Spain as a Recent Country of Immigration: How Immigration Became a Symbolic, Political, and Cultural Problem in the "New Spain"

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Abstract: This paper explores how immigrants have caused a restructuring of identities in the "new" Spain, through a juxtaposition with those who have traditionally been defined as "cultural others." To show how processes of categorization are used as a rhetoric of exclusion, Agrela analyzes the way in which public policies are constructing immigration as a symbolic, political, and cultural problem that has recently become one of the most salient issues on Spain's political agenda at the local, regional, and national levels. The paper examines how formal and informal categories of immigrants are established by public policies and how immigrants have come to be defined as a "public problem."

Spain as a recent pole of attraction: introductory 'key' ideas and research questions

What I would like to present you today comes from the 'heart' of my thesis regarding the institutional categorization of the immigrants in Spain; it pertains to the way the immigrants in Spain are defined as 'the cultural others' by the public policies, and the study of the consequences of discourses of cultural fundamentalism on the public policies and social practices of integration.

However, when preparing my talk, I realized that it could be helpful for all of you to get some kind of 'general ideas' or quick background information about the Spanish immigration process and where immigration policies come from, to offer you a context to 'locate' my research. Otherwise, I thought it could be hard to understand the reason of my research questions, mostly for all of you who are not familiar with situation in Spain. In addition, I am going to use this general introduction to link these key ideas with some of my research questions, so that I can address you to the specific work I'm developing in my thesis.

In Spain there has been significant change on the migratory tendencies during the last 15 years. Spain has been for years a traditional country of emigration (to the Northern countries of Europe as well as to the Latin-American countries during it's colonial period). At present, Spain has become a new pole of attraction. Significant changes have taken place in this country at the political, social, economic and demographic level. And, immigration has not only become an important topic, both as a real fact and as a political issue, but also this question cuts across all these dimensions of contemporary Spanish society.

In this respect, I would like to start highlighting what I consider are the key ideas about why, when talking about the study of immigration, the Spanish case seems to me to be so interesting. Just to say it in two words, this appeal has mainly to do with how are being combined significant changes (at the political, ethnic or cultural levels) constructed on the idea of Spain as a 'new' developed country, a 'new' European state and a 'new' country of immigration. In this respect, what I try to do is to analyze to what extend all these changes are shaping the immigration policy (Agrela 2002). Study about the policy is what I try to do from an anthropological perspective and combining a cross-view at different levels (EU, national and local). For that reason, I am just going to highlight very quickly some aspects that I would like you to keep in mind to frame research questions and my theoretical approach.

When talking about the current migration process in Spain, the first notion we take in mind is that this country has become a pole of attraction of migration flows. Over the past two decades, Spain has gone from being a country of emigration to a country of immigration (Colectivo IOE 1987; Izquierdo 1996; Arango 2000; Martinez Veiga 1997; Cornelius 1994). In spite of this transition, the official data still point out that there are at the moment almost twice as many Spaniard abroad as foreigners living in Spain. Just for giving you a general idea, the immigrants are around 2% of the Spanish population (that is, one of the European countries with the lowest percentage of immigrants). So, we are just talking about a change of migration flow. In this respect, if Spain still has the smallest percentage of immigrants in Europe, one of my first research question centers around *why the immigration issue is described in such an exaggerated way?*. Can we explain how public discourses, laws, and immigration policies taking into account that Spain now imagine itself as a traditional country of immigration?. In sum, what I'm interested on

deepen in my thesis is on how this process of change is being described, analyzed and interpreted in terms of political discourses.

As all of you know, Spain is a nation from which people have traditionally emigrated –to the New World during its colonial period during the nineteenth-century as well to North European countries, like Germany, as manual laborers. Just during the 1980, Spain, like other southern European countries, experienced decreasing emigration and became a place of destination for immigrants. How to explain this turn? As you could imagine, this is the result of a combination of different economic, politic, social, demographic, or gender factors. Because of the time limit and because this is not exactly the heart of my talk today, I am not going to spend much time on these points. However, I would really like to briefly note the link between the arrival and growing numbers of immigrants, the entry of Spain into the European Community and the need for an understanding of the migratory policy in Spain as a consequence of the European dictates, under the ideology of the construction of the Fortress Europe.

In this sense, the first thing to point out is the importance of taking into account the relationship between migratory policy in Spain and in the European Community in order to understand the contradictory discourses and policies that are being developed in this country. A large part of the Spanish political agenda on this subject has been conditioned by its relationship to the European Union (Colectivo IOE 1999). Moreover, the admission to the European Union, after an important economic growth, took place at the same time when the number of Third World immigrants increased. For that reason, Spain has become the southern gate of this fortress. And when I say 'has become' I'm alluding not only to a matter of fact - because Spain is a border country of the EU-, but also to the idea of how this role is being used politically for "closing doors". An aspect of this that connects with my other research question asks how this argument is used in political discourse to develop a "tougher" immigration policy that has nothing to do with the real level of migration.

To give you a very general view of how the immigration policy making in Spain is directly linked with the EU directives, just let me point out to you a brief chronological table about several migratory phases and what they mean to this complex institutional categorization of immigrants I'm talking about: (See: Immigration Policies Phases (Table 1.)

Immigration Policies Phases. Table 1. (elaboración propia)

'Key Moments'	Meaning regarding the Immigrants categorization
Ley de Extranjería (1985). Entry to the EU (1986). Reglamento (1986).	Institutional visualization of Immigrant Population. Spain became Southern gate of Fortress Europe.
PISI. First National Immigration Plan (1991).	General frame for the social integration with immigrants: too much general and stereotyped regarding the cultural differences parallel public system for immigrants according with their differences.
Treaty of Maastricht (1992).	Bases for the Eruopean citizenship: distinction between Communtiary Europeans and non-Europeans (immigrants non-EU).
Application agreement of Schengen (1995)	Development of the Schengen area (Schengenland): free movement of European persons. Immigration linked to a security issue and common interest (drug addiction, terrorism…) Immigration seen from a negative view, as a threath. Nothing about integration
Policy of quotas (1994).	Limitation of entries[3], allocation of the jobs that Spaniard do not want to do, link between laboral niches and immigrants (symbolically by nationality and gender).
Treaty of Amsterdam (1998).	Bases for a social common policy and the guide principles of equality and pluralism (but no mention regarding immigrants). 'Communitary' of European external borders: Immigration as a common issue regarding the common policy.
European Council of Tampere (1999).	A common policy of refugee and asylum and important insistence of border control against illegal immigration: strong link between illegality, crime, insecurity and immigrants.

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[3] Every year, the Ministers established annual quotas for foreign workers (which are called "the Contingents") in those sectors where there were insufficient local workers. The work permits are given in those domains of work that nobody wants –for economic, social reasons or labour conditions-. All these jobs are the most arduous and low-paid jobs, where experience rapidly becomes obsolete and where institutional protection mechanisms are not applied.

General Elections (1999). Change of government: conservative party.	New approach on immigration issue (political discourse and mass-media) as a threat and a problem. Strong 'electoralization' of immigration matter.
New Immigration Law (2000) GRECO. New National Immigration Plan (2000).	Significant cut on immigrants rights. Mainly addresses border control rather than social integration. Explicit public discourse regarding the cultural differences of the immigrants (considered as a huge problem of integration): Islamization or cultural fundamentalism.
Spain: president of the EU (2002). European Council in Spain (end of June,2002). Announcement of a new Immigration Law after EU-Council.	Reinforce the border control to fight against international terrorism and illegal immigration. Proposals: Control immigration and deportation illegal immigrants with war airplanes and ships (immigration became a 'matter of war').

Following these agreements, measures related to immigration and to the presence of citizens from "third countries" (or non-EU citizens) have became more and more a matter of safety. Or, other words what means the same, a matter concern about citizens' insecurity. For that reason, the "spirit of the immigration" policy is based on the following obsession: mistrusting settled immigrants and rejecting those trying to enter, because immigration is considered as a "problem" and also as a "threat".

Another key idea I would like you to keep in mind is the fact that immigration has arisen during the last years as one of the main electoral issues, which means that today, immigration is one of the three most important subjects included in the national political agenda, together with unemployment and terrorism. And this political turn is a very central qualitative fact, because since the elections in 1996, Spain has a new conservative government (after having a socialist government for 14 years). This right-wing party introduced a revised, "tougher" and more restrictive version of the immigration law (ley de extranjería). All this occurred as Spain obtained a more consolidated position within the

European Union. Turns that have had an strong impact on the current particular immigration 'police approach'. Besides, this 'electoralization' of the immigration issue and its persistent thematization in the public discourse has had a direct, negative (and from my point of view, a deliberate) effect on the mass-media as well on the public opinion regarding immigration and the immigrants. For example, almost everyday one can see in the daily news or in the newspaper the image of the 'pateras'[4] or the capture of undocumented immigrants. Or, for example, if we check the newspaper by internet, almost all of them have a special section called 'the immigration problem'. This was something unimaginable seven years ago, when immigration was not a matter of such large interest.

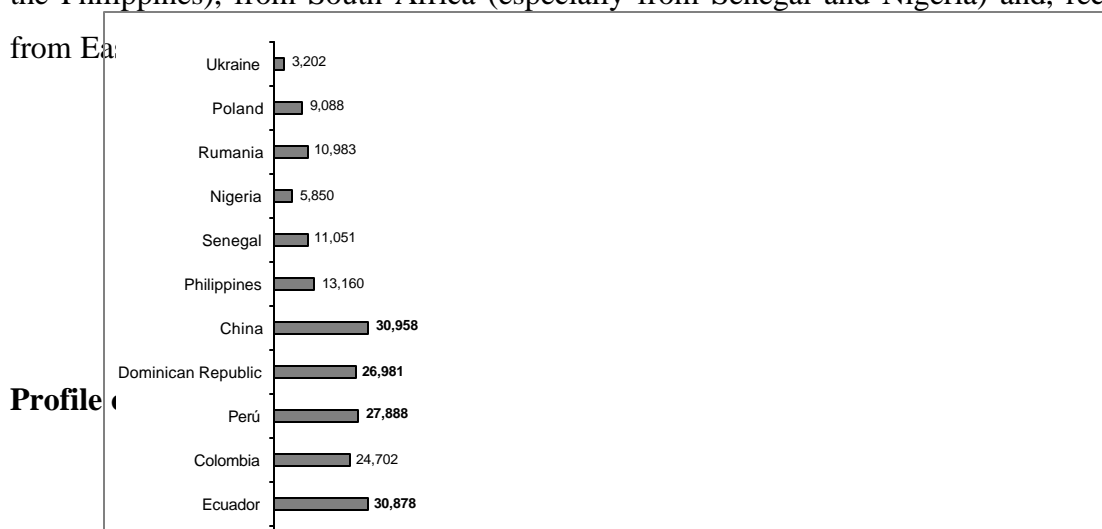Immigrants landing from the pateras (1998-2001)

In consequence, by doing this, not only the tougher border controls and a tougher immigration law based on the idea of the 'migratory pressure' are being enforced, but also a discourse and a public opinion are been articulated that link immigration and illegal entry to Spain, which means into the 'common imaginary' of the Spanish population, that all immigrants are 'illegal', which means, criminals, and therefore, sources of insecurity. Mostly, people who come from the North African countries, like Morocco or Algeria, are the ones who 'truly stand' for the idea of the alterity, of the cultural others, of threat. This symbolic construction is based in the traditional hostility towards North Africans, rooted in a centuries-old fear of *'los moros'*, and associated, at present, with Islamic fundamentalism (Martín 2002) and a high propensity to commit crimes. But, on the other hand, it also relates to the high diversity of the immigrant population in Spain (regarding nationality, skills, qualifications, gender, age…etc). It is also quite significant to see how,

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[4] 'Patera' is the name used to named the small embarkations of migrants from Morocco who cross the Strait of Gibraltar to arrive clandestinely in southern of Spain's coasts.

regarding rejection of immigrants, not all immigrants are considered as a threat at the same level. Images reinforce by the public discourses by presenting the north Africans and their cultures as the most 'backward', the most strange, the most threatening. This issue is leading me to another of my research questions that has to do with *how the formal and symbolic categorization of the immigrants is being constructed by the public policies and discourses and the way how these categorizations affects to their successful integration at the local level* (via public social services as well as via the Spaniards local community's welcome).

To give you an idea of who the immigrants to whom the public policies are addressed to are, as well as who are the objects of public discourses, I want to give you a brief view about the profile of the immigrant population. According to different sources, the estimation of the non-EU population living in Spain is believed around 1.3 million (including both the documented and undocumented people, just residents or people with a working-permit). Nevertheless, it is important to point out that, when talking about the foreign population in general, among the top five nationalities, four of them are EU-countries (Great Britain, Germany, France and Portugal). And this is a very interesting point because, when focusing on the numbers, the EU ones are a larger group but, paradoxically, when talking about the idea of invasion, the non-EU are much more visible to the Spaniards' eyes. Selection of blindness (selection of invisibility) occurs even between the non-EU groups, not being so perceptible relative to other groups, for example, Muslims versus Catholics or north Africans versus Latin Americans or South Africans.

But, going back to the profile issue, the non-EU migrants are mostly coming from North Africa (especially Morocco and Algeria), from Latin America (in particular Ecuador, Peru, Dominican Republic and Colombia), from Asia (basically from China and the Philippines), from South Africa (especially from Senegal and Nigeria) and, recently, from Ea

Profile

Country	Value
Ukraine	3,202
Poland	9,088
Rumania	10,983
Nigeria	5,850
Senegal	11,051
Philippines	13,160
China	**30,958**
Dominican Republic	**26,981**
Perú	**27,888**
Colombia	24,702
Ecuador	**30,878**

According with the quota labor system based on the called 'the contingents' (los contingents), the foreign worker will be demanded for those jobs where there are insufficient local workers. The work permits are given to those domain of work that nobody wants –for economic, social reasons or labor conditions-. Consequently, irrespective of the training or professional experience, the immigrants have to work in those degraded niches, like agriculture, construction, manufacturing, domestic services, or services sectors that contribute even more to their stigmatization as a marginal group.

If I had to tell you a specific characteristics of the immigrant population in Spain, I would say that these include diversity and great differences regarding gender, skills, labor sector they are insert or their geographical distribution are the most outstanding. Differences that, in addition, play a decisive roll, for example, when talking about the labor market participation. In this respect, to the highly segmented labor market it is added the segmentation that is been produced by gender as well as by nationality, reproducing the stereotypes and categorizations regarding immigrants. In this sense, this is not a coincidence that the Philippine women are the working mostly in domestic services jobs (because of their image as perfect cleaners, nurses for old people, day care providers for children, as English teachers and docile persons) or that in agriculture, for example, the black African immigrants are more desired as employees than the Moroccans or Algerians who are viewed as less hard-working, more rebellious and not trustworthy workers or as having too many requirement from their Muslim religion that they use like an excuse for do not working.

As I said before, beliefs that are being reinforced by public institutions, include for example, in the current National Program of Immigrant Integration, Programa GRECO, when talking about how to regulate the immigration flow and the need of the workers in the labor market, it is said: "*It is necessary to set the number of immigrants that Spain needs annually, their qualification and their typology (….) to fill the vacancy jobs according to sectors, professional profiles, and, if so, according to their geographic areas of origin*". By doing this, it is established a selection process and categorization of immigrants according the one who are the immigrant profile whished for Spain and the stereotypes attributed by nationality. Because, if the professional skills of two immigrants

are the same, why is so important to select them according to the geographic area of origin?. *To what extend this new official selection process of immigrants and their position into the labor market is not being decided by their nationality, skin color, gender or culture?.*

Theoretical Approach, Fieldwork, and Methodology

Referring to my theoretical approach, I just would like to give you a general idea about what is the theoretical frame I'm working with.

Within an anthropological analysis of public policies with immigrant population, two basic questions are raised. The first one relates to the concept of alterity: how and on what basis do mechanisms operate to dissociate groups and make them different from one to another? Social anthropology, in general, and gender anthropology, in particular, have developed theoretical frameworks to study these questions. And moving into a more applied area, the second question relates to the process involved and examines the extent to which social constructions of the "other" are used in the conception and implementation of public policies. These aspects have been recently researched by an emerging "anthropology of policy".

Social anthropology and gender anthropology must confront these questions of difference (between cultures as well as between sexes), and their starting point is that these processes are not "natural", but in fact have been constructed and constantly remodeled in a dynamic way throughout history. The value of these symbolic constructions resides in identifying a concrete culture associated with an inherent form of a social category: to be a man or a woman, to be of a specific nationality, to belong to "us" or to "them", to have a particular religion or to be in a specific legal condition.

Basing my analysis on this, I am interested in how processes of domination are carried out by the national population (dominant groups) over the immigrant population (subordinate group) through processes that naturalize cultural differences (translated into social inequalities). What is of interest to me here is to study the term 'stranger', understood in its broadest conceptualization as alterity, and how, in its diverse uses, the idea of culture emerges as a key element of otherness into the public policies.

On another level, the new field of anthropology of policy gives us a privileged analytical framework within which to study how public policies are presently considered

to be a central instrument in the organization of contemporary societies, in general, and of the place of immigrant populations within these societies, in particular.

What I try to do with my study is analyze policy discourse and political documents as "cultural texts" (Shore & Wright 1997). The aim is to study those symbolic mechanisms within public policies that construct exclusionary categories conferring differential rights to the immigrant population. Taking them as cultural texts, theses are treated as classificatory and narrative in kind, in order to justify, argue, describe and interpret how the discourses are used by some groups to raise power. Symbolic constructions of difference delineate spaces (at the social, political, economic or legal level) of "us" versus "them"; of citizens versus foreigner; of national cultural versus foreign culture; of the developed versus under-developed or of culture versus nature. In sum, this generates the possibility of studying public policies as unequivocal anthropological phenomena (Shore & Wright 1997). Thus, analyzed as cultural texts and strategies of orders of meanings, these discourses and practices of governance provide the keys to reflect upon current mechanisms in the relations of power within so-called modern multicultural societies (Rex 1997).

About the fieldwork sites

During the four years I have been conducting my research, I have completed three ethnographic fieldwork studies in the south of Spain:

a) In the province of Almería: This province is a very important geographical area in Spain, because, as a result of a policy of intensification in the agricultural production undertaken 15 years ago, farms increased in size and greenhouses were progressively settled. The employers one have a high demand of labour, which is exclusively covered by immigrants who mostly work without a work-permit. This is also one of the regions where immigrants are having more and more problems to be integrated into society. In addition, this is one of the most controversial areas of Spain, where the hardest episode of racism took place in Spain.

As an expert in migration, I have developed several programs in this province with immigrants and the native population hired by the local government. In particular, the most important ones dealt with civil rights of immigrants, with female immigrants, with school pupils, and with housing programs.

b) I conducted my second fieldwork in the province of Jaén. This geographical area of Spain is characterized by the production of olive oil, which is the main source of income for almost all of the inhabitants. The olive harvest is a very hard job that must be accomplished in a short period of time (from October to December or January) under very bad conditions (working hours, law payments and climatic conditions). Traditionally, the demand of workers has been covered by seasonal migration of Spanish workers from other regions. Today, it is very difficult to find Spanish workers who want to work in this labor market. Therefore, from ten years to date the majority of these temporary workers are immigrants.

The main problem for immigrants in this context, apart from the labor condition, is the housing. Although traditionally the employers were the ones who provided housing for their workers, today, they just offer the jobs. In addition, with the rejection of the local natives against foreigners, the owners of the houses decline to renting them their empty houses. For this reason, the Regional Administration developed a program called: *Temporary Acomodation for Immigrant Workers* (Programa de Albergues Temporeros), where I was working as an advisor for the regional and local administrations.

c) My last fieldwork took place in the province of Granada. On this occasion, I was working for the Local Administration, from where I conducted an ethnographic study of female immigrants. I was hired as a researcher to give advice about how to include an intercultural perspective on the Third Gender Equality Plan (Tercer Plan de Igualdad entre los Géneros. Ayuntamiento de Granada). On this occasion, my personal-professional challenge was to de-construct how many of the female immigrants needs have more to do more with their "gender position" than with their supposed "cultural determinism".

In sum, there are two conditions that inform my methodological approach along my different fieldworks. The first one has to do with my very unusual, but very privileged position, as a researcher who has been directly linked to the public administration. Because of this, I have been somewhere between, on the one hand, the position as a worker of the public institution and, on the other hand, the position of an independent researcher. For this reason, during my fieldwork, I had the chance to study the policy making process from 'inside' as well as from 'outside'. In this sense, I have had a privileged place as a researcher of public policies of immigration. I have had access to spaces that, as a researcher alone, it could have been almost impossible to explore. I

worked in the spaces of the elaboration and implementation process of public policies with immigrants just in the time when immigration began to be considered as a significant symbolic and political problematic in Spain.

The second peculiar aspect that influenced my methodological approach is that, because of this role as a researcher directly involved with different programs, I have always been developing action-research fieldworks. Which meant to me, not only to analyze the policy making process but also, to have the chance of, somehow, changing from the inside the course of these integration programs.

In addition, my professional skills as social worker made me a very attractive professional for the public administrations. But, in addition, when developing social programs with immigrants, I could as an anthropologist provide them as well with the 'translation' from whom are supposed to be the traditional objective of anthropology: the people from the other cultures. And that's why I say that, in order to study the public policies with immigrants, the anthropologist are located in a privileged position: because we talk about culture… about that 'culture' that is meaning such a huge problem for the welfare systems of the host societies.

My empirical study relies on the "classical" ethnographic and on qualitative-interpretative methods (Werner and Schoepfle 1987) applied to the discourse on immigration process, the actions of social intervention, and the texts and documentary sources on immigration policies and practices. And just mentioning briefly the set of ethnographic methods I have used, they are basically:

- Participant observation
- Semi-structured ethnographic interviews (to policy makers, social workers, immigrants, members of ONGs, native population)

These participant observations and interviews have been carried out in a range of situations: during the planning and designing of public intervention programs, at meetings concerning work and decision making procedures, in local communities in the course of the evaluation, development and implementation of programs and during training and information sessions.

- Document collection (the programs text and their evaluations, official documents, etc.).

Immigration Policy in Spain: How immigration became a problem.

In a very simple way, we could say that the Immigration Policy in Spain is designed to address to two main goals: the border control and the immigrants integration. Aspects that I will try to go through very quickly.

Border Control Policy: how Spain, a Southern country, gets fortified with trenches against 'the South'

As I said earlier, with the new law and new conservatives discourses, the immigration policy has become tougher and more restrictive. Under the idea of addressing the immigration flows, it is taking place a 'closing doors' that affect not only at the normative level, at is, the civil border (for example, the reduction of fundamental rights for immigrants or the increase of obstacles to get the familiar reunification). This also affects the 'physical border'. In this sense, it is not a coincidence that when talking about immigration policy in Spain the politicians just focus their attention on border control. Because immigration policy in Spain is basically just an obsession for controlling immigration - for example, in this respect, Tampere Treaty meant a lot to the European justification for building the SIVE (sistema integrado de vigilancia exterior), a very expensive and complex radar system to control the southern border. We can see for example in this picture that a fence makes a fortification of Spanish's borders.

Integrated System of Exterior Vigilance (SIVE)

Fuente: Delegación de Gobierno.   N. C. - C. C. / EL PAÍS
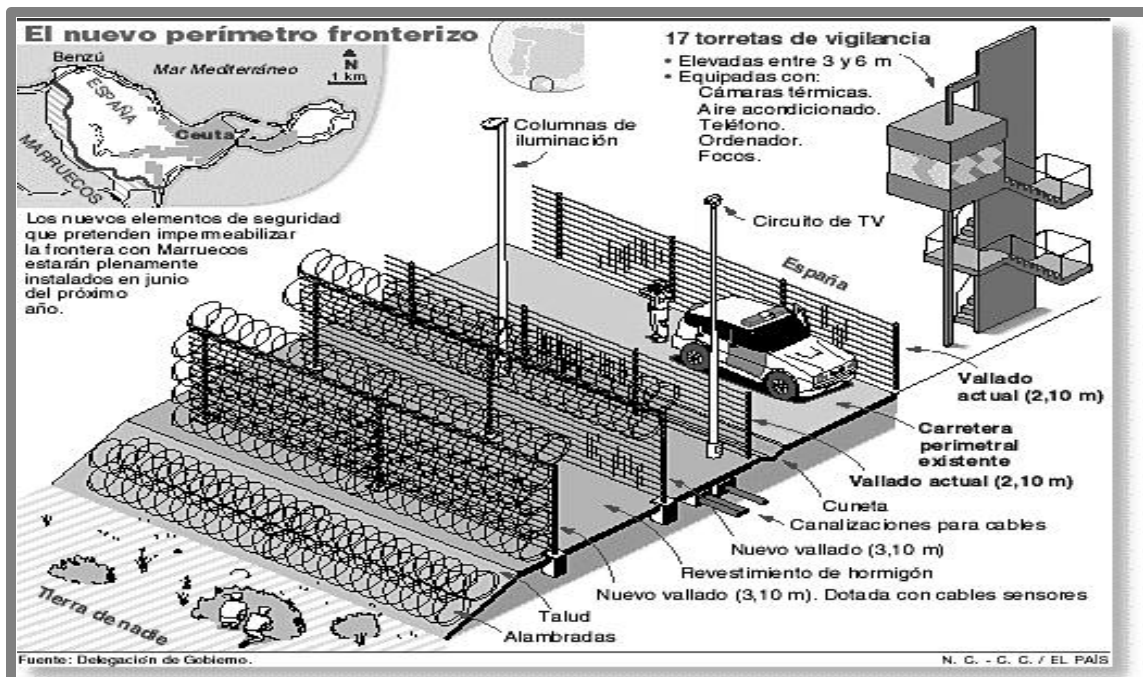
The 'improvements' made on it by adding 3 new fences, higher towers of control, more lighting and closed-circuit television are further fortifications. Another rhetoric of this desperate strategy for stopping the immigration is, for example, the Tony Blair and Spanish President Aznar proposal for the next EU Conference in Sevilla, of controlling and protecting the borders by using ships and airplanes of war. The topic of immigration is becoming one of the most important issues of the EU agenda in a moment when, paradoxically, Spain is holding the presidency of the EU.

What is this responding to? Although it is complicated to explain, let me tell you that, in a very simplistic way, this is the result of two facts:

- One has to do with the political pressure of the EU and the fact of how the current government is using politically this role of 'southern gate' for a major investment in controlling borders. This is how the immigration flow is described: the immigrants arrive to Spain just to go to Center-Europe. I mean, this is a fact, this is going on but, obviously this is just a view of the situation because there is an inflow of immigrants coming in from the Eastern countries, immigrants who are not going out of Spain, who are going back to their origin countries… etc.

- The second fact has to do with the symbolic idea of the invasion threat. It is thought that it is necessary to reinforce the borders against the pressure of the Third World, on the one hand, and the call effect ('efecto llamada') that Spain as a pole of attraction and the regularization process are causing. This 'ghost' means such a huge obsession that we are moving from the 'call effect' to the 'kick effect' (se pasa del 'efecto llamada' al 'efecto patada')

Integration Policy in the 'new' Spain: how old Christians disguise themselves as new Europeans

From here to the end, I will talk about how the Integration Policies, shed light on new national program of immigrants and their integration and how public discourses are describing immigration as a problem. I will focus my attention in two aspects:

1. Immigration as a problem of citizens' security. The current debate about immigration evolves around the idea of citizens' security. Under the 'seguridad ciudadana' concept many discourses claim a connection between the growth of immigrants and the increasing insecurity (which means more thefts, murders, rapes…). These and other actions in the matter of "safety" show the need to create an Euro-police apparatus, that bases its discourses on the control and the criminalisation of immigration. This new policy caused important consequences regarding the symbolic construction of the migrants. As a result, this policy has created three new categories on the public discourse: now these persons are dangerous, immigrants and different.

With the first law of immigration, the foreigners began to be called immigrants, this is, persons belonging to the Third World who came to Spain because they were "the poor". But, from this moment, the immigrants became dangerous not only because they have the intention to cross the new frontiers, also because they arrive in Spain looking for a job (the Spaniard's jobs). They are also perceived as dangerous because of their 'culture'… and this is driving us to the second point.

2. Immigration is also described as a cultural problem (this aspect is the primary focus of my thesis). The immigrants became dangerous because they have a different culture ascribed to them as inferior and backward. According to this discourse, "culture" is something you were born with and consequently, something that is very difficult to change, "the Spanish modern culture" is in danger of being affected by the culture of the non-developed and their primitive behavior and practices.

The idea of immigration as a "problem" revolves around three points: the invasion threat, the destabilization of the labor market, and the difficulties of the integration and socio-cultural adaptation. These categories affect directly in the way how the foreigners and their location in the labor sector is described as more devaluated.

The institutional 'delimitation' of immigrants as a group and its corresponding assignation of behavioural determinants are used as a legitimate instrument of regulation of interaction between the native and immigrant populations. It is here that the deeper contradictions of

public policies are seen. Indeed, they carry out fundamental social action practices on the basis of contradictory discourses related to:

- the necessity of prevention toward those who are seen as problematic, as transmitters of a "contaminated culture";

- the solidarity of paternalism toward those considered inferior, less developed or defenceless;

- the obligation of the 'despotic assimilation' toward those evaluated as dysfunctional or maladjusted;

- or the intolerance of the cultural relativism toward those considered as inalterable and delimited in their differentiation.

In this respect, these are the controversial comment from the public government: *"...Our **superior morality** lies on human dignity. We have thought that all the people are the same but this doesn't work the same in any **tribe**... (...) the immigrants' children **have to be like ours**, they have to learn the same and eat the same..."*. Made by Mikel Azurmendi, President of Foro Nacional de Integración Social de los Inmigrantes. (Public Comments on Onda Cero Radio, 13/3/2002).

In this context, one of my conclusions is that we need to understand that the arrival of immigrants and the parallel current discursive policy practices, under the banner of a tolerant and democratic multicultural society. Rather Spanish society is increasingly re-emphasising a cultural essentialism out of which "immigrants difference" is being constructed. In this way, and on the basis of a rhetorical respect for the "other", there is a move toward a paradoxical policy of recognising differences which translates into a policy of difference. Multiculturalism is therefore the consequence of a symbolic organization of differences in a society that risks being structured by public policies in two parallel worlds ruled by cultural institutions in accordance with its ethnic adscription.

My other conclusion has to do with how the formal and informal categorization of immigrants affects the different practices of integration and how a selection process of immigrants is taking place in Spain. In particular, I see three aspects in this categorization:

a) the labor market participation, b) the different degree of acceptance of native population regarding the immigrant's 'culture', and c) the type of public social services developed for immigrants according with that categorization.

To conclude my talk, I briefly mention are two adverse (or non-expected) consequences of all this complex discourse and how policy articulated against immigrants:

1. A 'negative' one: Increase in Rejection of Immigrants. The more frequent xenophobia acts occurred in Spain. I will talk very brief about the famous the El Ejido case (a southern city in Spain, in the Almería province, where, in response to a Morrocan immigrant's murder of a young Spanish woman, a public racist reaction against immigrants from the local population took place. Immigrants homes were destroyed and many of immigrants were beaten and throw them out of the city)

Other of the unexpected negative outcomes has to do with the competition between Immigrants (Muslims and Traditionals' ones *versus* New Catholics ones).

2. The second adverse consequence can be seen as a 'positive' one: against the radicalization of the discourses about immigration as a problem, as well as in reaction to the harder immigration law, an unexpected reaction took place. A parallel movement of solidarity with immigrants occurred. But the most important thing is that, the immigrant community reacted by organizing groups, not only documented people but also undocumented immigrants. An important movement has been developed under the motto: 'ningún ser humano es ilegal' (no human being is illegal). From here, a strong movement called 'the ones without documents' ('los sin papeles') started taking active part in the public debate. The 'silence immigrants' are becoming heard by sit-in, strikes and protest walks, as a structured incipient 'organized-group' that slowly is arising in the defense of their interest within the immigration policy making process. Immigrants start taking active part in Public Debate and immigration starts acquiring the political and social dimensions evaded until this moment.

As one Moroccan immigrant worker told me once: *'The Spaniards politicians are wrong... Spain is not the south of Europe as they think and they like to say... Spain is the North of Africa and they are closer to us than to the Europeans societies'*

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