MAINSTREAMING IN PRACTICE

THE EFFICIENCIES AND DEFICIENCIES OF MAINSTREAMING IN SPAIN

Elisa Brey, María Sánchez-Domínguez and Daniel Sorando
Universidad Complutense Madrid

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Chapter 1 Introduction

This report focuses on how the mainstreaming of integration has been put in practice into Spain. How does mainstreaming work in practice, and what are the main (perceived) effects of mainstreaming? In the Spanish context, is there any difference between local and neighbourhood levels? In order to give an answer to this question, empirical data will be compared between two neighbourhoods in both Madrid and Barcelona cities. This analysis builds on earlier reports on how mainstreaming should be defined in the field of integration governance (WP2) and on why integration policies are being ‘mainstreamed’ in Spain (WP3).

The main aim of the UPSTREAM project is to explore in more details how, why and to what effect governments at the EU, national and local-level mainstream their migrant integration policies. The previous work package (WP3) explored to what extent mainstreaming can be observed in the Spanish case; how it was implemented, by identifying key actors and key decision moments; and what are the rationales beyond the implementation of mainstreaming policies. The conclusions have shown that mainstreaming is not defined as a clear political strategy in Spain. On the contrary, different trends were observed depending on the field for intervention and the level of government. In short, the trend towards mainstreaming is sometimes driven by recognition of diversity within Spanish society, whereas in some other cases mainstreaming is the effect of budget cutbacks within the field of social policies. Impact of political ideology should not be neglected, especially when mainstreaming means “not doing anything special”. In this context, dilemmas between specificity and universality are shared by both public administrations and social organizations.

Generally, more generic approaches are found in the field of housing policies, urban intervention and education. Nonetheless, specific initiatives remain in the field of language training and legal orientation. In Spain, lower attention to migrants from a specific perspective in the field of integration coincides with an increasingly relevant territorial approach to specific urban areas, as a replacement strategy to attend vulnerable neighborhoods with an important residential settlement of immigrants (Brey, 2015). It also depends on a long tradition of universal policies, especially in the field of education and health, while social housing is a residual part of public policy in the Spanish context.

In this report, the key objective is the analysis of how mainstreaming works in specific areas of migrant integration (education and social cohesion) and what are the effects of such initiatives. It is also the goal of this report to take a close look at the way that central and local governments’ mainstream migrant integration policies, especially regarding the effects which can be identified in terms of policy coordination, practices and outcomes. Finally, a particular attention is paid to how mainstreaming affects vulnerable groups.

This report will start by describing the methodological details of the qualitative data collection as well as the quantitative source of data used. Secondly, in order to provide a background to contextualize the mainstreaming in practice, the second section starts by presenting a portrait of foreign students in the educational system. The goal of this contextualization is to approach what the playing field for stakeholders, policy-makers and for immigrants is in two of the main receiving regions in Spain: Catalonia and Madrid. Once this
portrait is presented, we then explain in detail how mainstreaming is implemented in the field of education and social cohesion, the two backbones of this report.

Within the field of education, we will focus on what is the situation of immigrants in schools and the relevancy of language skills among all migrants living in these two regions. Education will be analyzed by using both quantitative and qualitative data. We then immersed in the analysis of the social cohesion, considering both anti-poverty and anti-exclusion programs at the neighborhood levels, and anti-racist strategies. Finally, we discuss the efficiencies and deficiencies of mainstreaming in Spain.

1.1 Data and Methodology

Different data and methodological tools have been used in order to achieve the main goals of this workpackage. Regarding methods, information about the efficiencies and deficiencies of mainstreaming in Spain has been obtained through both qualitative and quantitative research. Firstly, several data sources have been consulted in order to explain the general demographic trends in relation to education and social cohesion in both Catalonia and Madrid. Once the context of mainstreaming integration governance has been established, several interviews in the capital cities of Catalonia and Madrid have been conducted to know the main patterns concerning this governance area.

1.1.1 Quantitative research:

There are numerous sources of data that can be used to provide a detailed picture of the education of immigrants as well as to analyze the integration of migrants from the point of view of social cohesion in the Regions of Madrid and Catalonia.

1.1.2.1 Administrative Data

As far as the general characteristics of foreign students are concerned, this research relies on statistical data provided by the Spanish government. The Spanish’s Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport provides data regarding the main characteristics which are associated with the process of inclusion of immigrants in the Spanish educational system since the academic course 1994/95. This data also allows to compare the regions of Madrid and Catalonia during the same period.

1.1.2.2 Survey data

Survey of Language Uses of the Population (EULP)

In the Region of Catalonia, language skills will be analysed by using data from the Survey of Language Uses of the Population (EULP) conducted in 2013.\(^1\) The survey was conducted by the General Directorate for Language Policy and Idescat (Statistical Office of Catalonia). The Survey contains data on language skills among the population living in Catalonia. It includes population over 15 years who were born either in Catalonia, in the rest of Spain or abroad.

\(^1\) There were other two waves in 2003 and 2008.
The main objective of the EULP is to obtain an estimation of language uses during interpersonal relations in Catalonia, and in different areas of language use. Other important objectives of this survey are the obtainment of data on the following aspects: 1) Languages the population identifies with; 2) Knowledge of Catalan, Spanish, English and French; 3) Use and knowledge of the Occitan language, known as Aranese, in Val d’Aran region; 4) Knowledge of other languages; and, 5) Attitudes of the population to languages and their opinions about the use of Catalan.

In order to understand the survey, it should be reminded that Catalan is recognized as one of the historical languages of Spain, by the Constitution, and newcomers to Barcelona and the rest of Catalonia are actively invited to learn Catalan.

The National Immigrant Survey of Spain

The National Immigrant Survey of Spain (hereafter, the NIS) was conducted in 2007. The total sample consists of 15,465 foreign-born respondents living in Spain at the time of the interview who were at least 16 years old and who had resided in Spain for at least a year or had the intention of doing so (see Reher and Requena, 2009).

The NIS includes a wide range of background socio-demographic characteristics of the immigrants, the coresident domestic group, conditions upon departure, conditions upon arrival, labor market activity, housing, contacts with Spanish civil society and with society of origin.

1.1.2. Qualitative research:

A total of 30 in-depth interviews were conducted during May and June 2015 in Catalonia (15 interviews) and Madrid (15 interviews) with experts within the subfields of education and social cohesion. Two observations were also conducted in Madrid, with the Red Cross and the Municipality of Madrid (See Annex). Firstly, regarding education, interviews have been conducted with head teachers, school counsellors, parents associations and NGOs working in the field of early education and language support in the neighbourhoods being studied both in Barcelona and Madrid. Whereas, secondly, knowledge of the reach of mainstreaming of integration governance within the subfiled of social cohesion has also been studied through several interviews. These interviews have been done with neighbourhood-focused community workers in each of the neighbourhoods, working either for the local authority or its partners (mainly NGOs, including migrant associations) and with residents’ representatives.

Nonetheless, since the focus of the project is on governance within municipalities rather than actual classroom practice in schools and social projects in neighbourhoods, some interviews have been conducted with local authority officers responsible for this area and specialist “street level bureaucrats” at the local authorities working across the city. This second type of interviews was necessary as they could bring more information on the context, while the first ones previously mentioned offered more details on very concrete challenges and coordination aspects.
1.2 Neighborhoods or case studies:

The interviews have been conducted with street-level bureaucrats and representatives of two neighbourhoods within each city (Barcelona and Madrid). In both cases, the same criteria have been applied to select these neighbourhoods. In both cities, the first selected area is both “super-diverse” (at the Spanish level) and extremely economically deprived, where a strong immigration inflow has been followed by an intensification and multiplication of diversity, such that diversity is in a sense “mainstream.” This is the case of Besós, in Barcelona, and San Cristobal de Los Angeles, in Madrid. In both cities, the second area has been selected depending on its remarkable diversity, previously more economically deprived situation, but currently experiencing new migration trends, including more affluent migrant and native population, where public authorities deal with not so strong socioeconomic problems. This is the case of Poble Sec, in Barcelona, and Malasaña, in Madrid. Obviously, this report is not an in-depth case studies of four neighbourhoods, with just five to seven interviews per area, but by concentrating interviews in these locations it is possible to make provisional generalizations on the effect of different social contexts over the governance of integration, with some representation at the city level.

Table 1:
The percentage of people born abroad by principal regions and countries in each territory (2014)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of Origin</th>
<th>Barcelona</th>
<th>Poble Sec</th>
<th>Besós</th>
<th>Madrid</th>
<th>Malasaña</th>
<th>San Cristobal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EU25</td>
<td>4,3</td>
<td>6,5</td>
<td>1,8</td>
<td>3,5</td>
<td>5,9</td>
<td>3,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>0,4</td>
<td>0,6</td>
<td>0,6</td>
<td>1,4</td>
<td>0,8</td>
<td>1,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>1,5</td>
<td>3,0</td>
<td>3,8</td>
<td>1,4</td>
<td>1,5</td>
<td>10,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>1,0</td>
<td>2,3</td>
<td>2,4</td>
<td>0,9</td>
<td>1,0</td>
<td>6,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America</td>
<td>10,8</td>
<td>13,8</td>
<td>11,1</td>
<td>12,2</td>
<td>16,6</td>
<td>28,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>1,5</td>
<td>1,7</td>
<td>3,3</td>
<td>3,0</td>
<td>2,3</td>
<td>11,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>3,9</td>
<td>12,0</td>
<td>15,6</td>
<td>1,9</td>
<td>5,8</td>
<td>1,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>0,9</td>
<td>1,0</td>
<td>1,0</td>
<td>0,9</td>
<td>1,9</td>
<td>0,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>1,2</td>
<td>4,6</td>
<td>12,7</td>
<td>0,0</td>
<td>0,1</td>
<td>0,4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total**
21,7
36,4
33,7
19,6
30,6
45,0

Source: Continuous Municipal Register Statistics (National Statistics Institute).

Regarding ethnic and national diversity, selected neighbourhoods are characterized by a greater presence of foreign-born population when compared with the total population born abroad in the city of Barcelona and Madrid (Table 1). Moreover, composition of migrants in terms of their origin is different among neighbourhoods. For instance, European Union citizens (even excluding people from Romania) are much more settled within the territory of Poble Sec
(Barcelona) and Malasaña (Madrid) than they are in Besós (Barcelona) and San Cristóbal (Madrid). This trend is consistent with socio-labour characteristics of its population.

Graph 1:
Percentage of the active population (migrants and non-migrants together) depending on their labour position (2014).


Two different patterns of labour behaviours into the labour market can be observed (Graph 1). On the one hand, there is a greater professionalization of employment in Poble Sec and Malasaña. These works are characterized by better paid and more prestigious jobs. On the other hand, the reality is rather different in the districts of Besós and San Cristóbal. Unemployment particularly affects people residing in these two neighbourhoods, especially in San Cristóbal, where four out of ten residents are unemployed. The same observation can be made about the population living in Besós, where three out of ten are in the same situation. Elementary occupations, which includes domestic workers, have a higher percentage in both neighbourhoods. The high presence of unemployed or/and workers in elementary occupations contributes to increased vulnerability of the population living in these two neighbourhoods (see Maps 1 and 2).

Although more information will be provided during the rest of the report, the main characteristics of the neighbourhoods being studied are summarised across the next section.
Map 1:
Location of case studies in Barcelona.

% of people unemployed
(City of Barcelona, 2011)

1 – Poble Sec
2 – El Besós
Map 2:

Location of case studies in Madrid.

% of people unemployed
(City of Madrid, 2011)

1 – Malasaña
2 – San Cristóbal de los Ángeles
1.2.1 Case studies in Barcelona: Poble Sec and Besós

*Poble Sec*

This is a traditional immigration neighbourhood as many workers arrived to its territory during the second half of the twentieth century from the South of Spain. However, since the beginning, it has been a relevant place of foreign immigrant’s settlement (see pictures 1 and 2). Currently, there is a remarkable conflict regarding urban plans for the neighbourhood because traditional commerce and local identity usually have divergent interests compared to those of tourism dynamics and night leisure within a neighbourhood which is being appreciated by upper-middle classes due to its central location in Barcelona (see pictures 3 and 4).

*Pictures 1 and 2:*
Old and New Immigration in Poble Sec.
This is also an immigration neighbourhood, which was built in the sixties in order to provide housing for rural Spanish workers. Nowadays, this has been an important place for the settlement of foreign immigrant workers. However, this territory is very close to the new projects and developments related to the new information economy, such as 22@ or the Fórum, among others (see pictures 5 and 6). As a result, there is a great social boundary between a very expensive and new built area and the neighbourhood of Besòs, which is characterised by intense processes of social and economic deprivation.
Malasaña is a neighbourhood located in the very centre of Madrid, which is the best example of a gentrified neighbourhood in Spain. This place was characterised by a strong process of housing deterioration which has been followed by a remarkable process of urban restoration (see pictures 7 and 8). As a result, within its territory there is a superdiversity of social groups regarding age, origin and social class. These groups are together, but not mixed, which is a trend shared by the different kinds of migration, including both impoverished populations and middle-upper classes coming from countries like France, Italy, the United Kingdom or the USA.
San Cristóbal de los Ángeles

San Cristóbal is a clear example of a socially and geographically isolated neighbourhood where most of the social effects of the housing bubble have been concentrated (see picture 9). As a result of the social mix among same social positions coming from different trajectories, intercultural integration of the different impoverished social groups within the neighbourhood is a great challenge.
During the fieldwork in Madrid and Barcelona, differences have been observed between more deprived neighbourhoods located in the peripheral areas and more diversified neighbourhoods in the urban centres. Meanwhile, the differences between both cities do not seem to be so relevant, in comparison to differences between types of neighbourhoods.
Chapter 2  

Education Field

2.1 The impact of the international migration in the Spanish Educational System

The arrival of international immigration to Spain has been accompanied by the growing influx of younger school-age children. The arrival of children in the educational system has occurred in different ways: 1) by the joint family migration; 2) through the process of family reunification; or 3) by birth in the receiving society. Although the joint family migration exists, this is not common, due to high transportation costs involved and complicated administrative procedures (Requena and Sánchez-Domínguez, 2011; Brey and Stanek, 2013). The other two explanatory reasons are much more frequent. On the one hand, family reunification has been widely researched and debated over the last decades, and there is a broad consensus that reunification is a cornerstone of all migration strategies. Actually, the success of this migration project causes an immigration multiplicative effect (Jasso & Rosenzwig, 1986; Massey, 1999), and family reunification becomes one of the main reasons for entry into the receiving societies (Kofman, 2004). On the other hand, immigrants have contributed to the rejuvenation of the Spanish age structure as immigrant mothers tend to have higher fertility levels when compared with Spanish women (Cerrutti and Maguid, 2010; Reher et al., 2013). These trends are reflected in Graph 2, which provides information on the evolution of the foreign students in non-university studies\(^2\) from the academic year 1994 / 1995 to the 2013 / 2014 by country-level and by region.

The total number of students with migrant background began to climb after 2000 (pink line), when Spain became a new receiving country of international migration. Currently, approximately one out of ten students in Spain has a foreign nationality, up more than tenfold from figures existing at the outset of the 21st century. At first, increases in the number of foreign students were modest, but there has been a quite evident growth in the early 2000s and especially in the mid 2000s, when this process began to accelerate, and has waned since reaching a peak in the 2007-2008, which may suggest a return to the country of origin due to the financial crisis after 2008. Another explanatory factor is the access to Spanish nationality for some migrants and their children, so they are not included among the foreign population anymore. Nevertheless, the available data do not bring the opportunity to measure the differential impact of returns in comparison to access to Spanish nationality.

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\(^2\) General Education System is divided as follows: 1) Infant Education from 0 to 6 years old; 2) Primary Education from 6 to 11 years old; 3) Compulsory Secondary Education (12-16 years old); 4) Baccalaureate (16-18) or Vocational training (16-18); and 5) Special Education. The latter category includes foreign students under 16 years of age with special educational needs because they are latecomers to the Spanish Educational System. These students receive special educational training designed to facilitate their inclusion in the school. This system acts as a stage of transition in which there is a double objective: to reach the same academic level of the year of studies that correspond with their age and/or learn the vehicular language of the school. Data on students with these needs are only available for the two academic years: 2011/2012 and 2012/2013.
Graph 2:
Evolution of the percentage of foreign students in non-university studies (General Education System) in Spain by academic year and Evolution of the distribution of foreign children studying in the Spanish General Education System by selected regions (AACC).

Source: Statistics from the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport

Graph 2 also offers a quick comparison of the percentage of foreign students in the Regions of the country. This information affords a good introductory guide to the impact of international migration in the Catalan and Madrid’s educational system. While the data related to Spain refers to the percentage of foreign students; the data related to the regions, refer to the distribution of foreign students among Autonomous Community. During the academic course 2013/2014, approximately seven in ten foreign students were enrolled in primary and secondary schools in only four Autonomous Communities: Catalonia, Madrid, Valencia, and Andalusia. Both, Catalonia and Madrid account for 40% of the total of foreign students in the country.

The impact of immigration in the educational system is reflected in the relative increasing trends expressed in Table 2. In general, the academic year 2007/08 represents a milestone in the number of foreign students. Before 2008, there was a massive influx of students with non-Spanish citizenship into the educational system in both Catalonia and Madrid, especially in Catalonia. In this region, in the academic year 2007/08, the number of foreign students increased by 165% compared with the number of foreign students in the academic year 2002/03, almost the double than in Madrid during the same period (79%). After 2008/09, the number of foreign students increased slightly in Catalonia (from 143,186 to 173,133), while in Madrid there was a decline of the number of students (from 146,568 to 143,499). These two patterns, massive influx and subsequent stabilization in Catalonia, and boom and subsequent decline in Madrid, are reproduced when the educational level information is desegregated by educational level—pre-school and primary.

In a very short span of time (2002/03-2012/13), it is undeniable that the increase in foreign students has entailed a change in the make-up of the education system in terms of ethnic composition. In Catalonia, the number of foreign kids under 6 years of age increased from 11,841 to 39,845, and in Madrid from 17,544 to 31,367. Foreign children from 6 to 12 years old
(primary educational level) increased in Catalonia from 22,636 to 54,480, and in Madrid from 35,695 to 47,505. So, in both cases, despite they show different patterns in the reception of foreign students over time, it is clear that the total number of foreign students is high and has raised factors that added complexity to the educational system in terms of cultural, ethnic and socioeconomic background. As we shall see, the significant increase in the number of foreign students has posed a relevant challenge to the education system of both Catalonia and Madrid.

Table 2:
Variation of the foreign students by autonomous community. Non-university teaching

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Var. %</th>
<th>Var. %</th>
<th>Var. %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-school-Catalonia</td>
<td>123.8</td>
<td>113.0</td>
<td>70.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-school-Madrid</td>
<td>60.6</td>
<td>-10.9</td>
<td>78.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary-Catalonia</td>
<td>165.0</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>61.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary-Madrid</td>
<td>63.9</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>33.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalonia</td>
<td>165.1</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>220.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madrid</td>
<td>79.3</td>
<td>-2.1</td>
<td>75.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics from the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport

As expected, the ethnic composition of students (Table 3) is a faithful reflection of the ethnic composition of their parents in these two autonomous communities (see WP3). It is, therefore, not surprising that African and Asian children have a greater presence in Catalan schools. Nor is it surprising neither that European and Latin American students are the largest groups in the educational system of Madrid.

Table 3:
Composition of foreign students in Catalonia and Madrid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2002-03</th>
<th>2007-08</th>
<th>2012-13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalonia</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madrid</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest EU</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalonia</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madrid</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalonia</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>31.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madrid</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalonia</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madrid</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central America</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalonia</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madrid</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalonia</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madrid</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>23.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalonia</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>36.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madrid</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>20.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, another specific aspect is the trend among foreign students to be concentrated in public school centers. In this regard, the specialized literature states that there is a dualization of the educational system (Aja, 2000; Colectivo IOÉ, 2002; Pons et.al, 2012). In short, there is a common strategy among private schools to avoid receiving foreign students by different means (mainly asking for economic payments their families cannot afford). The inclusion of students with a foreign background in some public schools is not only a result of criteria of private schools, but it is also a result of family strategies and distribution by regional governments (Source: Fieldwork in Barcelona). As a result, most of the foreign students are concentrated among some public schools as there is some kind of segregation of these students even within the public system (Solé, 2007). The Graph 3 compares the evolution of the percentage of foreign students in both public and private schools since the end of the decade of the 90s until today in Spain, Catalonia and Madrid.

Graph 3:
Distribution of foreign students among public and private schools (1994/15-2012/13), Spain, Catalonia and Madrid

![Graph 3](image)


The panel on the left, public schools, shows a tendency towards the segregation of students in the educational system in the three geographical levels. However, it should be noted that there are significant differences in the number of students in both public and private education by autonomous community. The percentage of foreign students in the public educational system in Catalonia has been maintained at constant values of 80% since the beginning of the century. Segregation is minor in the case of Madrid, where the percentage of students in public schools is below the national average. During the 2000s, almost two of every seven foreign students were enrolled within the educational system of private education in Madrid, almost twice that in Catalonia during the same period. The reason may be related to that private education is more developed in Madrid than in Catalonia. The highest level of
foreign students in the public system (85%) is observed in Catalonia in the academic course 2012/13.

Table 4:
Distribution of all students and foreign students among public schools (1994/15-2012/13), Spain, Catalonia and Madrid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Spain</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Catalonia</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Madrid</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td></td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
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<td>Spanish</td>
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The figure only shows the distribution of immigrants both in public and private educational centres. To make a better empirical approximation to the segregation of the educational system, these data should be compared with data on Spanish students. To confirm that there is an increasing segregation process, a trend downwards in the percentage of native students in public schools should be observed together with the increase in the number of foreigners in public classrooms. This tendency is only clear for Madrid, as indicated in Table 4. In the case of Catalonia, no direct relation can be established between the decrease of Spanish students in schools and the increase of foreign students. Other factors should be considered, such as the structure of the educational centres and the division between public and private schools, which is not the same in Madrid and Catalonia, for example. Therefore, the evolution might be
explained by the structure of the educational system, with an increasing impact of private schooling, and the distribution of students by the regional government. So Spanish families may not choose to leave the public schools because of the presence of children whose parents are migrants. Sometimes, the criteria for the distribution of students, adopted by the regional governments, also include the previous presence of older brothers and sisters in the school. This concrete criteria tends to reinforce the effects of social and family networks, and can produce concentration by migrant or ethnic background (Interview with Coordinator, Primary School, Barcelona).

2.2 Generic subfield

2.2.1 Early childhood education and care:

Although early-childhood education and care is a mainstream policy area affecting all children, it has been identified that new migrants have specific needs in this field. This perception is shared by most of the educational agents interviewed, although opinions may vary according to the position of social agents and the type of school. In the neighbourhoods being studied, the local population is characterized by an ethnic diversity which implies a relevant gap between the social situation of native and the students whose parents are migrants or who were born abroad. In some cases, these children find difficulties to receive support from their family as their parents may still be working when they leave the school, on the one hand. Whereas, on the other hand, even if some parents are able to spend enough time with their children, they usually do not speak a high level of Spanish. Finally, some children still arrive directly from abroad to the schools in Madrid and Catalonia, although at a lower rate in comparison to arrivals before the economic crisis. These children need at least orientation in the receiving country. In Barcelona, these newly arrived children and their family can have access to a special programme for the attention of new comers after family reunification. Both in Madrid and Barcelona, they can have access to transitional classes.

The programs for the attention to the specific needs of ethnic minorities have changed substantially in the last decade. At the beginning of the migration boom, many specific education programmes (like the aforementioned transitional classes) were promoted by the public administrations in order to meet the needs of the children of immigrants coming from different countries of origin, mainly from non-EU countries. These resources were understood as compensatory education to reduce the aforementioned academic gap among these children coming from different education systems. These special-education programmes included foreign students under 16 years of age who are latecomers to the Spanish Educational System. These students receive different educational training designed to facilitate their inclusion in the school. This programme acts as a stage of transition in which there is a double objective: to reach the same academic level of the year of studies that correspond with their age and/or to learn the vehicular language of the school. In Barcelona, Catalan would be the language newcomers need to learn at school. Data on students with these needs are only available for two academic years, 2011/2012 and 2012/2013 (Graph 4). The following chart shows the distribution of foreign students in relation to other students who have some kind of needs (for example, students with cognitive problems, and so on).

As it will be explained in the following section, the offer of transitional classes is concentrated in primary and secondary education, students between 6 and 16 years old. The
number of students in these programmes has declined due to budget cutbacks in the education field, which have been very relevant since 2010 in the Spanish case. As one of the most important consequences of the budget cutbacks, although these needs still exist, they cannot be satisfied due to the lack of funding to support these inclusion programmes.

Graph 4:
Distribution of foreign students with ‘special needs’ by type of schools and year (%)

Source: Statistics from the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport.

Another consequence of the economic restrictions has been the reduction in the number of teachers, mainly those working in compensatory education. The answer of the school centres has been to assign these tasks to the professionals who remain, as well as opening places for the study of children after the school (i.e. libraries). This way, teachers are overloaded with a very difficult extra work they do in a discretionary way:

“Just imagine a classroom with 30 students, each one coming from their own world. If differences among their educational level are huge, just imagine what a teacher is able to do during the time of a class... It is impossible. I know many teachers do their best but it is not the same to offer an individual support to a group of 5 students than to a classroom of 30 students” (Source: Orientation Service of a Secondary School).

In Barcelona, there is a combination of three types of measures, sometimes in the same school. First, schools adopt measures to support the whole student population in their access to extracurricular activities, so they are not left by themselves when they leave school. Second, there are additional classes for newcomers in order for them to learn Catalan, so all new coming children would be concerned by these measures, for a period of time that will depend on their learning of the new language. Third, when required, specific interventions may be adopted to attend the needs of specific migrant groups, for example, with students and their parents when they come from Pakistan. For early and primary education, there are more financial resources than for secondary education.
With regards to the organization adopted by schools, the main strategy adopted by public schools consists in cooperation with NGO’s working in the neighbourhoods schools are settled in. This way, orientation services send students with specific needs to the different projects offered by NGOs. Generally speaking, these organizations do not promote specific actions according to ethnic or national criteria, except if they are related to lack of information, legal advice or health orientation, especially since irregular migrants were excluded from the access to health services, from 2012. In the rest of the cases, NGO’s used to apply specific programmes that have been replaced by universalistic initiatives through which cultural diversity is mainstreamed. This is the approach which is preferred by one of the NGO’s that provide educational support to children in the neighbourhood of Malasaña in Madrid:

“We consider what the child needs, wherever he or she comes from, because particularities are so varied. The own dynamic of the NGO promotes interculturalism. Theorists talk to us about a methodology we were already applying in the neighborhood. We have meetings with social workers but politicians never come. Apparently, they are working on these issues; they are reflecting on the cohesion model we are looking for. We have many examples coming from Germany, France... We need to decide which resources have to be universalistic and which have to be specific” (Source: Education Support NGO in Malasaña, Madrid).

This process of deconcentration shows some problems at the street-level as the projects being developed by NGO’s are very unstable because they depend on short-term and volatile funding coming both from public and private institutions. In this regard, any budget cutback is translated into a reduction of the number of children being attended. In short, mainstreaming in this field has been adopted as a consequence of the reduction of the public resources that are available for schools (especially in terms of compensatory education). In this context, NGO’s offer the education support that the public institution cannot provide due to the budget cutbacks. Also, stakeholders working at the very local level usually express the feeling that their work is not considered by politicians and policy makers, so there is a gap between the formulation of policies and the implementation of concrete initiatives in the field. This observation has been made both in Madrid and Barcelona. And sometimes, this gap leads to contradictions between different goals, for example, between the promotion of interculturalism in political discourses, and ethnic segregation of students at schools (Source: Primary School in Besós, Barcelona).

The attention to the specific needs of children with a migrant background in the school is usually proposed in terms of mainstreaming. As a result, mainstreaming exists in practices, not necessarily for political but mainly for economic reasons, due to budget restrictions. This “de facto”, sometimes flexible or pragmatic, mainstreaming is approved by most education agents, as they prefer universal over specific approaches, when attention to children is concerned in the educational field. For example, a parents’ association may ask for the presence of a second teacher to give specific support in the common classroom, whereas NGO’s promote the provision of education support based on social instead of ethnic criteria. In this regard, key questions include how the specific needs of migrants and minority children are addressed in a mainstream context, and in the case of children from vulnerable migrant groups, especially the newly arrived. This question does not only stands for children whose parents are migrants, but also to Spanish gypsies, for example, and other group of children with specific needs, such as
disabilities. Considering the aim of the Upstream project, the main question remains if vulnerable groups are missing out when needs are only met through mainstream mechanisms. Two relevant aspects should be referred to in this regard.

Firstly, the actual pattern of the mainstreaming of integration is partly due to economic reasons, so the needs of vulnerable groups are at risk, because of the lack of resources. For example, compensatory education was developed to attend the needs of children who had a relevant educational gap with their classmates. However, in Madrid, this policy has been removed since 2008 after the regional government has decided to put an end to the contract of most of the teachers who worked in this field. This decision was made for economic and ideological reasons. The result is an insufficient attention to the curriculum delay of many students, among which are overrepresented those of foreign origin. This situation is worse for newly arrived children to Spain (see section on transitional classes). As mentioned in the previous work package for the Upstream project (Brey 2015), transitional classes do not only receive critics because they do not meet the needs of students in terms of their adaptation to the educational system. Some experts have also observed that transitional classes may respond to the logic of assimilation, as they do not consider in a positive way the capacities or skills of children who come from abroad. Although these children may not speak Spanish, they may speak other languages from their home country, so they have some skills which could be useful, but are not considered as relevant by the Spanish educational system.

In this context, education policies may prioritize other issues (such as Information and Communications Technologies, or English) over compensatory education, thus contributing to an exorbitant school failure and lose of human resources, when the skills of students are not positively considered as a possible contribution for the receiving society. The learning of English and ICT’s (with funding from a large private corporation in this sector) add a new challenge to children, at the same time that this task diverts attention (and budget) from social integration and attention to socioeconomic inequalities:

“They are interested in another issue. The training of teachers has to do with the second language and new technologies, never with pedagogy. Conflicts are constant; teachers do not know how to handle them. The headmistress is minimizing it continuously. In that scenario, the population about which we speak is not a priority and remains invisible... Civil-society organizations try to support them with good will. But, is it good? I do not think so.” (Source: Parents Association of a primary School in Universidad, Madrid).

As previously mentioned, one of the main difficulties for children with a migrant background is related to their family context. This is due to the possible absence of their parents at home when classes are over; psychological problems associated with reunification processes or to eviction procedures, as many education agents interviewed have stated. In the first case, children do not have the support they need to reduce their educational gap in comparison to the average student. Whereas in the second case, family conflicts have a huge impact on the educational results of children at school. In these cases, public schools strongly depend on the resource provided by the NGO’s working with these issues. Indeed, as they have been through a change of residence, from the sending to the receiving country, migrants usually suffer from a lack of social and family networks, in comparison to the Spanish population. So they might need more social resources from NGO’s, in comparison to the native
population who has been living in Spain for their whole life and who can benefit from neighbourhood or family based community ties (Source: Interviews in Barcelona).

“Public schools do not have resources to do this task. Due to the recent cuts there is just one professor to support, who comes only one day a week, in order to help students with learning difficulties, either because they come from other countries, either because they have problems learning or difficulties associated to any mental impairment” (Source: Parents Association of a primary School).

“Services offered by the schools themselves have been badly depleted. We have noticed that many: from the PROA, speech therapists, multi-professional teams ... Now they are overwhelmed. There are fewer resources to teach Spanish language; less compensatory education ... They invent anything... But it is true that they are in great difficulties” (Source: Education Support NGO).

In this regard, NGO’s point out that they receive many students with specific needs, but they add that, in this context of economic recession, problems are so relevant that they are barely able to reach the goal of the compensatory education that was previously developed in the schools by professional teachers.

Secondly, there is inadequate training of professionals in intercultural education, which is especially relevant in a context in which the lack of resources oblige teachers to assume additional tasks such as, for example, the compensatory education of students of foreign origin, and the promotion of interculturalism in the classroom. This combination leads to assimilation models according to which conflicts among students tend to be related to language, cultural and ethnic diversity but are often denied by headmasters. The same observation can be made with regards to religious diversity. Some professionals express extreme difficulties to deal in a positive, or even in a neutral way, with religious diversity. Thus this situation can have huge effects on the social perceptions children and young people. Finally, is it possible to talk about mainstreaming when children with a migrant background are the majority in some classes, due to school segregation?

Both parent associations and professionals working in the NGO’s are concerned about the risks involved in this lack of intercultural formation. As a result, these different agents of the civil society put their efforts to reduce a problem which is strongly located in the heart of the public education system:

“The problem is that teachers are not prepared to deal with diversity. That is why we have proposed alternatives to approach the issue of diversity in a more respectful way. They do not perceive the needs; the perspective of the management team does not see diversity or racism.

A 60 years old woman who has never lived diversity cannot see the diversity. They are very proud of the China’s week they did; they think they have treated it in a very respectful way. But I was very, very, very much embarrassed” (Source: Parents Association of a primary School in Universidad, Madrid).

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3 The PROA Plan (Reinforcement, Guidance and Support Programmes) is a cooperation project between the Ministry of Education and the Autonomous Communities, whose aim is to address the needs associated with the socio-cultural environment of students through a set of programs to support schools.
In relation to the previous quote, it should be noted that a risk exists to treat interculturalism as folklore. Also there is a gap between the idea of interculturalism or diversity, as it might be expressed in plans or policy documents (see WP3), and the practices of everyday life by street level bureaucrats. Not all of them will incorporate diversity and mainstream as a perspective for work in the same way. So it does not only depend on the needs, the socioeconomic context, but also the approximation of professionals. In Barcelona, for example, a high level of pragmatism has been noticed in some schools. Apart from general concepts and notions used at the policy levels, specific or universal approaches are adopted depending on the needs of the situation. The same observation of flexible pragmatism can be observed in consideration to the importance of diversity. This flexibility and this capacity to assume diversity and specific programmes when necessary might be partly linked to the expression of specific belonging feelings, in relation to the Catalan identity. This space of recognition thus brings an opportunity for dialogue and recognition of diversity, when this diversity comes from outside of Spain.

“Professionals working in areas with many immigrants need training. So when you’re faced with your user, you know what you have to consider. Multiculturalism is something we’ll have to keep in mind at all times” (Source: Education Support NGO in Universidad, Madrid).

To sum up, budget cutbacks in compensatory education and the lack of intercultural training of professionals are the two main factors producing several problems among the so-called “children of the crisis”. Children are not only characterized by the country where they or their parents come from, but basically by the socioeconomic condition of their family. In most deprived neighbourhoods, some children suffer from malnutrition and live hard family situations4. This situation has been observed both in Madrid and Barcelona, especially in neighbourhoods located at the outskirts of cities. In these cases, the results are several maturing and learning problems. In a primary school of Besós, teachers have noticed how the attention and the physical aspect of students have improved after they have compulsory access to lunch at school, as an activity included in their curricular activities. This measure was adopted in order to make sure all students would have at least one hot and complete meal per day. In the case of the secondary school of San Cristóbal, 48% of the students do not have the scholar books at any moment during the whole school year, because their family do not have money enough to afford them. The starting point of problems of education and school failure has been complicated due to cuts in resources.

“Children are out of early school because, this way, families save the cost of books. The consequence is that there are many children who reach the age of 6 being unable to read or write. This is the reality, and we [Region of Madrid] insist on bilingual [English and Spanish] schools... But bilingual children are already arriving!” (Source: Neighbourhood-focused community worker in San Cristóbal, Madrid).

In this scenario, targeted actions are disappearing within a mainstream context driven by economic reasons. In times of recession, targeted actions are politically difficult to justify. The

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4 According to the Living Conditions Survey (National Statistics Institute) in 2014 the rate of population at risk of poverty was much higher among migrants coming from developing countries (55’4%) than that of spaniards (18’4%) or citizens of the European Union (35’7%).
dedication of public funds to specific populations might indirectly promote the xenophobic reaction of some native groups:

“It has brought us a problem when lists of scholarships came out and people were saying: «either your name is Mohammed or your husband hit you or here you don’t get a scholarship». The problems of immigrants for being immigrants are large but specific, whereas the Spanish poor families have conflicts that come from other generations where it costs much more to break the legacy of vulnerability” (Source: Education Support NGO in Universidad, Madrid).

Finally, a particular focus is on the extent to which migrants and minority parents and families are engaged in the school system. Our findings show that opportunities for social integration are not maximized but lost. In this regard, there are important social barriers to the participation of migrant families within the activities promoted by the school centres and the parents associations. In the last case, there is a huge underrepresentation of migrant parents. For instance, in the parents association of a school centre in Universidad (Madrid) we were told that there was only one foreign mother among 60 parents, contrasting with the presence of a 20% of foreign students in the school. Besides, migrant parents do not participate in some scholar events where diversity is often presented in a stereotyped way.

There are different approaches to this phenomenon. On the one hand, some agents of the civil-society state that the native population has to make the effort to make their associations comfortable to the foreign parents. On the other hand, the managers of some school centres show a clear assimilationist point of view when they point out it is the immigrants which have to join the cultural traditions of the native population. The lack of investment in parents’ association might be due to the lack of time, after they spend the whole day working; also it might be explained by the lack of public culture because they have limited access to public services in the sending countries. In that sense, some barriers for participation do not stand on the personal will to participate but they depend on social and cultural factors. Moreover, in some cases, the lack of democracy in some parent associations, seems to affect all parents, and not only those of foreign origin. So the institutional structure of participation is another key factors to explain the limited participation of parents in general terms. The same observation concerning the lack of participation has been mentioned in Barcelona, by social organizations whose work focuses on social cohesion. They recognize that sometimes social organizations do not have the time or the will to dedicate themselves to the participation of migrants, so they are not only users of their services, but also members of the associations.
2.3 Specific subfield

As it was pointed out in the Spanish Work Package 3 for the Upstream Project, the attention towards students with a migrant background is mainly characterized by a generic perspective in the field of education, both in the Regions of Madrid and Catalonia. However, there are specific instruments dedicated to migrants in the field of education, such as transitional classes and language programs for adults, that still remain specific initiatives within the education system.

2.3.1. Transitional classes

Transitional classes are part of the so-called “Welcoming Programs”. These classes were designed to attend foreign students who do not speak the Spanish language and those with severe deficiencies in basic skills because of their complex schooling in the country of origin. There is a language testing in this service by which the orientation department makes an assessment of the student before opting for this service. During the process the progress of the student is evaluated.

Welcoming program, developed in the Region of Madrid since the beginning of 2003, is described as a program aimed at promoting the incorporation to the regional educational system of children who arrived as family migrants with lack of knowledge of the Spanish language or significant curricular shift due to the irregular schooling in their country of origin. The welcoming programmes advocate an intercultural education for all students in the knowledge, understanding and respect for others, promoting the social and cultural integration and the creation of favorable attitudes towards different cultures (Boyano Revilla et al., 2004: 13).

A large literature analyzes whether the 'transitional classes' play in favor or in detriment of foreign students. According to some experts, children may experience disadvantage since they do not attend the regular educational system from the very beginning. The aim of this section is not analyzing the degree of success or failure of this programme. But the aim is to offer an overview in terms of the evolution of the number of transitional classrooms in schools and explore more general aspects, such as the profile of foreign students enrolled into these welcoming programmes. This information will be helpful to understand better the social reality in which mainstreaming is being implemented.
In Madrid, before the academic year 2007/08, when the highest number of these classes reached its peak, most transitional classes were implemented in public education centers (Graph 5), in which children with a migrant background were concentrated. The impact of the economic crisis has led to a significant reduction in the provision of this service in Madrid. The reduction of this educational resource and the negative consequences for the students has been highlighted in most of the interviews conducted. In 2008 there were 300 transitional classes, while in the academic course 2014/15 it has dropped to 62, many of which were in private schools.

The picture is quite different in Catalonia. There is a very high number of welcoming classes, over 1,000 classrooms in most of the period considered, mainly concentrated in public schools. While it seems that the financial crisis is affecting the general trend, it is not so pronounced as it is in the case of Madrid. This difference can be explained by the fact that students who arrive to Catalonia are required to learn Catalan, as a priority established by the different levels of government, so the needs are greater in Catalonia than in Madrid (Interview with Coordinator, Primary School, Barcelona). As an additional explanation, there may be more economic resources assignated to this initiative by the Regional government in Catalonia than in Madrid.

From the academic year 2008/09, the Ministry of Education of the Region of Madrid publishes an annual report with information about students, teachers and educational centres, disaggregated by level of education, geographical area and type of centre. The analysis of data on foreign students, who represent a significant part of the total number of students enrolled...
in the Region of Madrid, deserves special mention. However, only three reports provide information of the main nationalities of students in welcoming schools.

**Graph 6:**
Main nationalities of students in ‘transitional classes’

![Graph showing main nationalities of students in 'transitional classes'](image)

Source: General Directorate of Pre-school and Primary Education; Geographical Area Manager

Presumably, welcoming programs might be acting as a 'language link' to the educational system among students with Moroccan, Chinese and Romanian nationality. Almost five of every ten students in these classes belong to category ‘other nationalities’ in 2008/09, and a third in 2010/11. Unfortunately, the information provided by the reports do not indicate which nationalities are included within this category.

Again, the economic crisis is behind all the trends observed, and, again, the social actor who has taken charge of the children of migrants are NGOs. Due to the lack of funding of migrant associations, there are fewer NGO’s offering language training support, despite public schools are asking for this service. When NGO’s still offer this support, the schools know that these entities do not provide a full learning process. However, schools send students to these organizations so students can listen to the languages of the receiving country, and they are not isolated in at home, either left by themselves or speaking the native language of their families.

In Madrid, the emphasis is both on the rapid Spanish language acquisition (instead of recognition of support provided in home languages) and the promotion of English as a second main language, after Spanish. This combination means an extra effort for children with a migrant background. In this scenario, the reduction of specific resources to teach Spanish language to these children in the school has produced very relevant problems within the classroom. Therefore, the adoption of mainstream mechanisms is once again a result of the political economy, not a consequence of a choice based on the reflection around integration governance.

The key question is the extent to which mainstream mechanisms meet the language needs of migrant children in this context. There are two main answers in this regard. Firstly, the
action within public schools is not enough to attend these needs because this task is assumed by all the teachers, no matter if they have the skills to do so, or not. For example, in a secondary school in Malasaña (Madrid), as the teacher who cares for children with sensory problems (therapeutic pedagogy) had few students, she was asked to support children with language problems although she had no training in this field.

Furthermore, in the city of Madrid there is an Immigrant Support Service (SAI) oriented to help the schools with students who do not know the Spanish language. In particular, professionals working in this service assess and design a program to work with children. The problem is the lack of resources of this service, in terms of the number of teachers:

“I no longer apply because they could not come. They had to give priority to centers in which there are 17 students with this need. If I have 2 they would not come. It was very well for years when rather than two teachers citywide, there were 12” (Source: Orientation service of a secondary school in Universidad, Madrid).

Secondly, the use of NGO’s to resolve the lack of public resources produces a segregation dynamic as children who go to specific support resources outside schools are mainly the immigrants. As a result, parents associations may state that the psychosocial team working in schools does not contribute to diversity within the educational system, for example through the promotion of contacts among children with different backgrounds. It seems that schools, due to the lack of resources, only outsource the problem.

“Here we have a great parish where millions of Ecuadorian children are doing homework, but Spanish white children do not go, integration is just the opposite. They are associations that give extra help to the children who do not have it at home because the Chinese mother does not know how to write Spanish, they are a patch, you are not doing the work of integration”

(Source: Parents Association of a primary School in Universidad, Madrid).

According to this last quote, integration is considered in terms of contacts and interactions among children, as a bidirectional process, not as a process which is only concerning migrants and their children. As an alternative solution, the same parents’ association suggests a different option:

“Support teachers should be in the classroom to make children with special needs not to feel segregated. In each classroom there should be two teachers. That happened in the school last year but it no longer exists. It has been canceled. There are very good experiences at other schools and there are other ways to do it” (Source: Parents Association of a primary School in Universidad, Madrid).

Finally, the concentration (segregation) of students with a migrant background in particular schools makes a difference, where there is no experience of dealing with additional language children and there are no minority language policies. This is remarkable in the case of San Cristóbal (Madrid) where the high percentage of foreign neighbours made cultural diversity a key dimension of the educational process. Contrasting with this super-diversity (at the scale of Spain), Malasaña neighbourhood has a lower, though relevant, presence of children with immigrant origin.
“There has been a lot of will from the educational institutions and social projects that have not covered everything that was needed. In the neighborhood there have been universalistic projects. In other districts there were specific projects for immigrants but, in San Cristóbal, projects were for everyone because the percentage of migrants was so high that it was difficult to separate people based on their origin. The facts made people mix.” (Source: Residents association in San Cristóbal).

In Barcelona, the main differences between neighbourhoods is the socioeconomic characteristics of the population, which makes the situation more difficult in Besós than in Poble sec.

2.3.2. Learning the Spanish language by adult migrants

Education does not only refer to the situation of children, but also to the needs of adults, for example through language training courses. Language could represent one of the main barriers for migrants to establish social interactions into the host society. Difficulties of education for adults have to be added to the specific complexities of learning a language. When they arrive as adults, migrants may have long been distanced from the educational context and they have lost their habit and study skills. In addition, they may face difficulties in acquiring a language different to their mother tongue. Learning the language is important for communication, essential to find a place to live, a job and, in general, to meet the basic needs of every-day life. Information on the problems faced by migrants in this regard are plotted in Graph 6.

Graph 6:
Considering your needs in the workplace, at the bank, with the authorities, how well do you speak Spanish?

Data provided by the National Immigrant Survey (2007) allow the analysis of language skills among migrants living in the Regions of Catalonia and Madrid. In this survey, migrants were asked about their fluency in Spanish language, considering their needs at the workplace, the bank or when they have access to public authorities. The most vulnerable groups in terms of language skills are migrants from Africa, the rest of the world (mainly Asia), and the rest of Latin America (Brazil). Both in Catalonia and Madrid, four of every ten migrants from these three regions claim to have difficulties to carry out everyday tasks in their daily lives. On the contrary, it is interesting to note that migrants from developed countries possess pretty good language skills. Different reasons could be behind this pattern. They are either ‘old migrants’, who have been in Spain for a long time, they belong to upper social classes with a privileged access to the education system or they are ‘Spaniards’. That is, despite having been born abroad, they have Spanish citizenship from birth.

The language skills get worse when immigrants were asked about how well they speak Catalan (Graph 7). Immigrants from the rest of the world (48%), Andean countries (34%), the rest of Latin America (23%), Africa (22%), and those from developed countries (12%) assert that they have serious difficulties with Catalan.

Despite the need for learning Spanish (Graph 6), in the case of Madrid there is a dramatic decreasing trend in the number of adults who are studying the language (Graph 8). The number of migrant adults studying Spanish in Madrid has decreased from 8,917 in 2008 to 2,418 in the last academic course. Because the need to learn the language is still present, given that migrants continue to arrive in Madrid, it seems that this decline was due to cuts motivated by the financial crisis in the region.

The graph shows formal data of regional and municipal governments. However, given the growing importance that the NGOs are acquiring, one might suppose that a significant transfer of immigrants from the 'official classroom' to 'NGOs classroom' is taken place. This could explain the dramatic decline that has occurred in recent years.
Finally, the data from the Survey on Language Uses of the Population (EULP) in Catalonia provide interesting results about relationships and the language use (Graph 9).

Spanish is the language most used, followed by others (mainly Aranese, a regional language), Arabic and Catalan. Nevertheless, this survey suggests the existence of positive attitude of population towards other languages in Catalonia. For example, on the one hand, when foreigners were asked about their attitude when they start a conversation in Spanish and others reply in Catalan, more than 60% replies that they change the language and they continue the conversation in Catalan. The same happens the other way around, when they start the conversation in Catalan and others reply in Spanish, they just adapt and continue in the latest language. On the other hand, foreigners also claim that they can speak in Spanish when they have to go to the Bank or to the public administrations. To sum up, despite Catalan is an important official language in Catalonia, ignorance of the Catalan is not a barrier to communication of immigrants in the region, although it could be so the lack of Spanish. This
observation through quantitative data has been confirmed by qualitative interviews (Source: Neighbourhood Officer).

Education and language training should not only be considered at the individual level, as a way for migrants and their children to improve their skills and their socioeconomic condition. These two dimensions, education and language training, should also be considered at the group level, as a way to facilitate social interactions and contacts among individuals with different migrant, national, ethnic or religious background. On the one hand, diversity is part of some schools everyday life, so the school team should support activities to bring students together, with no barriers according to their national, ethnic or religious background. On the other hand, language seems to be a basic tool for communication and mutual understanding, both for children and adults. And this brings us from education to social cohesion, which is the other main topic to be analysed on this report. In the Spanish case, considering the huge impact of the economic crisis, the budget restrictions and the increase of socioeconomic inequalities, what about social cohesion, in terms of attitudes to diversity and anti-exclusion and mediation programmes?
Chapter 3  Social Cohesion

In relation to social cohesion, two subfields will be considered. The first one, as a generic subfield, will refer to the anti-poverty and anti-exclusion programmes that are focused on neighbourhoods. The second one, as a specific subfield, will be the anti-racist strategies and equality monitoring. This should bring us the opportunity to compare different rationales in different policy fields.

3.1. Generic subfield

3.1.1. Anti-poverty or anti-exclusion programmes focused on neighbourhoods.

Spatial policies targeting social problems are a widespread pattern in Europe in which Spanish cities are taking an important role. During the last decade, several area-based restoration programmes were developed across many Spanish neighbourhoods. In Barcelona, territorial approaches to social problems have been implemented through different initiatives by the City Council, such as the Neighbourhood Plans, the Comunitarian Plans and the creation of Neighbourhood Officers. However, once public initiatives have been reduced due to the austerity politics\(^5\), a new spatial action have been implemented in several cities, including both Madrid and Barcelona. This is the Intercultural Community Intervention Programme (ICI) promoted and funded by a famous Spanish Bank, through its Social Foundation (Obra Social La Caixa), thus confirming the trend of urban governance towards public-private partnerships.

This spatial action synthesises the key factors defining the politics of mainstreaming. This initiative is focused in neighbourhoods which are selected according to the percentage of immigrant people within its population, but other socioeconomic and sociodemographic factors are also considered. Therefore, ICI projects are a clear example of replacement as a policy technique:

“To enable a real and peaceful interaction between cultures is essential for building a cohesive society. Therefore, ‘la Caixa’ develops the Intercultural Community Intervention Project (ICI) in neighborhoods or areas throughout Spain with a significant cultural diversity”

(The Intercultural Community Intervention Project, La Caixa).

And, secondly, this initiative supports a deconcentration process by which the governance of migrant integration policies involves all the stakeholders of the neighbourhood. This is a process which is valued because it promotes the networking, though most social agents recognize it has been due to the lack of resources:

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\(^5\) For instance, according to the Spanish Ministry of Development, in the Autonomous Community of Madrid not a single Integrated Renewal Area has been approved since the current Housing State Plan (2013-2016), being nonetheless a significant exception compared to the rest of autonomous communities where some Integrated Renewal Areas have been approved, even though if they are fewer than in previous State plans.
“In a society in which the presence and establishment of million people of foreign origin has increased the already intense diversification of our country, we must promote development processes, relationship and integration involving all the principal actors—government, technical resources and citizenship—in building a cohesive society” (The Intercultural Community Intervention Project, La Caixa).

Nevertheless, intervention in vulnerable neighbourhoods, do not only depend on mediation programmes (ICI or others), but also on social housing programmes, adopted exclusively by public authorities, through a more centralized approach, in terms of balance between the State and the social organizations. A common hypothesis in this regard states that priority neighbourhoods are likely to include a high density of social housing, in a context in which access to housing may be a vital issue in determining the well-being of migrants. Therefore, key issues might include social housing allocation, migrant access to social housing entitlements, and whether segregation is driven or prevented by social housing policies.

However, in Spain, social housing is residual. As a result, it is not a key factor in the concentration of immigrants in certain neighborhoods. On the contrary, their residential segregation is the consequence of the dynamics of the private housing market. What is more, central government policies do not consider migrants as a specific intervention group because the only criteria being considered is the household income. On the contrary, central government moves this issue to the regional and municipal plans that usually do not consider immigrants as a specific population.

Nonetheless, different priorities are noticed when comparing housing policies in Catalonia and Madrid. This is not just a housing problem but a problem of social policy. Regional and municipal entities apply criteria for discriminating needs since they can not serve all people with housing needs due to budget restrictions. As a result, different local and regional governments choose their priorities: in Madrid the relocation of slums is prioritized, while in Catalonia there is greater awareness of the situation of migrants, according to the professionals of the Housing Section within the Ministry of Development.

In the case of the regional government of Madrid, there is not a single mention to the specific support to migrants nor in the regulatory basis for awarding grants to rental housing in the Region of Madrid, nor in the regulations for the award of social housing to be applied by the City Council of Madrid. Furthermore, whenever migration is taken into account, the aim is to limit the access of social housing for migrants. For example, there is one criteria regarding the number of years of residence in the city which is harmful to newly arrived migrants. What is more, all public programmes exclude migrants who do not have residence permit.

However, and despite the lack of social housing in Spanish cities, segregation occurs and selected neighborhoods for this research are a clear example of this process: this is especially the case of San Cristobal and Besós, where the problems associated with housing are much more intense than the average in the case of Madrid. How could a mainstreamed approach resolve socioeconomic inequalities together with the promotion of a positive vision of diversity, in the most deprived neighbourhoods? Isn’t it a limited approach to promote mainstreaming through mediation programmes like ICI, while migrants are affected by residential segregation? How does mainstreaming make sense if migrants are over concentrated in vulnerable neighbourhoods?
Some answers can be offered through the case of San Cristóbal (Madrid), which is a district of old rural Spanish migration. It became a working-class neighbourhood, provided by a sufficient range of public facilities. Together with the physical isolation of this territory, provision of public services promotes a social life focused on the neighborhood. Previously to the economic crisis, Spanish people took advantage of the combined processes of international migration and the real estate bubble to sell their dwellings to newly arrived migrants. This population did not know the severe arquitectural problems these buildings were suffering, on the one hand, at the same time that they were attracted by a urban space with all the main public facilities, on the other hand. As a result, San Cristóbal became the neighborhood with a higher proportion of immigrants in the city of Madrid, around 40% according to the last available data. Nonetheless, this proportion has fallen during the crisis, as some migrants are returning to their countries of origin. The lower proportion of migrants can also be explained by evictions of families from their houses when they cannot afford to pay the credit.

Furthermore, this neighborhood has suffered from a hard process of stigmatization. In order to fight against socioeconomic deprivation but also due to the existence of specific funding schemes by central and regional governments, San Cristóbal has received a great number of social projects after international migrants settled in this neighbourhood. In the central neighborhood of Malasaña, the stigmatization process in the nineties (due to the visibility of drug addiction, for example) was followed by a strong process of gentrification, thus increasing the difficulties that most vulnerable immigrants face to stay within this urban area. As a consequence, Malasaña is a more socially mixed neighbourhood. The difference between San Cristóbal and Malasaña in Madrid can also be observed between Besós and Poble Sec in Barcelona.

Apart from the risk for residential segregation, in both Madrid and Barcelona, established NGOs point out that the arrival of a huge number of social projects is not always well coordinated. The reason is that projects are programmed for a short-term implementation, so they are linked to volatile funds which are not efficiently invested as they do not take into account the social work previously being applied in the neighborhood. The main consequence is the succession of social projects without a long-range planification. Contrary to a planning process, these projects are not necessarily oriented by social needs but electoral events, budget needs, etc. This pattern is making work harder both for established NGOs with a long tradition of social intervention into the neighborhood and for neighbors.

“It is very good to have a ghetto within the city because later you can promote a social programme and you take all the credit.” (Source: Neighbourhood-focused community worker in San Cristóbal, Madrid).

In addition, together with established and newly created NGOs, political associations within these neighborhoods do not support mainstreaming, when it comes to the ICI mediation programmes, funded by La Caixa Bank. The main argument for their opposition relies in a key contradiction: the same bank funding ICI projects is the responsible for the eviction of many neighbours living in the neighbourhood.

“The social work of the banks, it is an incongruity. The same banks that are taking all the dwellings and are evicting our families... They are the same banks funding many projects in the
neighborhood” (Source: Neighbourhood-focused community worker in San Cristóbal, Madrid).

“It is a hard moment for La Caixa to bet on a social programme like this because banks are very badly considered by citizens” (Director of a Social Services Centre in Universidad, Madrid).

As a result, some agents within these urban areas (specially the gentrified ones) do not collaborate with this strategy of replacement from social group targeting to territorial targeting. While they underline difficulties for both a specific perspective and the replacement strategy in this field, some professionals support a universalistic approach to social intervention and they believe migrants should not be considered as a specific target as a social group:

“What is wrong in this model of coexistence? Isn’t it an integration model? If there are no integration resources in other neighborhoods, why do you insist on having an integration model in this neighborhood? Is it because there are immigrants in this neighborhood? This is so because there are so many social agents looking at them: the school, Social Services, etc. They are screwed-up and they are also asked to do more than the rest of the population. Besides, if they are to participate and to be integrated, it will be so just if they want to” (Source: Education Support NGO in Universidad, Madrid).

In this regard, social agents state that the ICI project do not support political claims for enough public spaces and sport centers which would be necessary to promote social interactions and contacts among the different social groups within the neighborhoods. As a result, this project would pursue a peaceful context among social groups with different backgrounds rather than a scenario of meaningful interactions. This is so in the case of the gentrified neighborhood of Malasaña where private needs (i.e. terraces of bars and restaurants) prevail over public needs (i.e. squares where children can play together).

Some of these critiques are shared in both neighborhoods in Madrid and Barcelona. However, in the case of San Cristóbal there is a more a positive view of the ICI project due to its coordination work of the different social initiatives within the neighborhood:

“Last year there were 11 summer camps for children in the neighborhood, that’s crazy because with so much on offer you lose processes, the neighbors get confused, children go from one camp to another, much of the sense of activity and good educational work as a process is lost. ICI intention is that it does not happen again. There has to be consistency between resources, because maybe we are all serving the same population while we are ignoring the needs of others” (Source: Neighbourhood-focused community worker in San Cristóbal, Madrid).

To sum up, there is a broad consensus in favour of generic policies where the main criterion is socioeconomic instead of ethnic or migrant background, considering the social needs but also the tradition for generic social intervention in Spain. In this regard, social agents point out that the principles embodied by ICI mainstreamed approach were already applied by agencies
who were previously working in the neighbourhoods to avoid stigmatization of targeted
groups:

“The ICI project works where multiculturalism is very significant. However, diversity is not only
about immigrants. We see the coexistence of different cultures, whether native or not: cultural
diversity, sexual diversity, religious diversity, social diversity... Local administration must
provide space for meeting and civic participation. We should encourage networks to let them
flow by themselves and allow coexistence. We do not put the stigma on the immigrant”
(Director of a Social Services Centre in Universidad, Madrid).

“You can find everything like, for instance, an association that is working with 15-20 years old
Dominicans. And you can ask: what about the rest of the population? «Ah. Not with them». In
this association you work with young people regardless of where they come from. Last year
there were some summer camps where nobody would have taken his children: camps for
children at risk, with bad grades ... How am I going to sign up my son for this? «I come here
because my son is hungry, he takes poor grades and he is a fool...» It stigmatizes. It does
tremendous damage.” (Source: Neighbourhood-focused community worker in San Cristóbal,
Madrid).

“Our goal is to treat everyone equally. You are a human being no matter where you come from:
you breathe, you eat, and you live ... I think rightly. We have quality surveys that evaluate our
intervention and we have very positive results” (Source: Red Cross Section for Migrants in the
Region of Madrid).

In short, there is general trend in the discourse of the street-level workers towards
universalistic measures. Most professionals state that integration is facilitated by bringing
groups together around places rather than separating them by identity. In this sense, many
social actors confirm that one main reason to explain the adoption of universalistic policies
comes from the controversy around specific measures focused on immigrants. It is especially
relevant in a context of economic crisis, to avoid the risk for native neighbours to claim that
social resources are always directed towards foreign people. A universal approach would avoid
xenophobic discourse threatening to divide neighbourhoods based on ethnic factors. Actually,
most of the professionals use age-related criteria to define any social initiative, thus showing a
clear practice and discourse of replacement of ethnic measures by not only spatial but also age
based policies.

In contrast, during the first years of the arrival of international migrants to Spain, many
social programmes were specifically focused on this social group, as many street-level workers
state that this kind of population had a more specific profile than nowadays. These specific
measures could be explained by social needs but also by the existence of specific funding
schemes to attend migrants. These specific programmes were bringing social, psychological
and legal orientation, together with training in the Spanish language, etc. However, once the
arrival of international migrants has been reduced, after the beginning of the economic crisis,
this population is thought to have begun to share the same (mostly economic) problems which
Spanish people face. In this regard, the Red Cross Section for Migrants in the Region of Madrid
affirms they try to implement a common protocol to welcome any user of its services, no
matter which nationality they have.
Also, once a universalistic perspective is adopted, the central question would be the extent to which policy attention on neighbourhoods means that the specific issues facing (vulnerable) migrants and minorities are being resolved or not. In this regard, social agents advocate the use of age criteria in actions of social cohesion. However, there are exceptions to the rule at least in two areas. The first one is gender violence suffered by foreign women. In this case, migrant associations indicate that specific actions are required to overcome the cultural and legal barriers that separate foreign women to the access of generic services. The second exception includes certain areas of integration. In this case, specific intervention programmes should consider the frontiers based on racial or ethnic stereotypes (for example, access for parents associations or employment services for foreign Roma); or the specific health problems faced by immigrants who do not have a residence permit, as they were excluded of the health primary care by the conservative Spanish government in 2012. In regards to these concrete circumstances:

“It has been necessary to develop specific policies against speech saying that the resources are there and that if minorities do not want to go, it is their problem... The reality is more complex. They do not access not because they don’t want to but because there is a number of obstacles that must be recognized for the equal access and treatment” (Anti-exclusion programmes & Anti-racist strategies and equality monitoring worker in Gypsy Secretariat Foundation in the city of Madrid).

Moreover, consensus around universalistic measures is broken from some municipal agencies. In this regard, some professionals working in the specific social services concerning migrant integration affirm that Madrid City Council is practising a policy based on denial⁶. Even though social conditions of migrants are still worse than those experienced by native population, specially in the case of housing evictions⁷, the Madrid City Council is not applying specific policies to reduce this gap. Instead, this City Council has emphasized the promotion of the return of the migrants to their countries of origin within its migrant policy. This might be due to the lack of funding in the field of social integration and the new orientation of the central government from the beginning of the economic crisis.

This new orientation has been especially clear from the legislative elections in November 2011, after the conservative Popular Party came into power again. For economic and ideological reasons, the emphasis has been driven from specific measures for social integration to return initiatives. Nonetheless, this observation should be contrasted with the fact that the City Council of Madrid maintains specific emergency housing programmes for individual migrants and for migrant families. So there is a combination of return programmes, social integration specific initiatives and more generic universalistic approaches, especially in the case of mediation programmes. Probably due partly to decentralization of the competences of public authorities, there is not on single trend to mainstreaming of specific policies, but a

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⁶ In this sense, some local agents affirm that there are more immigrant people than native people in the social services just because they do not have a social support network, not because they have specific difficulties.

⁷ Most of the housing eviction cases concern to immigrant residents who do not have the family support network to overcome this situation. Also, there are specific problems which make this situation worse like, for example, xenophobia and racism within the police, as well as the relevant incidence of fast loans which include high interest rates.
patchwork of initiatives with different type of rationales, responding in a relatively pragmatical way to social needs, instead of responding to a clear policy orientation process, based on explicit reflexive process.

As it has been mentioned above, there is a key aspect regarding the mainstreaming of integration governance in Spain: the coordination dimension is failing due to the characteristics of the process of deconcentration. As many entities of the third sector are funded for short periods of time, social programmes are almost never coordinated. As a result, some social needs respond to the goal of different projects whereas others remain uncovered. Besides, as many processes regarding social cohesion require long interventions, the succession of professionals and short projects is damaging considering its objectives:

“There are resources that are usually temporary. Once the educators have contacted people they disappear again. Not to mention the damage they can do to other associations whose work processes are different” (Source: Neighbourhood-focused community worker in San Cristóbal, Madrid).

“They are generational problems that require years of impact. Our main successes are that we have developed long-term programmes. These programs are better because projects outsourced by the administration for NGOs to only one or two years do not serve for absolutely anything” (Anti-exclusion programmes & Anti-racist strategies and equality monitoring worker in Gypsy Secretariat Foundation in the city of Madrid).

At the same time, decentralized governance is defended from the public administration as a proper tool to face funding shortage. Nonetheless, it is also recognized that this fragmentation alters long term processes as NGOs develop their projects according to its budget needs, thus making social needs of the population secondary;

“In times of crisis we all have to support each other. The public sector sometimes supports private agencies. Other times private sector helps the public one. This kind of coexistence has always been like this in the field of Social Services. The budget cutbacks concern everyone. If an NGO loses the subsidy, then you have to look for other strategies to survive, especially tiny NGOs which search for projects that receive subsidies. Conversely, large international NGOs have more ability to obtain financing channels” (Director of a Social Services Centre in Universidad, Madrid) 8.

The risk with neighbourly based intervention is not only to include or exclude social groups among the local population, but also that migrant communities dispersed across districts get left out by neighbourhood-based policies. In this regard, the lack of large housing projects favors the dispersion of immigrants across neighborhoods where the lack of neighborhood policy limits them to much reduced public services, as a result of austerity. For example, and coming back to the education field, professionals working in compensatory education in the neighbourhood of Malasaña (Madrid) state that despite of the fact that they face relevant problems, these are even more dramatic in other neighbourhoods (like Tetuán) where there are not area-based social programmes. A similar observation should be made in Barcelona,

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8 This is one of the main advantages of well established NGOs like the Red Cross where they recognize they can implement longer initiatives as they have a deeper funding autonomy.
when neighbourhoods are compared according to the socioeconomic characteristics of the population and the degree of vulnerability.

3.2. Specific subfield

3.2.2. Anti-racist strategies and equality monitoring:

In relation to this subfield for intervention, the basic hypothesis states that specific needs and disadvantages faced by migrant and minority residents can be made visible and addressed through strategies against discrimination, including the monitoring of service delivery and outcomes for migrant and minority background residents. As a starting point, it should be observed that there is no Law against Discrimination in Spain, although some instruments exist, such as the Fiscal against Hate Crimes and Discrimination, first created in Barcelona in 2009, then extended to other regions of Spain. Among social organizations, racism or discrimination based on ethnic and cultural diversity does not appear as a key aspect for intervention, with very few exceptions of associations developing specific policies and underlying the need to be careful about discrimination processes.

“Experience has shown that when generic interventions have no objectives or specific indicators for vulnerable groups, then their needs are not met. The visibility is not a cosmetic issue but a commitment and an obligation for the administration to have to invest resources into a population that is more complicated. If you have a project lasting only one or two years, then you focus on the people with whom it is easier to achieve results” (Anti-exclusion programmes & Anti-racist strategies and equality monitoring worker in Gypsy Secretariat Foundation in the city of Madrid).

In the rest of the cases, it has been observed that monitoring of the living conditions of immigrants is not a common practice among social agents involved in the local governance of integration. Many professionals often refer to the Spanish Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (OBERAXE) as a relevant source of information. A clear example is the housing policy, where there are no specific measures directed against the discrimination of immigrants through the process of access to a house, even though they recognize there are two main problems in this regard: First, landlords develop discriminatory practices (they do not want to rent to immigrants) in their private practices (where administration are not involved so they have no capacity for intervention); and, secondly, throughout the process of resettlement, it is noticed that neighbors do not accept the allocation of foreigners dwellings in its territory, following the NIMBY (Not In My Backyard) movement.

Regarding the specific needs of ethnic minorities against discrimination, the Gypsy Secretariat Foundation in the city of Madrid is recognised as a good practice. This organization promotes a process of awareness on Roma rights because sometimes these groups have so internalized discrimination that they take it for granted and do not report it but accept it. Furthermore, discrimination is monitored throughout transversal services, for example in

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9 In this regard, there is a specific working group within the Housing Sector of the Ministry of Development for training professionals to deal with housing discrimination in this matter. The main goal is to lead a process of awareness to move to the CCAA.
relation to employers. In addition, the Gypsy Secretariat Foundation has developed awareness campaigns to the whole society to fight stigma and prejudice, through media campaigns, sensitization of media and, finally, offering alternative social models to Roma families in relation to the professional expectations of their children. The social organization works for the improvement of the living conditions of both foreign and Spanish Roma. In this regard, the social situation of Romanian Roma is underlined to be particularly dramatic, thus reinforcing the argument for the need of specific interventions with some especially excluded social groups:

“If you are both foreigner and gypsy, then you’re one of the people who live worse on this planet. There is a brutal rejection and this is a different immigration to the average. It is said that those who come are always the best but this is not true in the case of gypsies coming from Romania. Those who come are those who live worst in Romania because there is a brutal institutional discrimination, so that they are in absolute poverty there. It is complicated to work with this population because it has even more specific needs, which has generated resistance among Spanish gypsies” (Anti-exclusion programmes & Anti-racist strategies and equality monitoring worker in Gypsy Secretariat Foundation in the city of Madrid).

However, and generally speaking, the ethnic dimension of conflict is usually not taken into account. Ethnicity is not an explicit variable in the political debate. Agencies adopting a mainstreaming approach discard monitoring based on the argument of the socioeconomic conditions of the users of social services. In this regard, some neighbourhood associations affirm that the fight against racism and xenophobia is not a specific measure but a mainstreamed principle of action. An example of this approach can be observed within the ICI project where some meetings are organized to put different ethnic groups together. The main goal of these meetings consists on overcoming the relevant stereotypes that make difficult the interaction among them. Priority is put on positive measure to “put people together”, in comparison of more critical approaches aiming at denouncing discrimination and racism.

In the case of San Cristóbal, neighbourhood-focused community workers underline the relevance of some conflicts around the use of public spaces among different ethnic groups. The actual pattern in this neighbourhood is more a story of coexistence than one of interactions and living together. Nonetheless, some progress has been observed due to the different events developed in order to bring all the social groups together. It is possible because of the amount and the quality of public spaces in this neighbourhood as opposed to the case of Malasaña, where the absence of these spaces make it more difficult to achieve the goal of interaction among neighbours coming from distant origins.
Chapter 4 Conclusion

These conclusions should start with a comparison between the local and the neighbourhood levels in both Madrid and Barcelona. When cities are considered, two main differences can be observed. In relation to the content of social intervention, both in education and social cohesion, the main difference stands for the existence of specific regional identity and Catalan training in Barcelona. In Madrid, this cultural approach does not exist and the socioeconomic perspective remains the main approach for social intervention. On the other hand, in relation to the municipal organization of initiatives towards migrants, the City Council of Barcelona has created a specific department dedicated to interculturality. In Madrid, such a department does not exist, although there is a specific department dedicated to the attention of vulnerable migrants, which is included in the larger area of social welfare. This may have a consequence in terms of guidance for the organization and the funding of other initiatives.

Nevertheless, the differences between neighbourhoods, according to the socioeconomic characteristics of the local population, are more remarkable than the differences between cities. At the municipal level, similarities can be observed between both Madrid and Barcelona, in terms of risks and opportunities.

The main opportunities include:

- Universal measures remain the basic perspective and the starting point for social intervention both in education and social cohesion.
- Existence of sociodemographic categories, such as gender and age, is previous to the arrival of international migrants. This approach, in terms of social work, makes easier the inclusion of the nationality, the administrative situation or the cultural background as a new dimension of diversity.
- The mediation programmes which existed before the arrival of international migrants, may facilitate the contacts and social interactions between the newcomers and the local population.
- Considering that Spain is a relatively new country in terms of international migration, social and political actors involved in the attention to migrants can benefit from their participation in networks dedicated to the exchange of information and good practices, such as the Intercultural Cities Programme, of the Council of Europe.

The main risks include:

- The disconnection between the design and the implementation of policies.
- The lack of coordination between levels of government.
- The increase of socioeconomic inequalities in time of crisis.
- The needs for basic social intervention to avoid social exclusión, considering the high levels of poverty in some peripheral neighbourhoods.

In general terms, in Spain, the main risks include the invisibility of certain needs and demands from some social groups; inequalities according to the socioeconomic characteristics of the population and the neighbourhood where migrants settle. Whereas opportunities include the centrality of generic initiatives, which are complemented by specific initiatives when
necessary. In that sense, stakeholders show a high capacity for pragmatic reactions at the regional and local levels. In the next paragraphs, some conclusions should be drawn more precisely on the fields of education and social cohesion.

In the field of education, generic policies can be the result of a remarkable lack of public resources, for example in the case of compensatory education and specific classes to teach Spanish to the children who do not have the language skills. Thus, a significant disregard for the specific needs of children of foreign origin is observed, in terms of curriculum delay and language knowledge. The result is sometimes a favorable context for an assimilationist approach to the mainstreaming integration governance in the education field. Particularly, these agents promote an active and designed mainstreaming, conceived as the result of a wide reflection process, instead of the consequence of the budget cutbacks. Meanwhile, the rest of social agents are committed to generic intervention in public spaces, except in special areas where racial prejudices hinder the scope of generic policies to specific groups, such as women who are victims of domestic violence or ethnic minorities discriminated in the workplace.

In the field of social cohesion, there is a clear trend towards generic policies which puts priority on the socioeconomic variable and the effort against stigma and segregation. Generic housing policies do not produce a concentration of international migrants which is, however, promoted by certain dynamics of the private market. As it has been mentioned above, in some cases, the lack of specific policies represents a relevant risk of missing out the problems which are facing vulnerable groups, in case of gender violence, xenophobia or prejudice.

In the field of education, a clear pattern of deconcentration can be observed as a result of the low services offered by the public schools in terms of compensatory education and training in the Spanish language. There is also a process of deconcentration of social cohesion tasks by equivalent reasons, with the added problem of the timing of funding that do not allow long-term projects which are required for complex social intervention.

In general terms, cultural diversity is not yet a social resource but a great challenge to local governments, which have to deal with a new and multifaceted scenario in a context of austerity and lack of reflection on these issues. Generic policies are widespread whereas specific needs still exist within the Spanish society. There is a very weak intercultural training of professionals in charge of implementing the educational and social integration policies of ethnic diversity. Stakeholders are still facing relevant challenges, for example in relation to the situation of the children of migrants which have been a main concern in old migration countries. On the contrary, Spain is beginning to deal with these complex social dynamics in a moment where mainstreaming may result either in replacement or denial of the specific needs of migrants. However, debates on mainstreaming can contribute to a wider reflection on the needs of diverse and mobile populations in such a way that the current scenario becomes a story of opportunity for the whole society.
## Interviews conducted as part of the fieldwork

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### Events attended in Madrid as part of the fieldwork

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<td>Working Day on <em>Communitarian Social Responsibility</em>, Madrid Central District Madrid</td>
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<tr>
<td>06/2015</td>
<td>Madrid City Council</td>
<td>Spanish Training for Foreign Citizens</td>
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### Activities developed as part of the Upstream Project

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<td>Work Visit in London by UCM researchers and professionals from Spain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04/2015</td>
<td>Work Visit In Madrid from CMR researchers and professionals from Poland</td>
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<tr>
<td>05/2015</td>
<td>Roundtable in Madrid, organized in collaboration with the Regional Government</td>
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<tr>
<td>05/2015</td>
<td>Roundtable in Barcelona, organized in collaboration with CIDOB Think Tank</td>
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<tr>
<td>06/2015</td>
<td>Final Event in Madrid, organized in collaboration with the City Council</td>
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</table>
References


Cerrutti, M. S., and Maguid, A. (2010). Familias divididas y cadenas globales de cuidado. CEPAL.


