationalities more frequent in the courses have always been the Chinese in the first place (over a 30%), the Moroccan in the second and Spain or Pakistan in the third. The percentages of Spain may include Spanish people with a foreign ethnic background and Spanish people who learn Catalan.

III.1.5 Content (topic: language and / or civic education, guidelines and principles, vocational training)

The organisation of the courses differs between the associations and the CNL. The first have their own distinctions but in general they offer a maximum of three courses: the reception, Spanish 1 and Spanish 2 apart from one initial level of Catalan. The reception course is, as its name indicates, focused on the basic vocabulary necessary in a first stage for proceedings such as municipal registration, health insurance, how to find a flat, useful information of goods and services, such as libraries, gyms, civic centres and information on holidays of the host society. The content of the other courses is based on broadening the vocabulary, learning new grammar structures and issues more complex such as how to find a job are treated more in depth.
It is worth noting that the pedagogical material for these courses has been designed to learn the language along with the cultural, social and political characteristics of the host society.

As an example, the methods of the material ‘¿Hablamos?’ are focused on the promotion of the communication abilities, so that the students are able to communicate and solve situations and needs of real life through the language and extra-linguistic strategies (also developed in class). The main actors in the courses are the students and the teacher is thought to be just a guideline for the learning process. The topics are independent from another, so that new students can start a course in any moment and are structured like a spiral where new topics take old topics treated previously. As an example, the hours are taught in the first theme with the timetables of class and they are treated again in the second theme dealing with the timetables of the market. Finally, the last theme is supposed to be a summary of the whole book to raise the most important questions. In order to ensure the learning of civic issues, the book of the teacher has a section called ‘mediation with the environment’ that gathers all items of the host society addressed in each theme.

The content of the reception sessions is structured in four main areas: i) description of the territory (based on Barcelona), ii) basic resources, iii) rights, duties and participation and iv) immigration law. Many of the issues of the first two sections are raised in the language courses, but this is supposed to be a summary of the key issues to bear in mind (what it is, how it works, telephones and addresses). The basic resources include furthermore where and how to homologate certificates of education, where to learn languages, information on the Citizen’s Offices (e.g. Point of Information and Attention to Women), or on the importance to participate in associations. In the section of the rights and duties is where the civic issues are raised (e.g. recycling, the use of public space, norms related to the use and operation of the housing) as well as the fundamental rights migrants have as citizens. Finally, issues of the immigration law, according to the different legal processes, places to obtain free legal assistance or to complain against discrimination are treated.

These sessions work with a PPT support and all the attendants are given a booklet with the basic information of their district.

III.1.6 **Bindingness (voluntary / compulsory)**

The courses are voluntary, but as mentioned in the first section, are much valued when dealing with the social rooting. According to a teacher of the CNL, the majority of people come for a legal necessity at a first stage, but they show much interest in learning the language as well. Many women take advantage of the courses to solve questions related to the education of their children, for example.

This is likely to change with the *Llei d’Acollida* which can reinforce the binding character of the courses, although they won’t formally be compulsory.

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14 This material has been designed by EIFCA and it is used in many organisations offering language courses. It is a technical support that the City Hall offers to all associations of the ‘coordinator of the language’.

15 Punt d’Informació i Atenció a les Dones (PIADs)
The incentives to participate in these courses are given from different institutions and spheres stressing the benefits for them to find a job more easily, get more involved in the educational process of their children, or interact with the host society.

III.1.7 **Duration (total hours, immediate / long term)**

The duration of the courses varies according to the organisations but the average is around 70 hours. As an example, the reception course of EICA is of 72 hours (six hours 4 days a week) during a whole semester whilst the Spanish 1 lasts 54 hours (4,5 hours 3 days a week) and the Spanish 2, 36 hours (3 hours two days a week). All these courses can be conducted in three different timetables: in the morning, in the afternoon and at night.

As we can see in the table below, the CNL offers different courses with different durations, according to how intensive they are.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>40-45 h</th>
<th>90 h</th>
<th>90-120 h</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bàsic 1 (B1)</td>
<td>Curs bàsic (CB)</td>
<td>Bàsic (BB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bàsic (B1+B2)</td>
<td>B1+B2+B3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bàsic 2 (B2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bàsic 3 (B3)</td>
<td>Bàsic-elemental (BE)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B3+E1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the Spanish 1 would be equivalent to the B1, B2 and B3, it is worth noting that the Spanish 1 lasts much less (72 hours versus 130h).

III.1.8 **Costs**

The initial and basic courses of the CNL are free and students must pay only the book which oscillates between 10€ and 15€ depending on the course. The same happens with the associations: all courses are free and in some of them you have to pay 15€ for the material (like in EICA) or nothing (like in Apropem-nos). In this sense, the representative of EICA affirmed that “if students had to pay a symbolic price, the rate of attendance would be higher”.

III.1.9 **Certificates delivered (legal value, level of appreciation / recognition in the labour market etc.)**

At the end of the courses, the associations and the CNL provide certificates of attendance for which there are no exams and only an 80% of attendance is required to obtain it. These certificates have been designed by the City Hall and this provides them to all organisations of the coordinator, except the CNL that produces their own. As already mentioned, the certificates don’t have any formal legal value, but can acquire it
when the Llei d’ACollida and the LOEX 2/2009 are implemented. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that some years before the requirement in the social rooting was the registration form of the course and it was changed to this certificate of attendance to ensure that the migrants implement the course.

In this regard, the representative of Apropem-nos affirmed that “you can see how some people come to the course just for the certificate”. As the two main nationalities in the courses of this organisation and EICA, Pakistani seem to have more the necessity to get it than the Chinese, as the latter ones seem to have more links to the labour market and many of them are employed whilst Pakistani aren’t so much and may need to be regularised through the social rooting. She also stated that if someone has come three days and asks for the certificate, she does not provide it, whilst if she sees that the individual has showed interest, but has attended a 50% of the classes, she might do it.

III.1.10 Evaluation

In the courses managed by the organisations, there are no evaluation methods, but as stated by both representatives of the organisations, having them would help to improve the quality of the courses. However, they would not support the fact of doing exams in the benefit from the government to control migrants more, but if the quality was higher, they would probably learn more. Nevertheless, this would imply more work for the teachers, the big majority is voluntaries and according to the representative of EICA, “the students who come from the beginning to the end can be counted with the fingers of the hand”, which would make the evaluation more difficult.

On the other hand, the teachers of the CNL can choose whether to do an exam or not at the end of the course. The students have also the possibility to do the official exam after the B3 course and acquire a certificate equivalent to the A1 from the European framework.
IV The impact of integration courses on immigrants integration trajectories

IV.1 Impact of reception policies

First, it is worth making an evaluation of the integration policies at the local level. According to the reception officer, there has been more involvement from the network of associations in the reception of the migrant population, an increase of the people attended from 2005 and the reception strategies have been included in the agenda setting with the agreement of all political forces. The creation of the coordinator of the language presents many advantages derived from the work in network, as it enables the communication easier. For migrants, the benefits are more direct: access to language courses, legal assistance, a service of mediation, employment training or specialised courses of language on the most frequent jobs, all for free. For the host society, they are less visible, but also positive, as there is less social conflict, discrimination and exclusion and this is thanks to the network of associations spread over the territory. The migrants who have lived here for a time are also fundamental to open doors to the new migrants.

In this sense, he also affirms that the impact of public policies is always limited to achieve the social transformation. This is why the organisations are so important. However, more contacts need to be made with the Chinese, the Sub Saharan and the Romanian and Bulgarian Roma communities, as they are seen as the most removed from the host society.

In terms of the labour market, although there is much demand of work from the labour assessors, the organisations have stopped offering this service, as with the economic recession there is much unemployment. Other factors that put obstacles to access to employment are the mistrust of the businessmen to contract migrant people and the lack of collaboration from public employment services to invest resources targeted at this population. As a result, the labour assessors have been replaced for labour advisors who cannot provide assistance to find a job, but can advise migrants in other aspects, such as norms related to the work environment (e.g. arrive on time) or how to present a CV.

IV.2 Impact of integration / introduction courses on the migrants integration trajectories and on the host society overall level of social cohesion

All interviewees agreed that the reception courses are very useful and promote the social integration of migrants, as thanks to them, they have more chances to find a job or a flat, to be socially promoted, to better access goods and services, to interact more with the local people, to develop a feeling of identity with the host society, to enhance social cohesion and to reduce social conflict.

According to a lawyer, the most important think is not what they learn in terms of language, but all the social networks, links, relationships and meetings that emerge from and beyond these courses. She affirmed that “they go out of their homes and see that there are people available to connect with them”. On the other hand, the teachers,

16 These are the Servei d’Ocupació de Catalunya and Barcelona activa
social workers, voluntaries and professionals see the migrant's reality and it is a great chance to interact and learn from them.

This is confirmed in a study of Samper and Moreno (2008) who analyse the immigration trajectories and the subjective integration of third country nationals in Barcelona. The key question is not whether immigrants integrate in society or not, but in which areas of the social structure of the host society and how this process changes the pre-existent social structure. Therefore, integration is studied from the economic, socio-cultural and subjective perspectives using different indicators from surveys conducted in three consecutive years (2005-2007).

For this project, we are especially interested in the socio-cultural level. The relevant variables are the relationships with the host society, learning the languages, access to the communication and information channels, the use of services and institutions or the participation in the festivities of the host country. The connection with social networks is perceived to be fundamental in having access to employment and to spaces of relationships and exchange of communication and information. Actually, the social networks are cause and consequence of integration: they determine and are determined by the socioeconomic and socio-cultural position.

Although the results show that the number of foreign people that socialise with local people increases through the years, other factors need to be accounted, such as the language, the nationality, the district of residence and the level of education. In regard to the language, this can be considered again both cause and consequence of developing social relationships: the better you speak, the more you can socialise and the more you socialise the better you speak. In any case, the results display an increase in the social networks when the domain of the language is high. As we can see in the following graphs, this is especially true for people who speak Catalan correctly and at a basic level (dark grey of two first set of columns), since these normally can speak Spanish already, so they are able to speak both. This also might explain why the regional and local governments are so interested in promoting the learning of Catalan.

**Source:** "Integració i interculturalitat: anàlisi de les trajectories migratòries i de la integració subjective de la població estrangera extracomunitària a la ciutat de Barcelona"
In contrast, people who speak only Spanish or don’t speak it, socialise mainly with people from the country of origin (dark green of second and third set of columns) and very little with the host society.

Source: “Integració i interculturalitat: anàlisi de les trajectòries migratòries i de la integració subjectiva de la població estrangera extracomunitària a la ciutat de Barcelona”

The level of education affects the understanding of Catalan, but apparently not the use of it. However, in general terms, the higher the level of education is, more likely is to build relationships with local people. Nationality also has an influence in the establishment of social networks: whilst the Peruvians, Ecuadorians and Colombians tend to socialise more with autochthons, the Chinese and Pakistani less so. And finally, those living in districts of residence that have a higher percentage of migrant people are the ones that show less relationships with the host society.

On the other hand, the awareness of symbolic elements of the city is generally low, although it increases according to the duration of residence in the host country, the domain of Catalan, qualifications and nationality.

Subjective integration is accounted through the feeling of belonging in the city. Although it is difficult to find out which are the variables most influential in developing an identity connected to the host society, the duration of residence seems to be an important element. People who have lived in the city for more than 10 years feel much more from Barcelona (grey of last column) than those who have lived less than 5 years (grey of first column).
On the other hand, this feeling is also related into what extent they are satisfied with their personal circumstances: the more welcome migrants feel, the more identified they are with the host society (grey of first column).

The main conclusion of the study is that the relationship with the local population, the learning of the language and the labour opportunities are three interconnected elements and the level of education seems to be the best factor to enter this circle which benefits simultaneously the economic, social and intercultural integration of foreign people.
IV.2.1 Identification of possible incentives for increasing participation / effectiveness of the courses and matters of efficiency

As suggestions to improve the courses, developing a proper system of evaluation would be an important point. With more resources, there could also be more professionals, more material, more spaces or more structures to ensure the continuity of the students. Another relevant issue would be to promote the participation of migrants outside the class, as this would contribute in the social cohesion. But according to them, “a specialist of participation should be hired because sometimes we don’t know very much how to do it”. In this sense, the reception officer affirms that the organisations offer not only courses of languages, but also legal and psychological assistance and organise all kind of events, such as lectures or meetings, from which migrant people could take advantage.

In regard to the sessions of reception, the reception agent believes that these should have more continuity rather than just two hours one day. On one hand, she values that they may reach more people as they are not linked to any association, but on the other, these sessions may reduce the budget that the organisations receive to do language courses. As these are almost always full, she is not sure whether the reception sessions should be given more resources or be kept to extend the offer of language courses.

As an alternative approach, more work on and with the host society is required to obtain higher degrees of integration understood as a bidirectional process. The positive side of integration needs to be more visible, through more information campaigns targeted at the host society. According to the representative of EICA, migrants should make more efforts to fulfil their obligations as any other citizen and the host society should also be more aware of the immigrant’s reality to overcome the stereotypes related to them.

According to the reception officer, the services provided by SAIER are insufficient, as they are always over-extended. These should be better supported and more decentralised following the model of network in order to reach more people. The existing public offices (e.g. of social services) could be used to conduct more sessions of reception and more training to those actors working on the field of reception (e.g. social workers, librarians or officers of OACs) should be provided.

The director of the immigration department affirms that “the problem with the local administration is that there is little margin in integration policies to have a real impact. You can have a bearing on important things like on the municipal registration (padrón), on Catalan, Spanish, the life together in the public space... But then there are the national and European laws, the political debates, the media, etc. and all this influences. You can have good integration policies and a politician goes for a walk in a certain district and everything goes to pot!”

IV.2.2 Identification of the immigrant categories who are more likely to benefit from such courses

Family and labour migrants represent the majority of the migrant population in Barcelona. Therefore, these would benefit more from the courses, but not for any special reason, as the courses are open to everyone.
However, this might depend on what kind of benefits we look at. If we measure them as helping in getting a legal status, the illegal migrants are the ones who may take more benefits from the courses. If we measure the benefits in terms of language, access to employment and housing, improving the interaction with the host society, the participation in social and political issues, etc., those who are more active and encouraged to learn and take advantage of the possibilities that the courses (and their actors) offer, will be the most favoured. Therefore, we could affirm that the benefits may depend on the objectives, needs, abilities and motivations of each person.
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