

MIGRATIONS AND HOMELESSNESS IN SPAIN

NATIONAL REPORT 2001-2002

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IMMIGRATION IN SPAIN: A RECENT PHENOMENON

Economic integration and globalisation are constantly creating new opportunities for labour people and countries with ever increasing mobility. This new mobility dimension is promoted by companies, goods and capital that are increasingly accepted by all governments. The same does not occur with another of the competitiveness factors of the global economy: the flows of workers. In the more prosperous Western countries, the limitations on the entry of foreign workers has continued to increase the pressure on the application for asylum as a means for obtaining the legal status of refugees and, consequently, for being able to stay lawfully in the host country. Nevertheless, millions of people are living in countries other than the one in which they were born, without taking into account the documented recognition of their situation, and consequently, lacking recognition of their rights which frequently makes them vulnerable.¹

In spite of the growing restrictions, the current migratory flows have their own inertia and complexity. Migrations, like other international processes – are not produced between national compartmentalised units, but within an interactive system, itself the product of a common historical development. Nation states play an important role in this system, which also includes a plethora of private actors that range from big corporations to households and families, local communities, migratory networks, people trafficking organisations, non-governmental organisations, etc. The spontaneous activities of these organisations are partially the reason for the limited effectiveness of official forces in regulating immigration. Consequently, although certain factors can be controlled (e.g. through family reunion or expulsion policies) or moulded (e.g. through specific characteristics required to participate in the labour markets), there are rigidities in the flows that have proved persistently difficult to be managed by the governments.

On the other hand, the distinction between economic migration and political migration is becoming more blurred each time. Survival migrants in general belong to the agrarian subsistence economy or to the informal urban sector of the emigration country. For many of these people, finding regular employment is in itself tantamount to an increase in wages. In this perspective, the search for employment – or better yet, the search for basic economic security – turns out to be a much more powerful factor in the construction of migratory pressures than the pay disparities between countries. When they leave the country of origin under pressure, it is quite possible that they do not have the minimum requirements to obtain a residence and work permit, which frequently entails access to marginal

¹ According to the Report on Migrations, there are seven main trends in current migrations (IOM, 2000): Growing economic integration and globalisation; Changes in the geopolitical interests in the post Cold World period; changes in the demographic trends and gender roles; Trans-nationalism, given the fact that many immigrants de facto live in more than one country; growing technological innovation; An increase in smuggling, trafficking and other intermediary organisations; Harmonisation of migratory policies through regional and international mechanisms.

employment, or employment in the underground economy of the host country. The process is usually played out on the fringes of the formal or primary market, in the secondary market (informal economy) or, directly, in activities considered illegal. Given the immigration control policies in the host countries and their lack of means and resources, many of these survival immigrants cross the borders to stay for a very short time, contributing to the irregular immigration flow and to disorganised population movements.

Although we could say that there are at present some 13 million non-EU citizens residing in the European Union, it is not possible to provide a more certain figure of the number of foreign people in an irregular situation that also live in our midst². This question, the situation of legal or illegal residence, is one of the many divisive lines in the immigration issue in Europe which separates immigrants (who are “legal”) from the others (who are “illegal” or “clandestine”).

The majority of these potential immigrants and refugees come from the Third World. There is a great deal of pressure in these countries to emigrate to the West and the North given the “excess” population and the low income level in their countries of origin. In the argument of “pressure differentials,” one version of Ravenstein’s push-pull theory at the end of the 19th century, the “pressure” would supposedly be exerted on Europe “under siege.”

The imbalances in the demographic-occupational growth in the Euro-Mediterranean region are and will continue to be of exceptional scope. Up to the year 2010, the population of Mediterranean countries of the European region will grow only insignificantly (approximately by 167,226 thousand), representing 34% of the Mediterranean population, while the contiguous southern and eastern countries of the Mediterranean will grow to constitute 43.9% of the regional population.

The structural situation of the region, characterised by an inequality in the distribution of income, an abundance of a young population and a serious failure to meet basic human needs, is a propitious indication for searching solutions on the other side of the Mediterranean. This trend is abetted by the geographic proximity, the colonial relations or previous historical ties, the frequent contacts, the knowledge of Europe generated by the means of communication, the existence of immigrant networks that have been operational for some time in various countries and the possibility of finding employment in the underground economy, such as agriculture, street trade, etc. On the other hand, the existence of powerful people trafficking networks is fostering the transfer of population between the different points.

Concurrently with the increase of filtering and control mechanisms to stem the flows of immigrants and “uninvited” asylum seekers, reports on European demographic

² The UN estimates that there are 150 million people that can be considered as immigrants and refugees, i.e. less than 3 percent of the total world population. Although this is double the number of people from 1965, the proportion with respect to the total world population is the same as in 1901. One important change since then is the feminisation of migrations, which amounts to 47 % at present.

developments affirm that Western Europe will soon need more immigrants to “restore” the supply of a workforce of economically active age, i.e. the age structure of its population in the face of the continuous drop of its birth rate indicators, and the constant increase of longevity.

Historically, Spain has been a country of emigrants. Traditionally, Spanish emigration has found its “natural” destination in the former colonies of Spanish-speaking America, while subsequently, a sizeable number of Spanish workers went to work in the more developed countries of Northern Europe, whether on a seasonal basis, as day labourers in agriculture (France), or more permanently, as manual or industrial workers (essentially in Germany, Switzerland and Belgium)³.

Between 1900 and 1930, 144,000 left officially for European countries. However, many more do not appear in the records of the Spanish Emigration Institute. The process was interrupted with the Spanish Civil War, because the Franco government restricted severely the issuing of passports. Spaniards that had to go to exile because of the conflict are estimated at 140,000.

The period from 1950 to 1975 constituted the peak of Spanish emigration to Europe. Spanish emigrants made a very important contribution to the Spanish economy, about 3% of GDP and 15% of the gross formation of capital up to the beginning of the 1970s. The flows stabilised during this period, i.e. the control of said flows by the government from the time of departure to the time of return. On the other hand, strong internal migration movements occurred. Between the interior and exterior migrations, some 5 million Spaniards moved during these years, with France and Germany being the prime European destinations.

The Spanish arrived in Germany under quotas of about 1,500 a year in the 1950s, up to a record of 65,146 in 1965. These figures however reflect only the “emigrants assisted” by the Spanish state and do not include spontaneous emigrants, who are estimated at more than one third of the total. The total amounted to 339,837 people between 1960 and 1967, ranking it second in size after the Italian immigration, which accounted for 40% of all immigrants to the Federal Republic in Germany. In 1972, Spanish immigration reached its peak in Germany, with 184,000 employed workers, plus their respective companions and families (Vilar and Vilar, 1999:67).

Spanish emigrants had to deal with linguistic, climatic and religious barriers and in general with the social and political context in the host countries in their efforts to integrate with greater or lesser success, and thus overcome a personal experience of being separated from their roots and of alienation that has left a deep mark on the more recent history of the

³ In addition to Northern Europe and America, Spaniards emigrated also to Africa. In 1996, there were 13,930 Spaniards living in Africa, half of whom in Morocco, and only 121 in Algeria. Other important groups were to be found in the Republic of South Africa (1,593) and Equatorial Guinea (682).

country as a whole. The traces of this exodus are still vivid, especially among the population of the more southern regions (Andalusia, Extremadura, La Mancha).

In spite of the human drama entailed by the separation of families and from the homeland by an entire generation of young and adult workers, as well as the difficulties encountered in the host societies, there is ample consensus nowadays on the positive consequences of this migratory phenomenon: as a source of hard currencies for the Spanish balance of payment, as a motor for internal development, as a way for the acquisition of marketable skills, as a democratisation factor, etc., not to mention the positive effects on the economy of the host countries.

Nevertheless, all this did not stand in the way, once the trend shifted and we became a country of immigrants, from the emergency of the same or similar attitudes of rejection and/or xenophobia that previously afflicted Spanish immigrants in Central Europe. In a certain way, the lack of historical experience (which is manifested for instance by the lack of a migratory policy until very recently), the rapidity with which the massive influx of immigrants occurred, and the dramatic conditions under which immigration occurred in many cases, the situation as the last frontier of the European Union (both as regards Africa and, in trans-Atlantic terms, America), as well as special conditions of attraction due to the fact that Spain is within the socio-economic area of free movement within the EU and the Schengen group, are some of the dominant notes of a phenomenon that is splashed on the front pages of the press and, together with terrorism and unemployment, has emerged as the third source of preoccupation among Spaniards⁴.

History

The lack of an immigration tradition leaves us without a historical basis for defining and developing a specific model from a more or less consolidated tradition such as the case of the North American melting pot, the universalist integration of French republicanism, the British option for multiculturalism, or the presence of “guest workers” in Germany; although it is certain that nearly all those models are currently in doubt, they none the less constitute a point of departure for defining the migratory policies of the respective countries.

The development of public opinion regarding immigration has followed the line charted by the tone set by government policy from the reform of the so-called “Immigration Act,” which introduced more restrictive criteria for the recognition of the rights of immigrants in an irregular situation, and insisted on the possible negative effects of the policy pursued up to this time which were beginning to be seen as excessively permissive. Without stopping to consider the presence of immigrant workers as a “necessary” impetus

⁴ According to the latest barometer of the Centre for Sociological Research (known by the Spanish acronym CIS) of June 2002, when asked with open questions with the possibility for multiple answers as to what they considered “the main problems in Spain today,” a representative sample of Spaniards over 18 cited immigration in third place (by 28.5%) of the respondents, behind unemployment (68.3%) and terrorism (53%), and far ahead other sources of concern.

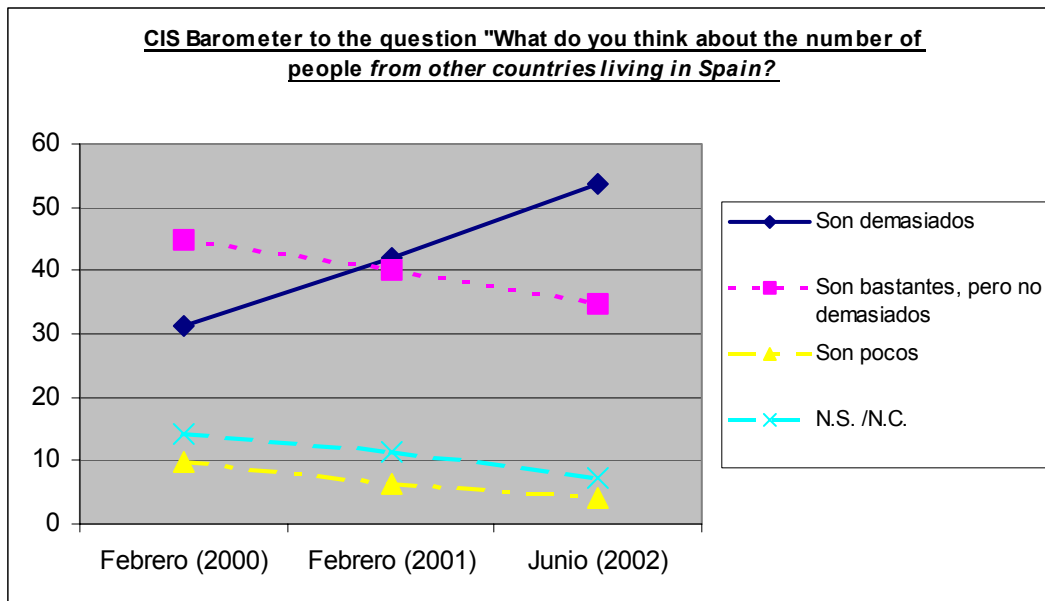
to the economy, the opinion that there are too many of them is gradually beginning to gain currency, so that at present, 54% of Spaniards think that they are “too many foreigners in Spain” (See table).

Table 1.- “What do you think about the number of people from other countries living in Spain?”

There are too many	53.8
There are enough, but not too many	34.7
There are few	4.1
No opinion	7.3

Source: CIS Barometer of June 2002 (N=2494)

Just two years earlier, in February 2002, the percentage of those who thought there were too many foreigners was only 31%, while in February 2001 this figure had suddenly shot up to 42%. The change in public opinion that occurred in the last two years can be gauged clearly from the graph below:



There are too many
 There are enough, but not too many
 There are few
 No opinion

February (2000) February (2001) June (2002)

This change in public opinion naturally has multiple consequences, so that, whereas two years ago the people were scandalised by the spectacle of African immigrants camped in the centre of Barcelona because they did not have accommodation and work, in August of this year, they breathed a sigh of relief when the police evicted those shut up inside the Pablo de Olavide University of Seville. The massive reactions of solidarity of two years ago have been replaced by a certain tedium in public opinion that is calling for greater firmness from the authorities and the police to deal with what has come to be seen as more of a problem of public order than a social and economic issue.

Taking into account that, in general, the opinion expressed is still tolerant and respectively – whereby verbally, at least, there is a strong tendency to express oneself in politically correct, i.e. non-xenophobic terms, this does not stand in the way of differences relative to the more or less intensive contact with foreign immigrants due to their origin, with everything this implies for stereotyped ethnic, cultural and religious differences. If we leave aside the references to EU countries and to Americans, the greatest tendency for rejection is geared to Moroccans, and for acceptance to Latin Americans (see Table 2).

Table 2.- “What do you think about the number of people from other countries living in Spain?” “Do you attach a lot, enough, little or no importance to having as neighbours a family from... ..? (CIS Barometer February 2001)

	A lot + enough	Little	No	No opinio n	(N)
Other EU country	2.0	10.2	86.3	1.4	(2498)
United States	2.5	10.0	85.7	1.8	(2498)
Portugal	3.4	10.4	84.8	1.4	(2498)
Latin America	3.5	10.3	84.6	1.6	(2498)
Eastern Europe (Poland, Hungary, etc.)	3.5	10.8	83.9	1.8	(2498)
A Sub-Saharan African country	7.0	10.8	80.2	12.0	(2498)
Morocco and another North African country	10.1	11.2	76.8	1.9	(2498)

All this has to do with the different criteria of facilitating the stay of one or another group in the country; Latin Americans stand out in this respect, for obvious historical and cultural reasons.

Table 3.- “Which of the following groups would you prefer settled in Spain at this time?” (N=305)

Latin Americans	52.5
Eastern Europeans	21.3
Sub-Saharan Africans	4.3
Asians	2.3
Moroccans, Algerians, etc.	2.3
No opinion	11.1
No reply.	6.2

Source: CIS Barometer, June 2002 (N=305)

Some four to five years ago, ghettos began to appear in certain areas of large cities (“they are shut up there”) such as the Chinese population in the Lavapiés district in Madrid or Moroccans and Filipinos in Ciutat Vella in Barcelona (Moreras 1996); a strong feeling of intrusion and loss of control of one’s own spaces, squares, parks (“it is your home”) arises among the original resident population in those areas, accompanied by pressure on wages for unskilled jobs; identification with greater delinquency and a feeling of insecurity; a sense of collective powerlessness; a feeling that the authorities cannot stem the influx and their living conditions in Spain; the old distinction between dignified and undignified poverty is emerging again, between those who work or come to work, and those who are idle and “cause trouble all day;” on the basis of such a discourse, “the immigrant who does not work, is superfluous,” outbreaks of violence such as those that occurred in El Ejido were expected, “you can see it coming.”

As regards the rights of immigrants in general, a study conducted a year ago by (PÉREZ-DÍAZ, ÁLVAREZ-MIRANDA, and GONZÁLEZ-ENRÍQUEZ 2001), relying on the analysis of the discourse by discussion groups from people in neighbourhoods with a strong immigrant presence, has shown that positive discrimination policies that elicit the greatest rejection by the native citizens are those that refer to the accommodation, which are seen as a comparative insult when “the situation of immigrants who receive such assistance is compared with that of an old Spaniard on an insufficient pension, with that of young people who cannot move out on their own and acquire accommodation, with the difficulties encountered by those trying to start a business. From this comparison, it is concluded that positive discrimination in favour of immigrants is unfair” (204).

Current composition (number, socio-demographic profile, origin, territorial distribution)

Whereas there were 600,000 immigrants living in Spain in 1996, amounting to 1.5% of the population, five years later, the Government Director for Immigration Enrique Fernández-Miranda (El mundo, 10-6-2001) estimated that that figure must have doubled, i.e. 1.2 million, or 3% of the population.

Before presenting the socio-demographic profiles of foreign residents in Spain, however, it is necessary to assess the sources of information, inasmuch as statistics on immigration have three basic characteristics: their complexity, lack of precision, and their more than dubious quality.

First, they are complex, given the diversity of circumstances entailed by the situation of “foreigner” and the various points where they are compiled:

- Foreigners with valid residence permit or card: there are two systems for documented residents entitled to reside in Spain (Ministry of the Interior, 2002):
 - ♦ Foreigners who are nationals of the European Union and the European Economic Area, as well as relatives of Spaniards who fall under the EU system and obtain a residence permit;
 - ♦ Foreigners under the General System, who must obtain the corresponding specific residence permit, by satisfying a series of requirements; said permit can be temporary or permanent.
- Foreigners with a valid stay permit for studies: those who have been admitted to an officially recognised, public or private educational or scientific centre; they are not authorised to work legally in most cases. They also include their spouses and family (minors under 18, disabled persons, and exceptional others) of said students or academics.
- Foreign students registered in non-university educational institutions.
- Asylum seekers: According to Article 13.4 of the Spanish Constitution of 1978, the right to asylum as protection provided to foreigners who are accorded recognised refugee status.
- Stateless persons: this status is recognised for foreigners who lack nationality pursuant to the criteria of the Convention relating to the Status of Stateless persons.
- Unaccompanied underaged foreigners who are accommodated in shelters for minors for their protection, subsequent return to their family of origin, or residence documentation in Spain.
- Tourists who enter the country with a valid passport (for a three-month stay) and/or visa, depending on the country of origin.
- Foreigners who have applied for Spanish nationality.

As regards the variety of points for the compilation of data, we have sources such as demographic registers (born in Spain from a foreign mother, marriages performed in Spain with at least one foreign spouse and deaths of foreigners on the Registers of Births, Marriages and Deaths, which send monthly reports of births, marriages and deaths), the data from the Ministry of the Interior, (e.g. on legalisation processes), census data (2001 census, on which we count only with a summary of global results), the Social Security registers (foreign workers who are of working age and have registered with Social Security⁵), from the Institute of Employment (known by the Spanish acronym INEM) (job seekers may or may not be on benefit) among others. As regards international migration and the movement of foreign nationals on Spanish territory, the main statistical source used is the Statistics of Residential Variations (known by the Spanish acronym EVR), produced by the National Statistical Institute (known by the Spanish acronym INE), which collects data on residence fluctuations registered by town councils in their municipal registers.⁶

Secondly, data on immigration are inaccurate due to under-registration, because only those actually registered are entered, and not all those who really reside there, whom official and private sources estimate to run to a significant number (a few hundreds of thousands of people)⁷. Among these people, commonly referred to as “illegals” or “undocumented,” we find people which do not fall under any of the aforementioned conditions, those who can fit partially in some of them (for instance, those registered but without residence permit, or tourists with visas that have expired), and a third category that is beginning to grow in importance, that of the “undeportables” (persons under a deportation order to leave Spain, but whose deportation could not take place because of different reasons, such as not having determined the nationality of the person, the lack of repatriation agreement with the country of origin, etc.). One important characteristic of the groups of “illegals” is the combination of episodes of legality with outer periods of illegality (e.g. someone who becomes unemployed at the time that s/he is renewing his or her permit, and the latter is refused, but the person in question does not leave; a woman that finds herself in an illegal situation because she has divorced her husband who is the holder of the residence permit; a minor who entered the country at the limit of majority age, and is not documented before turning 18 and turns into an “illegal,” among other cases).

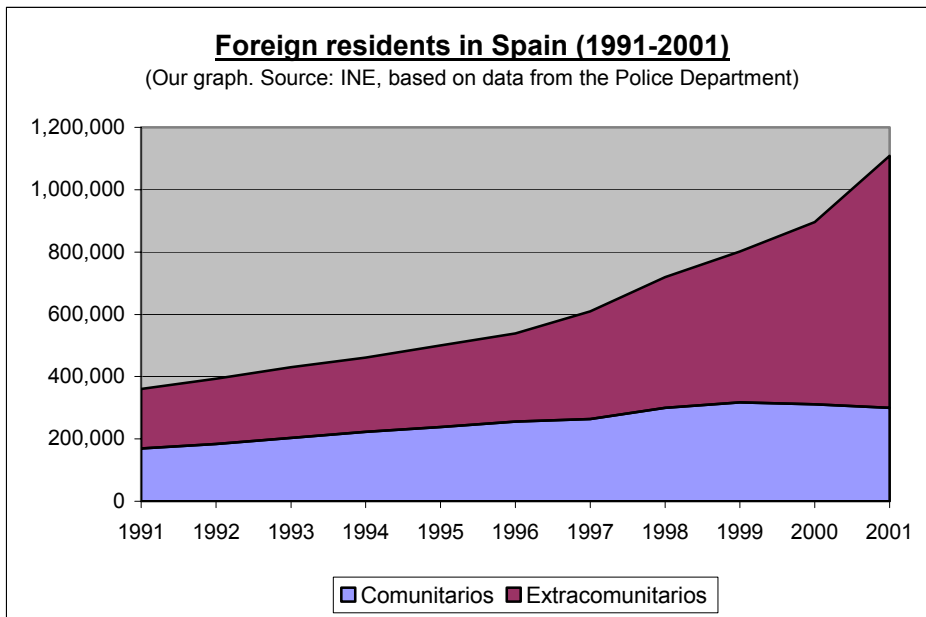
⁵ According to the source, “Carrying out more than one occupation entitles a person to registration in more than one Social Security system, and in the event of carrying out more than one job for someone else in industry or services, entitles that person to more than one registration with the General System. For this reason, it is possible to enter the same worker more than once if that person has several activities or several jobs (in 2000, approximately 2.59% of workers in Spain were in this situation). Ibid, p. 23.

⁶ In spite of the annual periodicity that gives this source a notable value, there is a pronounced under-registration and deficiencies in this source. For more information on the topic of statistics, see Inés Brancós and Andreu Domingo, 2002.

⁷ To give an idea of the scope of “illegality,” between 2000 and 2001, the increase in foreign nationals under the General System amounted to 38.53%, compared with 7.15% for those under the Community System; this period witnessed a partial legalisation processes, which is the reason behind this spectacular increase, which took into account undocumented migrants who already resided there, in addition to those who met the conditions for obtaining their residence permits.

A third characteristic is the reference to the dubious quality of the information that runs the risk of being biased. This is due to the fact that the data contain “sensitive” information for the persons polled or questioned, the fact that people reply under important influences, such as for instance fear (that they will be denied their permit, be deported, not find a job, suffer reprisals, not being able to meet the requirements for family reunion, etc.) and the personal interest (meeting the conditions to find employment, seniority to obtain the residence permit, to be able to be reunited with their family, etc.).⁸

Unquestionably, the estimate of the number of immigrants is a controversial topic and one very difficult to solve. Given the large number of people who are not in a legal situation, the figure provided by the Ministry of the Interior from data available to the police, tend to underestimate the number of foreign residents. Each of the successive legalisation processes has brought to surface hundreds of thousands of immigrants. This is the only way to explain how between December 2000 and December 2001, there was an increase of 23.82% of foreigners with a valid residence permit. Nevertheless, the policy figures can be used to analyse the development of the migratory phenomenon. For instance, whereas in 1991, the figure provided by the police was 360,655 foreign residents in Spain, 47% of whom were from EU countries, ten years later, in 2001, that figure had risen to 1,109,600 foreigners, of whom only 27% were from EU countries (see graph).

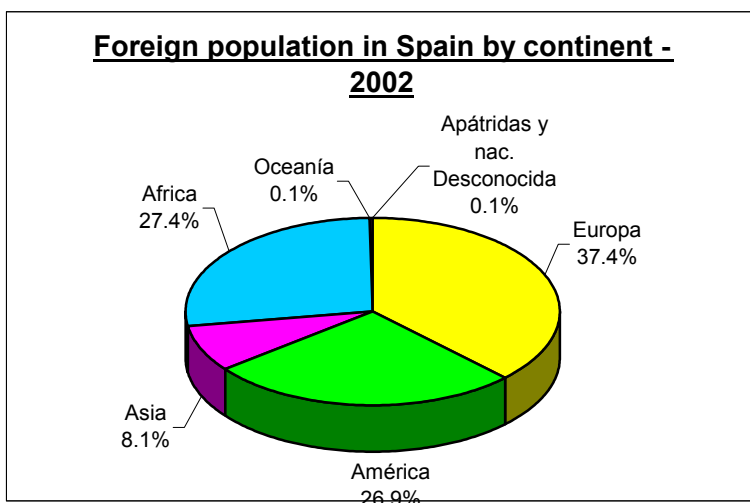


⁸ For instance, we are thinking of sociological surveys carried out under the auspices of the Ministry of the Interior, where questions include, e.g. the intention to settle permanently in Spain, or the intention to bring along one’s family, etc. Even in other, less “compromising” yet equally personal topics, such as the “level of education,” people reply, are not required to provide certificates and diplomas, whereby they may reply “upwards,” if they think that they will have better chances of being accepted. It is not strange therefore that certain sociologists conclude that illegal migrants are “highly skilled,” etc.

EU

Non-EU

Considered by continent, Europe continues to occupy the leading position (37%), followed by Africa (27.4) on practically equal footing with America (26.9%), although nationals from Asian countries are beginning to become numerous (8%), as China by itself is the eight country in terms of number of foreign nationals living in Spain. In any event, the countries closest in geographic terms (the Maghreb) and those of cultural and historical affinities (Latin America) account for the largest proportion.



(Clockwise from top left: Africa, Oceania, Stateless and unknown nationality, Europe, America, Asia).

If we analyse the list of the 20 countries with the largest number of residents in Spain, we find that Morocco is by far the source of most foreign residents, followed by Ecuador (84,699) and Portugal (80,183). On the other hand, it is curious to observe how less developed countries are intermingled with countries such as Germany – 5th in the ranking – France, etc., whose nationals have a far different social and occupational trajectory than that of immigrants from countries of the South. On the other hand, we must stress that these are the figures on foreign residents in the possession of the Ministry of the Interior. Illegal and undocumented immigrants are not included in these data.

Table 4.- The 20 countries with the largest number of residents in Spain

Country	Nm. of resid.	Country	Nm. of resid.
1. Morocco	234,937	11. Dominican Republic	29,314
2. Ecuador	84,699	12. Rumania	24,856
3. Portugal	80,183	13. Ex-USSR	22,230

4. Germany	62,506	14. Cuba	21,467
5. Colombia	48,710	15. Argentina	20,412
6. France	44,798	16. Norway	17,488
7. Poland	42,634	17. Algeria	15,240
8. China	36,143	18. Philippines	14,716
9. Ireland	35,647	19. United States	13,743
10. Peru	33,758	20. Belgium	13,541

These relatively high numbers of persons are geographically distributed very unequally, whereby they are more visible in places such as Madrid, Barcelona, certain provinces of the Mediterranean coast and the archipelagos (Balearic and Canary Islands). We should bear in mind that 55.4% of all foreigners are concentrated in just five provinces: Madrid, Barcelona, Malaga, Alicante and Las Palmas.⁹

For the Autonomous Communities of Madrid and Catalonia, which are by far those with the most foreign residents (see Table 5 below), the attraction of large metropolitan areas is self-evident; these are followed by Andalusia and the Community of Valencia, due to the combined effects of the need for seasonal manual labour required by certain agricultural crops and tourism activities which account for more than one hundred thousand resident foreigners; they are in turn followed by the archipelagos of the Balearic and Canary islands, where the recent economic immigration in search of employment, has been added to the important contingent of Northern Europeans, many of whom are retired and are attracted by the good climate. In both cases, the percentage of foreigners is greater than 5% of the total population¹⁰.

Table 5.- Foreign residents in each Autonomous Community

Autonomous Community	Number of foreign residents	% of overall Population
Catalonia	280,167	4.42 %
Madrid (Com. of)	231,295	4.26 %

⁹ For the Province of Barcelona, the data show that 74% of all foreigners in Catalonia reside there. For its part, Madrid is host to 21% of all foreign residents in Spain, having witnessed a 42% increase between 2001 and 2002 (compared with a national average increase of 24%).

¹⁰ Nevertheless, the figures per Autonomous Community cannot conceal the specific fact of certain concrete provinces where the proportion of immigrants is much higher, as is the case in Almeria, where foreign residents account for 8.30% of the population, or Girono with 7.14%.

Andalusia	157,157	2.14 %
Com. of Valencia	101,368	2.44 %
Canary Islands	87,483	5.16 %
Balearic Islands	47,589	5.65 %
Castille y Leon	30,262	1.23 %
Murcia (Region of)	27,512	2.30 %
Galicia	26,612	0.99 %
Aragon	25,001	2.08 %
Castille - La Mancha	22,451	1.28 %
Country Vasco	19,515	0.94 %
Extremadura	12,535	1.18 %
Asturias (Princ. of)	10,398	0.98 %
Navarra (Aut. com. of)	9,560	1.72 %
Rioja (La)	7,488	2.71 %
Cantabria	6,480	1.21 %
Melilla	3,618	5.45 %
Ceuta	2,025	2.83 %
TOTAL SPAIN	1,108,516	2.72 %

And yet, in spite of all this increase reflected in the official figures, after finalising the last legalisation process, the first reports of the 2001 Census show that the number of foreign residents in Spain could even be higher and exceed the one and a half million mark. On the other hand, the more updated recounts could be inferred from the number of foreigners registered in the Municipal Register; it should be borne in mind that the registration in said Register entails no consequences with the policy and in return it makes it possible to access basic services such as health and education, so that the figures of the Register will necessarily bring to the surface a good number of immigrants in an illegal situation. Nevertheless, the figures of the Register must be approached with precaution, because the administrative process that results in an increase in one locality, does not necessarily produce a decline in the previous place of residence, so cases of duplicated figures can be abundant.

On the other hand, if we consider the origin of these people from other countries, the distribution of foreigners in Spain is highly diverse, depending on a series of very different circumstances and/or migratory plans depending on the place of origin. Various

authors, including the “Colectivo IOE” (Research group about poverty, social exclusion, etc.), concur in identifying at least four major groups of immigrants in Spain:

- a) Retired persons and pensioners from Northern Europe who live in the tourist areas;
- b) Foreign workers who have come following the flows of capital, basically Europeans, Americans and Japanese;
- c) Relatively skilled labour, whose decision to emigrate from their country of origin had more to do with a rational calculation of the advantages of working in Spain than the need for survival. Such migrants tend to live in large cities and urban areas. And finally,
- d) Immigrants who lack economic opportunities in their own country and who are in general unskilled. They tend to be found in farming areas and in separate sectors in the underground economy, including services for the national-ethnic community to which they belong.

On the other hand, on the basis of their level of penetration in the labour market, they can be divided into:

- Established immigrants: they hold residence and work permits, are stably integrated, and enjoy social negotiating power similar to that of native citizens. Their occupational profile corresponds to that of technicians.
- Precarious immigrants: they hold permits, but for short duration and for a specified period. They do not have a stable income nor a consolidated integration. Their occupational profile corresponds to that of unskilled workers with unstable jobs.
- Undocumented immigrants; they combine periods of unemployment with jobs in the underground economy under abysmal living and working conditions. This group comprises the overwhelming majority of those who turn to social welfare and assistance institutions such as shelters and canteens in search of accommodation and emergency aid to meet their basic needs.

Finally, to close this section on the basic components of the foreign resident population in Spain, it is worth pointing out that these last two years we have witnessed an extensive diversification of immigration, which went from being a clearly male and adult process, to that of families, among which single-parent households, as well as an increasing

number of single women or even special risk groups such as the case of unaccompanied minors¹¹.

At the end of 2001, 45% of foreigners with residence permit were women and 55% men. Women are the majority among Europeans (52%), but not among non-EU nationals (40%). 58% of Latin Americans were women, compared with less than half in other countries of origin. The most feminised immigration comes from Brazil (72%), the Dominican Republic (71%), Colombia (62%), the Philippines (60%), Peru (60%) and Cuba (59%).

As regards minors, there are 115,386 foreigners (one tenth of the total foreign resident population) under sixteen, which entails an enormous challenge from integration into the education system, all the more so when taking into account the extremely low birth rates of the native citizens. The distribution of age by nationalities shows that the largest percentage of minors is found among Moroccans (19%), followed by the Dominicans (14%), the Chinese (13%), Poles (12%), Filipinos (10%) and Algerians (10%).

¹¹ Initiatives began to emerge to provide support to immigrant families to avoid – in particular residential - problems they encountered in Spain, that have a negative effect and tend to fragment them; such is the case of the Housing Programme for Families carried out by Caritas in Murcia after noting that there was a new type of migration formed by “families which decide to emigrate together because of their situation of extreme precariousness in their country of origin(CAMACHO MENE, 2000).

EL CASO DE MADRID

Según informaba recientemente el diario a ABC (5 noviembre 2002) actualmente uno de cada diez habitantes de la Comunidad de Madrid es inmigrante, o lo que es igual, suponen ya el 10,48 por ciento de la población, según consta en el padrón municipal, actualizado el pasado 1 de julio. El total de personas de nacionalidad no española empadronadas asciende a 323.706 (83.419 más que doce meses antes) y 157.677 más que en julio de 2000.

Esto significa que su número se ha multiplicado por dos en los últimos veinticuatro meses. El incremento más espectacular se produjo hace dos años, a un ritmo de casi 11.000 por mes. Entre las causas de este crecimiento de las cifras se señala el hecho de muchos de los que habían permanecido «en la sombra» hayan salido a la luz, sobre todo, debido al proceso de regularización extraordinaria del 2000.

De hecho, en el segundo semestre ese año se produjo un descenso en las inscripciones hasta llegar a las 5.300 mensuales, que sin embargo volvieron a aumentar en el primer semestre de 2001 hasta alcanzar las 7.057 de media mensual, que se convirtieron en 7.183 hasta diciembre, y volvieron a reducirse de nuevo hasta julio del presente año con 6.720, una vez que se el Gobierno central dio por finalizados todos los procesos de documentación.

Mientras que la población extranjera ha aumentado en el último año en un 34,72 por ciento, la nacional ha disminuido en un -0,84. Por países de origen, el grupo más numeroso es el de los ecuatorianos (108.545), seguidos de los naturales de Colombia (43.182); Marruecos (20.099); Perú (18.170); República Dominicana (13.495); Rumania (11.072); China (8.897); Argentina (7.509); Filipinas (6.085); Bolivia (5.615); Bulgaria (5.321); Cuba (5.259) y Francia (5.090). Estos trece países representan el 80% del total de extranjeros registrados en el padrón.

Entre estos inmigrantes, los que más han crecido en el último año han sido los argentinos (85,77 %), seguidos de bolivianos (70,72), búlgaros (70,60) y rumanos (60,46), cuyo ritmo de crecimiento duplica con creces el promedio del registrado en la región en este periodo. En ello ha influido la eliminación del requisito de visado a los nacionales de este país, que comenzó a aplicarse en este ejercicio.

Según el responsable del área de inmigrantes del sindicato UGT, Fernando Crespo, cada mes llegan a Madrid diez mil inmigrantes, de los cuales nueve de cada diez carece de papeles. Naturalmente, no todos se quedan en la región, sino que ésta es el obligado punto de referencia para entrar en nuestro país, para, posteriormente, irse a otras Comunidades, como Cataluña, Valencia, Andalucía... o incluso a otros países como Francia, o Italia. Las precarias condiciones de vida en sus países de origen y el crecimiento económico registrado en nuestro país, son las razones que hacen que este fenómeno sea imparable. A estas circunstancias hay que añadir la atracción que la economía sumergida supone para la inmigración, la causante, según los sindicatos, de que sigan llegando «ilegales», a pesar de la política de contingentes impulsada por el Gobierno central. El recurso a esta bolsa de irregulares, cuyas cifras rondan los 140.000-150.000, según UGT, y los 120.000-130.000. a juicio de CC.OO., permite a muchos empresarios sin escrúpulos o a los intermediarios que realizan contrataciones, a aprovecharse de esta mano de obra.

Según la UGT, de 120.000 «sin papeles» que entran cada año en la región madrileña, sólo entre 7.000 y 8.000 pueden acceder a un permiso de trabajo y residencia. Se trata de aquellos casos que son descendientes de españoles; acceden por reagrupación familiar, es decir, cuando uno de los cónyuges ya tiene documentación; o los que ya sean residentes y tengan hijos mayores de 16 años o esposo/a con ofertas de trabajo.

Entre otras consecuencias, el periódico termina afirmando que «esta situación ha generado un colapso en los albergues, destinados a los “sin techo” especialmente durante el invierno, cuando las bajas temperaturas propias de esta época del año, hacen que el cartel de «completo» sea algo habitual, debido a que la mayoría de las plazas se encuentran ocupadas por Extranjeros.

Recent developments in migration policy

The context of immigration has changed considerably in recent years due to a series of factors: the economic crises in armed conflicts in many emigrant countries; the legislative changes (Organic Law 4-2000 and Organic Law 8-2000) in administrative procedures and regulations; the harmonisation process of migratory policies and asylum in the European Union since Tampere (1999); the growth in people trafficking and entries of immigrants under illegal conditions through various means (in particular through the Straits of Gibraltar and the Canary Islands), the characteristics of the labour market in Spain; the marginalisation processes associated with social exclusion; the alarming connection between terrorism and immigration in national and international political circles since 11 September 2001, etc.

As in the case of immigrants, the characteristics and changes in the legal and institutional process, as well as the circumstances of the countries of origin of asylum seekers have changed during this period. Since 1999, with the Tampere Summit, a series of objectives were set to stem illegal immigration, while at the same time to reach a compromise on establishing a Common European Asylum System based on the full and inclusive application of the Geneva Convention, to ensure that no one is turned back (non-refoulement principle) to be persecuted in his or her own country. Nevertheless, the Spanish case is an example of growing restrictions when it comes to the granting of refugee status.

According to the data of the statistical report on asylum of the Ministry of the Interior (December 2001), in 2001 9,476 people applied for asylum, i.e. 20% more than in 2,000, with a major increase in applications in border posts (from 1,448 to 3,483). The main nationalities of the applicants were Colombia (2,500), Cuba (2,374), Nigeria (1,350) and Sierra Leone (617). Of these, 7,918 were accepted, i.e. 83.5%, which reduced the number of applications during 2001 while concurrently increasing pressure on illegal immigrants to obtain entry.

The harmonisation process launched in Tampere made great steps forward in the Seville Summit held in April 2002. The political orientation goes deeper into the three-leg plan, of which one is lame: that of the integration of immigrants. Whereas measures were adopted in Seville to manage and control the flows – one of the pillars of the agreement – as well as to link the topic of immigration to bilateral relations with the emigrant countries, there was no advance on the social immigration agenda (which also seems that it will be

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CUMBRE DE SEVILLA “El Consejo Europeo está decidido a agilizar la puesta en marcha de todos los aspectos del programa de Tampere (1999) para la creación de un área de libertad, seguridad y justicia en la Unión Europea. El Consejo Europeo señala aquí la necesidad de desarrollar una política europea común en asilo e inmigración, temas separados aunque estrechamente relacionados.” (traducción propia)

Medidas para combatir la inmigración ilegal:

- ❑ *Antes de fines 2002*, listado de países cuyos ciudadanos requieren visado o están exentos.
- ❑ *Antes de marzo 2003*, estudio viabilidad para sistema de identificación común de visado
- ❑ Aceleración de acuerdos de readmisión y, *a fines de 2002*, aprobación del Green Paper sobre expulsión de residentes ilegales.

Access to housing and accommodation by immigrants

The social situation of immigrants is summarised and expressed in housing. Their accommodation conditions are telling: their legal status, the continuity or precariousness of their employment, their social relations, in all, the greater or lesser stability attained for the immigration project.

Housing is one of the basic adhesive agents for the social integration of immigrants in the host societies. The difficulties of access of immigrants will depend on whether they are placed in contexts dominated by segregation, in others where assimilation occurs, or in those where integration takes place. Housing in and of itself does not guarantee the social integration of immigrants, but it is a factor *sine qua non* for achieving it.

The current forms of accommodation of immigrants, both in urban and rural areas, are conditioned by a series of factors:

- The general context of the real-estate market (which in itself entails serious difficulties for all underprivileged groups).
- The period of residence in Spain, as well as the personal circumstances, the country of origin, language proficiency, or whether one is alone or with a family.
- The migration policy, which has serious gaps in one of its basic pillars: the measures for integration and not only for the control of migration flows.
- The distribution model of immigrants in the host territories, characterised by randomness and depending on the proximity of the place of employment.
- The type of interaction with the host population, since there are no spaces to facilitate this interaction and intercultural communication.

Access to housing

It is important to point out at the outset that, in spite of the obvious existence of areas of segregation based on origin (prejudice), the social problem of housing in Spain does not affect only immigrants, but is structural and determines the living conditions of larger segments of the population. The report presented by the Ombudsman in the Cortes (the Spanish Parliament) in October 2001 stressed that “citizens are seeing with great alarm how the price of housing continues to rise, which makes it even more difficult to access decent housing” (185), and further on, it stresses the following:

“it is also worth calling attention to the lack of affordable housing on the rent market, which would be offset by public support, absolutely insufficient nowadays, which in turn would favour the most underprivileged sectors,

young people and the most needy immigrant population, to gain access to decent housing” (DEFENSOR del Pueblo 2001:186)

In effect, access to housing has turned into one of the most serious problems for groups in social difficulties¹², due to a series of actors, which include in particular:

- The rising prices of land (which actually accounts for 37% of the overall cost of the construction of a dwelling, compared with 26% in 1996)¹³
- The rising prices of housing, i.e. both old and new buildings. In 2001, prices for new buildings increased by 15% and in February 2002, it was estimated that they could rise by more than 10% for the year; for old housing units, estimates ran to 14% for the year, in accordance with Tasamadrid. This would represent a higher increase than the national average, itself extremely high: of 9% and 12% respectively.¹⁴ But by the spring of 2002, the average national price for new housing had already gone up by 15.13% and old housing had increased by 16.94% (between June 2001 and June 2002). These historic highs in the prices of housing are due to three combined factors: the very low interest rates for mortgage loans; speculative buying, as a result of integration in the euro zone, and thirdly, investment in real estate as an alternative to the bullish stock market.

Table 6.- Development of the cost of housing between June 01 and June 02

	€/m2 30 June 2002	Increase in last 12 months (%)
Total new housing units	1.285,3	15.13%
Provincial capitals	1.663,2	16.24%
Other areas	1.080,2	14.30%
Total old housing units	1.047,1	16.94%

¹² At times this has boiled over into demonstrations and protests such as that by 80 immigrants in March 2001 who camped in a square of Cornellá (Barcelona) to protest against the lack of accommodation and housing. Their protest was supported by civic organisations, and they received help from Caritas and the Red Cross during their protest (El Mundo, 13 March 2001).

¹³ “The government will promote a pact on the land to reduce the cost of housing”, ABC, Inmobiliario, 31 May 2002.

¹⁴ “Tasamadrid: new housing could go up by 10% in 2002”, ABC Inmobiliario, 8 February 2002.

Provincial capitals	1.367,4	18.37%
Other areas	871,8	15.70%

Source: TINSA quarterly report, Tasaciones Inmobiliarias SA, reproduced in ABC, 30 June 2002.

Table 7.- Cities in which the cost of housing has gone up the most

	€/m2 30 June 2002	Increase in last 12 months (%)
Toledo	1,017.5	33
Guadalajara	1,097.8	32
Castellon	770.4	31
Palma de Mallorca	1,275.3	27
Cadiz	1,020.3	25
Murcia	963.1	24
Badajoz	710.7	24
Seville	1,071.7	24
Malaga	919.8	24
Granada	1,130.6	23
Madrid	2,075.5	22
Alicante	734.1	22
Tarragona	1,050.4	21
Barcelona	1,818.5	20
Palencia	1,064.0	20

Source: TINSA quarterly report, Tasaciones Inmobiliarias SA, reproduced in ABC, 30 June 2002.

The shortage of rent housing. Spain is the EU country with the least rent housing, i.e. 13.6% of the total offer, compared with 36% in Europe as a whole. According to a recent study {TRILLA}, only 2% corresponds to social rent housing. In Madrid alone, 180,000 flats are empty, without coming up on the market. Of the total of 2,103,912 existing housing units in the Community of Madrid, 282,961 are unoccupied¹⁵. This has produced a high increase in rents and a hardening of the conditions for renting.

¹⁵ "More than 180,000 flats in the capital are kept empty," ABC, Madrid, 27 May 2002. For example, 20,000 people have applied to rent one of the 264 public rent flats of the first municipal promotion.

This increase in the demand has been in part generated by immigrants, whose numbers in Spain have increased enormously in recent years, from 710,647 persons with legal residence in 1998 to 1,109,060 in 2001. To the high cost of rents are added the discriminatory practices of landlords, who used a range of arguments in this respect, from suspicions and open rejection (symbolised by the classic phrases “sorry, it has already been rented,” or “we do not want foreigners here” respectively), to fear that their property will be damaged if rented to foreigners. On the other hand, the precarious economic and employment situation of many immigrants, particularly recent arrivals and undocumented immigrants, makes it virtually impossible for them to meet the requirements for signing a contract, which range from having a contract of fixed employment to providing a back guarantee for 6 to 12 months’ rent¹⁶.

The main associations of immigrants are calling for public assistance and housing programmes for foreigners, in order to prevent or reverse homelessness, overcrowding (the warm bed system or rest by turns) and the abuses to which many immigrants are subjected. Reports in the press relate, for instance, how a mattress is offered in a shared flat for the amount of €240 per month¹⁷. They also denounce the existence of intermediaries known as “advert exchanges” that offer to do the impossible for a sum of money, and swindle gullible takers¹⁸. For this reason, many foreign women prefer to work as live-in domestic help, even if the salary is very low and the working conditions very demanding, as in this way they avoid the problem of accommodation and can save a part of their income.

Consequently, the social situation of immigrants is summarised and expressed in housing. Their accommodation conditions are telling: their legal status, the continuity or precariousness of their employment, their social relations, in all, the greater or lesser stability attained for their migration project.¹⁹ See the table below

Table 8.- Specific factors of migrant condition that affect access to housing

Factors	Characteristics
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¹⁶ A journalist posing as an immigrant trying to rent housing reports this situation in graphic terms: “Although the topic of renting in Spain’s capital contains crazy aspects for its own local people, it is a fact that when someone is not from the EU, the undertaking reaches difficulties bordering on social paranoia”. Daniel Centeno, “Vía crucis inmobiliario del inmigrante”, ABC, ABC Sunday Supplement, Society, 26 May 2002.

¹⁷ “40,000 pesetas for a mattress,” El País, Spain, 9 April 2002.

¹⁸ “Certain advert exchanges complicate further the already difficult rent housing market.” ABC, ABC Sunday Supplement, Society, Sociedad, 26 May 2002.

¹⁹ An analysis of the situation of immigrants who, in the beginning of the 1990s, turned up at the offices of Caritas in Zaragoza, Navarrete and Puyal (1996) would highlight the fact that whereas for us housing is considered an indispensable basic necessity, for recently arrived immigrants it “occupies a secondary priority,” because “what is important for them is employment and their legal situation.” Consequently, whereas only 3% identified housing, according to a study conducted by social workers housing problems ranked second, and consequently, 33% of those immigrants were homeless or accommodated in shelters.

Legal and administrative	Insecurity, periods or threats of irregularity. Lack of protection and defence foster abuse
Economic and employment-related	Deterioration of employment situation, precariousness, transience, alternation with unemployment, work in underground economy without contract
Ethnicity	Discrimination on ethnic grounds
Family life	“Adequate accommodation” and “sufficient income” as mandatory requirements for applying for family reunion
Race	Discrimination on the basis of race

Source: our own table, taking into account the article by Angela Sánchez Hernández, “Estado de bienestar, inmigración y vivienda” in Mariano Aguirre and Claudia Clavijo (editors) *Políticas sociales y estado de bienestar en España: Las Migraciones*. Madrid, FUHEM, 2002.

Immigrants who are homeless in their country of origin

One of the situations that it is interesting to refer to is that of immigrants and asylum seekers who were homeless in their country of origin or became so on their migratory route. Humanitarian crises such as wars and conflicts, hurricanes, floods and earthquakes, periodically leave thousands of people homeless. The conflict that is devastating Colombia, which has intensified in the last decade, has expelled more than 2 million displaced persons from their homes, protected in part by the UNHCR and NGOs, or left totally without protection. Many of these people affected by the loss of their home have escaped to Spain, while others are roaming through Colombian territory or taking refuge in the United States and neighbouring countries. Hurricane Mitch in 1998 killed 10,000 people and left a million homeless. Part of those afflicted emigrated to Europe. Among Africans, as it is a continent afflicted by many natural and man-made problems, camps of internal displaced people and refugees, and the exodus to various countries have in the meantime become the norm. Many African people that now reach the Spanish coasts in small boats may stem from such extreme experiences of homelessness.²⁰ Finally, among Maghrebian minors who struggle to survive before they manage to cross clandestinely the Straits of Gibraltar have had experiences of homelessness, that can condition a subsequent career in petty crime for survival, prostitution and drug addiction.

Documented/undocumented immigrants (legal status)

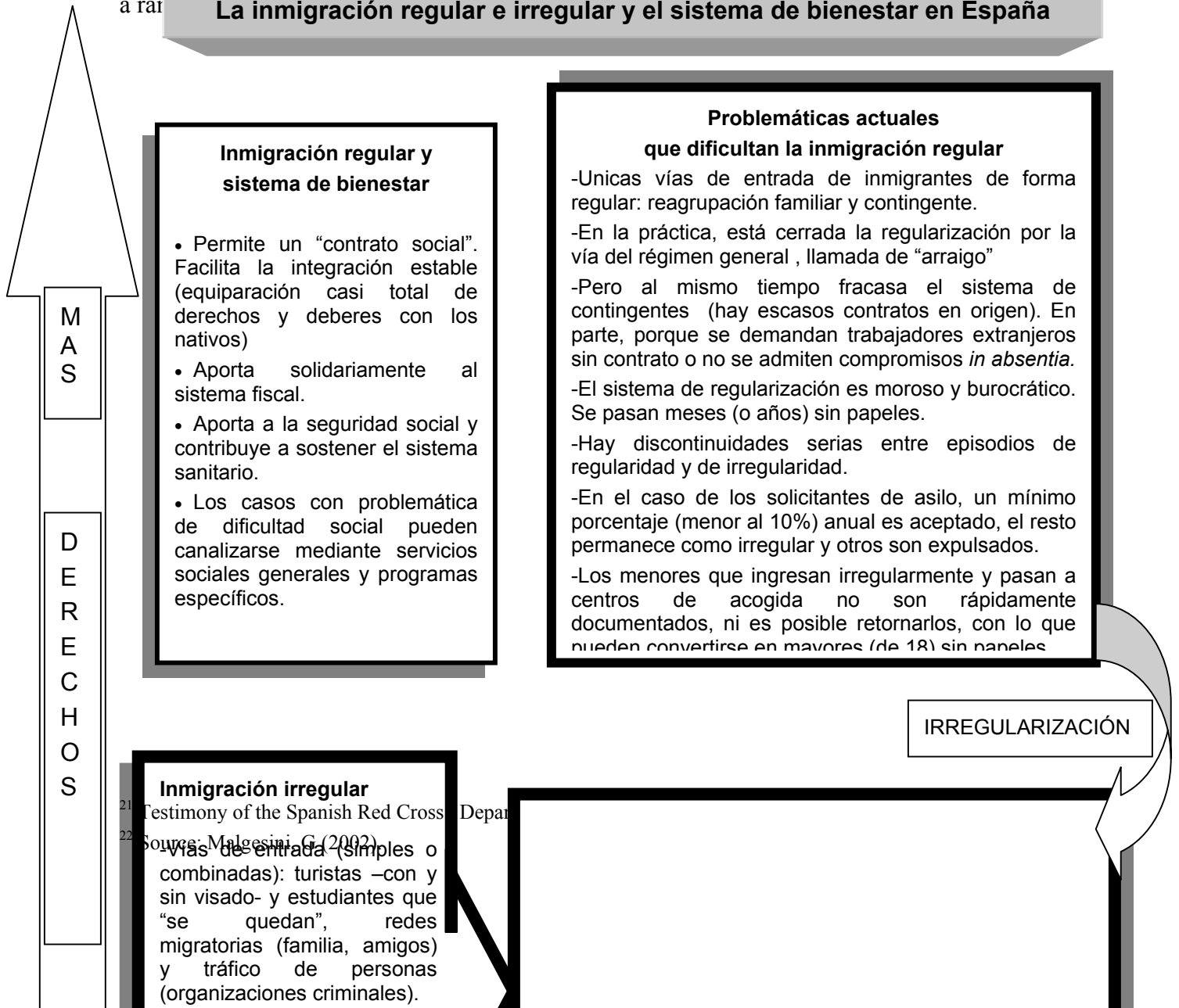
²⁰ There are no studies to gauge the magnitude of prior homelessness among migrants who come to Spain.

The experience of organisations dealing with the most vulnerable immigrants on a daily basis has identified an ever different profile of persons, of both sexes and all ages, although there are more and more minors and people of pensionable age and the elderly are also beginning to appear.²¹ The geographic origin is expanding to Latin America and Eastern Europe, with various educational profiles. There is not always a social support network. The greatest need perceived by these people is that of employment, since, in most cases, they run up debts in the country of origin or have dependents in Spain or in the country whence they emigrated. Collective emigration is growing by complete family groups among which single-parent families with underaged children stand out.

They are stigmatised by the mass media. The specific impact in each region is determined by demographic variables, social action policies, the perceived need of the community of immigrants, etc.

Illegality is one of the major underlying conditions at present for gaining access to the welfare system. Illegal residence seriously complicates or impedes integration through a rat

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Homeless immigrants in rural areas

In rural areas, accommodation spread out or in sites nearby the work areas far from the urban centres enhances the dependence on employers and makes social integration difficult while promoting isolation and segregation (LEAL 1996) :136). The situation under which many of these immigrants live, in spaces assigned by those who let them, is either free or in exchange for rent paid or deducted from the salary, simply increases the subjugation of the workers and their exclusion from contact with the native population; in a study conducted by A. Izquierdo (IZQUIERDO ESCRIBANO 1996) among Moroccans in Murcia, only 1% shared a flat with Spaniards, most were far in the field, in accommodations assigned by the owner (58%).

According to the hypothesis of A. Izquierdo (1996), stability in housing must follow from continuity in and stability of employment, which is why in rural areas, subject to high seasonal fluctuations of employment, there is bound to be a high turnover in line with the cycle of the harvests, which inevitably leads to a certain nomadic pattern among a part of at least foreign workers, and in no way promotes social integration, but tends to exacerbate a feeling of alienation and of being separated from one's roots. In his study on Moroccans in the Murcia region, he estimated a "loose group" of between 25% and 30% which has in the last year resided in three or more dwellings, including 5% who lack any housing whatsoever.

In any event, the housing desires of immigrants will depend on whether they want to save money in order to return to their country, or to settle in Spain, whether they want to save in order to build a home in their country of origin or to bring their family here. At present, it is obvious that a good part of the first waves of immigrants has opted for family reunion and settlement in Spain, so that return home acquires more of a mythical dimension than a real alternative.

THE CASE OF LA RIOJA

Between 1995 and 1999, the number of immigrants living in La Rioja has tripled, continuing in much faster pace in subsequent years. According to the Government Office, the foreign resident population of this autonomous community in the beginning of November 2000 amounted to 5,446 people, representing 2% of the total population, i.e. a similar rate as the rest of Spain. However, information obtained in July when the register was updated indicated 7,399 people, i.e. 3.5% of the population. According to the same

municipal source, there were 9,324 people at the end of 2000²³. The number of foreign residents may at present exceed 10,000.

It is worth pointing out that these data refer to documented immigrants, leaving open the question as to the number of those living in the area illegally. During the legalisation process in 2000, political parties and associations mentioned more than 1,500 who were not able to meet the requirements to obtain the much coveted “papers,” in general because they did not have sufficient documentation or because they had arrived in the country after 1 June 1999.²⁴ It is important to take into account the group of undocumented immigrants, because, as we were able to observe in the field work for the study we carried out in this region, it is one of the social profiles that has become more prominent among the homeless.

54% of the foreigners were in the Municipality of Logroño (i.e. 5,035 persons), mainly from Morocco, Colombia and Pakistan. This figure is important for analysing certain exclusion processes that have occurred in areas like housing. At the same time, high percentages of foreigners among the total population of small municipalities like Padrejon and Autol in La Rioja Baja were noted, where new inhabitants continued to arrive during those months in 2001. This fact has generated social integration difficulties. These two villages are home to Rumanians, Moroccans, Colombians and Georgians.

Data of social services and associations show that people of foreign extraction have increasingly occupied spaces intended for the homeless in the provincial capital, Logroño, and some other older segments of the population, while in rural regions, they are occupied by new day labourers that have to survive under highly precarious housing conditions.

This means that in La Rioja, two situations are combined that seem sufficiently generalised in Spain with respect to homelessness:

- a) The rapid and significant increase in immigrants, who are concentrated in the larger cities, saturating the (scarce) social accommodation services (shelters) intended for the homeless and who require housing in the lowest cost segment, is beginning to become scarce because of market forces and discrimination mechanisms on the part of landlords and neighbours (without practically any action on the part of the authorities).
- b) The impact produced by the rapid and significant increase of immigrants in villages and rural areas, with a scarce native population, a very reduced rent housing offer, and insufficient means of accommodation by rural employers (who are only

²³ GOVERNMENT OF LA RIOJA, *La population inmigrante en La Rioja. Estudio sobre la population inmigrante en La Rioja. Análisis y líneas estratégicas de actuación. Colección Servicios Sociales. Serie Estudios Nº 3. Logroño, 2001.*

²⁴ LA RIOJA, 31 July 2000.

required to provide accommodation to workers under legal contract, not to all you de facto work for them).²⁵

Immigrants and accommodation in urban areas

Conversely, in urban areas, the problems of residential precariousness, place excluded immigrant groups before the dilemma of opting between the suburban shanty town and/or living in rundown neighbourhoods in central areas of large cities, which has been called the vertical shanty town. The circumstances that concur in this residential exclusion process are as follows:

- Resistance on the part of landlords to let their housing units to immigrants/
- Difficulties of living together given unknown customers and habits.
- Overcrowding, which can be a strategy for reducing accommodation costs, is promoted in part by the landlords themselves which, on occasion, ask to be paid per person accommodated, enabling them to extract inordinately high rents for old dwellings which are often in very bad condition. Many immigrant workers, relying initially on this strategy, can subsequently leave these transitional dwellings and pay for a new flat of superior quality (MARTÍNEZ VEIGA, 1996:92)
- In the case of domestic workers accommodated in the home that employs them, there is certainly spatial segregation, although measures aimed at reflecting the social and relational distance that separates the ones from the others are obvious. In any event, there is extensive isolation among these immigrant workers, which perhaps tends to be off set by “compensatory crowding phenomena” of going to meetings, outdoors or otherwise, where members of a specific group or country congregate (MARTÍNEZ VEIGA 1996):105). These have also been called instantaneous ghettos, places to meet, to exchange and transmit information, national food and products, to play games and amusement with a heavy ethnic content and finally, spaces intended to bolster the migratory network, which because of the high visibility tend to arouse suspicion, if not downright rejection and xenophobic attitudes on the part of the local population who feel that “their” parks and gardens are “invaded” by crowds of foreigners who then turn these public spaces, albeit temporarily, into “their” national and ethnic territory.

HOMELESS IMMIGRANTS

It is a known fact among all those who have worked with homeless people, that in recent years, the network has been flooded by a large number of people from other

²⁵ This gives rise to anomalous situations where a strange symbiosis is produced between the emergency accommodation provided by social shelters and a system of worker exploitation that takes advantage of this situation not to meet its legal obligations. Fortunately, there are reactions to these aberrant situations, such as that of a Caritas shelter in Aragon which explicitly states that “during the grape harvest season (September October), we close the premises, to ensure that farmers provide accommodation to temporary workers during the time that they employ them.”

countries, who, lacking economic resources and relations of support, have found a temporary solution to survive and go forward in our country by availing themselves of the free services offered by canteens and shelters. This is a situation that is changing very rapidly and frequently the nationalities of origin are succeeded very rapidly and apparently inexplicably from the vantage of professionals caring for the homeless, whereby an enormous contingent of people from Cabo Verde are succeeded in a few months by Poles, Equadorians, Ukrainians, etc.

Utilisation of the services

The scarce development of the Spanish social welfare system in relation to such specific groups as women, minors and the homeless makes it difficult for foreigners with such characteristics to integrate in society. Consequently, social welfare networks for women, minors and homeless persons who as such are in a precarious position, have been overwhelmed by this new, massive immigration phenomenon. Furthermore, the complexity in assigning responsibilities on immigration at both the governmental and territorial level can lead to saturation and juxtaposition of actions, all the way up to complete inertia. As regards the quality of the social services, those intended for foreign women and minors are not prepared to meet the needs of these groups, as they do not contain ethnic and cultural elements; the users do not take part in the design of the intervention projects; the social and inter-cultural mediation services are scarcely extended, and fundamentally, the gender approach is not interiorised, nor is the principle of higher interest of minors always interpreted consistently (for instance, no account is taken of the fact that there is a migration project in which these minors take part, and that in most cases, the higher interest of the child is not limited to family reintegration in the country of origin).

In cases of an accommodation crisis, there are no public mechanisms to assess the needs of women who are in a vulnerable situation, as only a minimal part of this problem is covered by not-for-profit organisations that provide what in most cases are provisional solutions. In the case of minors, their internment in reception centres until they are repatriated or issued residence documents if the family of origin cannot be located, is generally combined with periods of living in the street. In any event, there are no emancipation projects that would cover the path from these centres until these become of age and live independently: upon turning 18, when they come of age, most of these young people leave the public protection system with an uncertain fate.

Use of shelters and canteens

In a survey carried out a couple of years ago by Caritas among the network of centres caring for the homeless (Cabrera (2000), after discussing the presence of homeless immigrants and foreigners we asked: “which are the most frequent nationalities of origin at this time?” The table below contains the replies as given by the respondents; we have

limited ourselves to grouping the different countries of origin mentioned according to major geographic areas. The greater frequency of appearance of each of these nationalities gives a sufficiently close idea of their importance in the overall network geared to homeless persons.

Table 8- Nationality of non-Spanish homeless persons accommodated in the centres

Nationality	%	N	Nationality	%	N
Morocco	41.8	160	Africa	9.7	37
Algeria	20.4	78	Sub-Saharan Africa	3.1	12
Maghreb countries	4.2	16	Senegal	2.9	11
North Africans	2.1	8	Nigeria	2.1	8
Sahara	1.3	5	Cameroon	1.3	5
Arabs. Arab world	0.8	3	Sierra Leona	1.3	5
Egypt	0.3	1	Central Africa	1.0	4
North Africa	70.8	271	Liberia	1.0	4
Portugal	35.5	136	Republic of the Congo	0.8	3
Germany	7.6	29	Gambia	0.5	2
France	6.0	23	Angola	0.5	2
Italia	3.7	14	Guinea	0.5	2
Europe	2.1	8	Mali	0.3	1
England	1.8	7	Ghana	0.3	1
European Union	1.6	6	“Blacks”	0.3	1
Europe Central	1.6	6	Africa	25.6	98
Belgium	0.5	2	South/Latin America	9.1	35
Norway	0.3	1	Ecuador	4.2	16
Austria	0.3	1	Peru	1.8	7
Sweden	0.3	1	Cuba	1.3	5
Western Europe	61.1	234	Colombia	1.3	5
Eastern Europe	13.1	50	America Central	1.0	4
Rumania	8.6	33	Brazil	1.0	4
Poland	4.4	17	Argentina	0.8	3
Ex-Yugoslavia	1.8	7	Mexico	0.3	1

Czech Republic	1.8	7	Dominican Republic	0.3	1
Bulgaria	1.8	7	Venezuela	0.3	1
Ukraine	1.3	5	Latin America	21.4	82
Ex-USSR	1.0	4	Asia	0.5	2
Russia	1.0	4	South-East Asia	0.3	1
Moldavia	0.8	3	China	0.3	1
Non-EU Europe	0.5	2	Asia	1.0	4
Balkans	0.5	2	Oceania	0.3	1
Armenia	0.5	2	Oceania	0.3	1
Bosnia	0.3	1	Does not know	0.5	2
Albania	0.3	1	Did not reply	33.7	129
Eastern Europe	37.3	143	Total	252.2	383

The data in the foregoing table show that there was an obvious predominance of people from Africa, i.e. from Maghreb (70.8%), or Sub-Saharan Africa (25,6%). The former are by far the more numerous, in large measure due to the presence of Moroccans and Algerians. These two nationalities, together with the Portuguese, who occupy second place among countries, are the three nationalities on the minds of the respondents: Moroccans (mentioned by 41.8% of all respondents), Portuguese (33.5%) and Algerians (20.4%).

Now then, taking into account that many people tend to limit themselves to indicate a broader geographic or cultural area, rather than mention a nationality (South America, Eastern Europe, etc.), it would perhaps be interesting to consider the origin of homeless foreigners from that point of view. In this regard, the results are surprising in various ways:

In general, such people come from geographically nearby regions and/or countries that our poorer than ours, which highlights the fact that we are dealing with an economic emigration carried out under precarious conditions, with very few means, which obliges many of these people to end up using shelters as a means of finding accommodation.

At the same time, it is worth citing the presence of citizens from the European Union, which in and of itself constitutes the second region of origin. Although it is true that these, are in large measure, Portuguese nationals, on which the previous arguments could be applied, yet other homeless persons from richer countries are making their appearances, people who moved south with ease after the elimination of internal borders, who are attracted to our country in particular by the warm climate (from Germany, France, England, Belgium). On a European scale, there is a reproduction, in part, of what usually

occurs in the “sunny states” (California, Florida) in the United States, although in our case, language barriers tend to put a break to this geographic mobility.²⁶

Together with Africans, which have recently become regulars in the queues of canteens and the doors of shelters, the fall of the wall has unleashed a real diaspora of Eastern Europeans to Western Europe, so they at present constitute the fourth largest region of origin, among them chiefly Rumanians and Poles. They frequently arrive in Spain after having tried their luck in other EU countries, when they are not dispatched to our country by real organised mafias for the export of manual labour.

The presence of black immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa, though important, is not as sizeable as often mentioned. Their numbers have probably been exaggerated because of their greater visibility. In any event, this same visibility has frequently given vent to outbreaks of xenophobia and racism among the very users of the services, so that their presence in reception centres is not easily accepted by traditional clients.

Conversely, Latin Americans were not particularly abundant in the network for homeless people, taking into account that their presence in our country has started to become numerically significant. The possibilities for cultural and occupational integration have probably been much better, so that their presence in this social welfare network is lower than expected.

Now then, as these data were available a couple of years ago, it is certain that the landscape has changed very rapidly, although the data we now have are very fragmentary. To offer some data on the current situation, albeit of a partial nature, we find that if we stick to the previous data of the two major capitals (Madrid and Barcelona), it is easy to compare the enormous growth in the number of foreign people who are served by social services and emergency centres (shelters and canteens).

The City Council of Madrid has 25 centres of General Social Services, which are said to provide care for immigrants under normalisation criteria, with the same protocols for all the people who are served by said centres. In the course of 2001, the immigrant population represented 25% of the total population served by these initial assistance organisations; a total of 8,174 foreigners, which entails an increase of nearly 14% from the previous years (6,4756 people), among whom foreigners represented only 18% of the total population served. In these cases, the great majority of the people came from Latin American countries (82.9%), and in a good part of the cases they were cared for by social programmes intended to promote social integration, leisure and free time activities, as well

²⁶ According to Eurostat (2002) only 29% of EU citizens would be prepared to live in a country where a language other than their own is spoken (<http://www.eurostat.com>).

as help with school and food for minors. Assistance to rent housing or temporary accommodation, though in highest demand, is not easy to obtain.

In cases of serious precariousness, the network of shelters for the homeless is used, and thus, for instance, the St Isidor Municipal Shelter (known by the Spanish acronym (CASI), which is the major emergency accommodation centre of the Municipality of Madrid, with 269 places (186 for men and 83 for women), served 2,031 different people during 2000, of whom 934 (or 46.2%) were foreigners.

The Mobile Unit for Social Emergencies which is geared to detecting and caring for homeless or disoriented people in the street, served 804 people in 2000, of whom 180 (or 22.4%) were foreigners (49 from the EU, and 115 from outside the EU).

The lowest level of care offered by Madrid consists of minimum emergency measures deployed in winter months, known as the “municipal campaign against the cold,” for which a building with beds is used in the Casa de Campo, and a metro station is kept open where indigent people can spend the coldest winter nights with a roof over their head. No information on the percentage of foreigners is available from this latter service, as practically no data are recorded of those who use it -- during the 95 days for which it was open last year, 8,224 people stayed (86.6 per day on average); but we do have data on the percentage of foreigners who used the building of the Casa de Campo: of a total of 1091 people served, 610 (or 56%) were foreigners, the overwhelming majority of whom were from outside the EU (537, compared with 73 EU nationals). In July 2001, a specific centre to provide temporary accommodation went into operation, under the auspices of the municipal welfare services, although it is managed by the Red Cross, with a capacity for 70 people, and a maximum stay period of three months. After a year of operating virtually at full occupancy (100%), it had served 481 adult immigrants without minors who had previously been sleeping in the streets. Of these 481 literally homeless immigrants, 55% came from Eastern Europe (Bulgaria, Ukraine, Rumania), and 25 % from Latin America (Colombia, Ecuador, Peru). In this respect, the extreme residential precariousness hit harder those who are lacking in elements that facilitate their integration, such as language, or historical and cultural affinities with the host population, which could explain why Eastern Europeans are over-represented, as well as the lesser presence of Latin Americans, although the latter are by far the most populous colony in Madrid.

As regards private shelters, the report of the San Juan de Dios shelter shows 47% of those served were foreigners, more than half of whom from Eastern Europe. As to social canteens, we ran across equally striking data. For instance, the 2000 report of the “Luz Cazanova” day centre/social canteen indicates that 81.8% of the users were foreign (1103 of a total of 1346 people), 43% of whom from South America, and 38% from Eastern Europe. The data from an emergency that serves as a shelter for abused women indicate that 64% of the women were foreign, all accompanied by children; most were from Latin America, followed by women from Maghreb.

In the other large metropolitan area, Barcelona, we found a trend pretty similar to that of Madrid. In 2000, the foreign population represented a little more than 13% of the population served by general social services (see Table below).

Table 9.- Development of social care for immigrants in Centres of Social Services

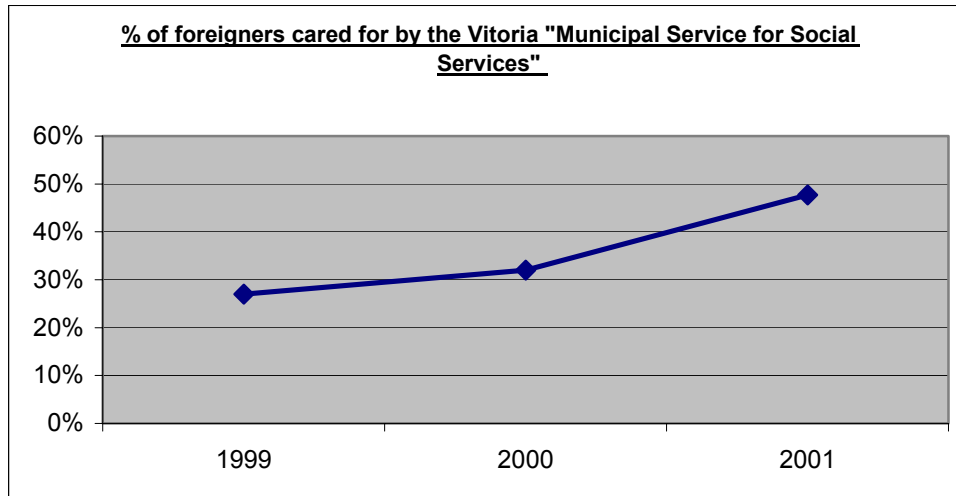
	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Number of users	22,535	27,334	29,976	32,523	30,589
Number of immigrants	1,580	1,877	3,306	3,761	4,034
% of all users	7.0%	6.9%	11.0%	11.6%	13.2%

Now then, if we go beyond the General Social Services, and consider the emergency services, we find that of a total of 17,342 users of social canteens last November in Barcelona, 7,156, or 41%, were foreign. This percentage was as high as 73% in a given canteen.

As regards the emergency accommodation provided to homeless people by the Municipality of Barcelona, we find that of a total of 4,261 stays, 2,285 (or 54%) were by foreigners. This percentage is as high as 80% when considering the case of families that are accommodated in concerted guesthouses.

Finally, the percentage of foreigners who made use of the municipal shower and clothing services was 63% (689 out of a total of 1099 people who made use of this service), something that indicates, not only the lack of accommodation, but also the precarious accommodation of many immigrants who live under substandard conditions, without running water, etc.

In other cities, such as Vitoria, for instance, the Municipal Service of Social emergencies, which caters to situations of urgent social need throughout the entire Historical Territory of Alava, in addition to tending to certain groups of socially excluded persons such as “transients,” homeless, etc., served 2,999 people in 2001, 94% of whom were qualified as “transient” non-residents of the municipalities, and 47.7% of whom were foreigners; in addition to the constant increase in numbers, there is also the appearance of minors from Maghreb without family. The development in the last three years has been as follows:



All this has given rise to the inauguration of the Municipal Centre (“Norabide”) to care for foreign persons in a difficult social situation, by providing social and legal assistance, a placement service for employment, housing, etc., psychological counselling and workshops on personal development, literacy and assistance with school work. Some of these activities are carried out under cooperation agreements with associations and NGOs. According to the service report, the main demands have to do with “the search for a job, regularising one’s documents, the search for housing, applying for social welfare, and training. To try to meet the demand for accommodation, a specific accommodation programme has been developed in agreement with the association Afro-American Residents that has a certain ward house, as well as the municipal “shelter” with 67 places; the same report shows an increase in single-parent families, essentially children with minors, and that in view of “the ‘untenable’ housing situation in Vitoria” and the “accrued obstacles inherent in the condition of being a foreigner,” it becomes impossible “for many resident families to obtain the means for subsistence.”

The Vitoria-Gasteiz municipal shelter served 3,219 people in 2001, most of whom for short stays, as only 346 of them stayed longer than 5 days, and of those 131 more than a month. The people served included 41 families, 88% of foreign origin.

The Vitoria Social Integration Service is one of the few that include a programme for providing accommodation to detainees, intended above all to receive detainees on parole, as “an initial preparation for life in liberty;” in 2001, this service accommodated 142 people, 68% of whom were foreign.

Furthermore, in the Basque region, the Bilbao municipal centre, a modern building with a capacity for 61 persons, that has produced an excellent and detailed report and that, in many respects, has broken off from the traditional way municipal shelters function, because it runs programmes of different scope and works by networking with other social welfare institutions, is nonetheless overwhelmed, as many others, because of the sudden sizeable influx of homeless foreigners. For instance, in 2000, it provided emergency

accommodation for 2,768 people, 51% of whom (1,403) were foreign. This means an 11% increase from the previous year, when the 950 foreigners accommodated in 2000 represented 40% of all those served. Recently, an ultra-rapid increase has taken place that is saturating the services and forcing officials to adjust the action programmes. Whereas the homeless population of persons with Spanish nationality has remained stable and has even shown a slight downward trend (1,411 in 200 and 1,365 in 2001), the number of foreigners has gone up by 48% from one year to the next (1403 from 950).

Table 10. - Place of origin of foreigners accommodated in the Bilbao municipal shelter (%)

	2000	2001
Africa	39	51
Maghreb	24	39
Sub-Saharan	15	13
Europe	37	31
Eastern European countries	12	14
Central Europe	12	8
Portugal	12	9
America	19	16
Other	5	2
TOTAL	100 %	100 %
(N)	(2,361)	(2,768)

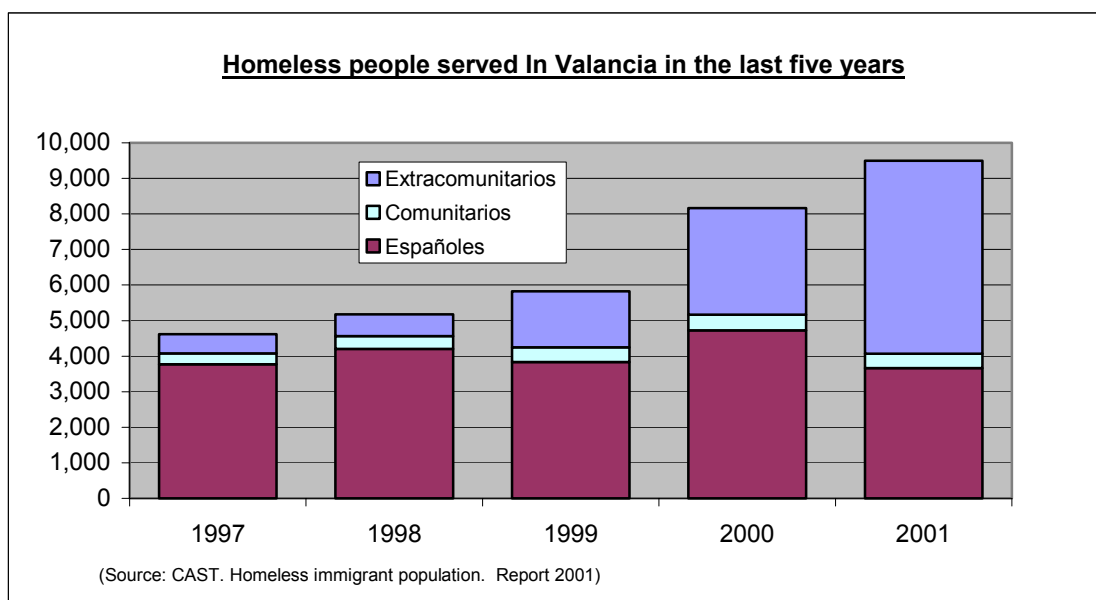
Source: Reports of the Bilbao Municipal Shelter.

It is probably Valencia²⁷, however, that offers the best possibility to show the eruption of immigrants in organisations caring for the homeless that has occurred in recent years. Valencia has the advantage that some time ago, all the services that operate in the city were coordinated in a very effective manner. In 1995 was started the Centre for the Homeless (known by the Spanish acronym CAST) under the auspices of the municipal council, which functions as a single point where people in a situation of extreme exclusion can access the various public and/or private facilities: shelter, canteens, integration centres, etc. The centralisation of CAST facilitates the flow of information and data collected daily,

²⁷ Valencia is the third largest city in the country, with 740,000 inhabitants.

individual intervention projects are developed, the work is coordinated with other centres, street programmes are developed, and there is even joint work with the policy in which social welfare professionals specialising in caring for the homeless in an open environment are involved. All this makes it possible to obtain very reliable data on the number of homeless persons served in Valencia.

Precisely in Valencia, owing to the “undeniable growth of the immigrant population,” we rely on a recent study by CAST, to try and “not only to find out the number and origin of these people, but especially to provide appropriate psycho-social counselling to meet their needs.” The data provided by the report are really spectacular (see the graph below). Whereas in 1997, non-EU foreigners amounted to scarcely 5% of the 4,613 homeless persons in all accommodated by CAT during that year, five years later, we find that they represented 57% of the 9,493 homeless persons accommodated.



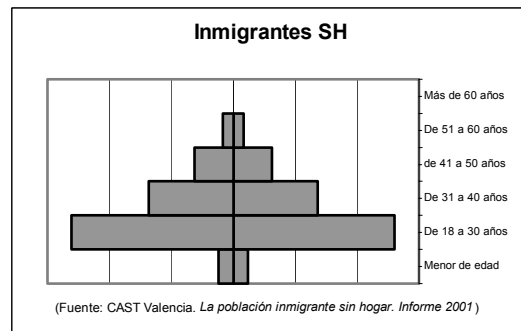
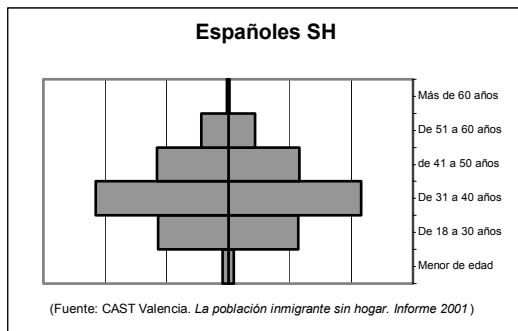
Non-EU

EU

Spanish

Not only has the increase in their numbers been spectacular, with the consequent overwhelming of the network, but also the problems posed by their socio-demographic characteristics are very different from the population traditionally cared for. These foreign persons are younger, and include a larger number of women who in many cases are moreover accompanied by underaged children; as a result, the entire homeless population is getting younger and more feminised. Whereas women represent 16% of the native homeless population, among accommodated immigrants this figure is 22%.

Similarly, the age structure of the native homeless population is very different from that of immigrants, as can be seen from the pyramids given below:



Homeless Spanish people

More than 60
 51 to 60
 41 to 50
 31 to 40
 18 – 30
 Minors

Homeless immigrants

More than 60
 51 to 60
 41 to 50
 31 to 40
 18 to 30
 Minors

Source: Valencia CAST. The Immigrant Population and Homelessness. Report. 2001.

As a result of this unequal demographic composition, the served homeless population has got considerably younger. As compiled in the report, 78% of immigrants served at the Valence Centre for the Homeless, are under 40, “so there is a risk that young immigrants will fall into the cycle of marginalisation.” Although it is true that the use made of the accommodation network has, in principle, an opportunistic vein and with due that this new phenomenon is still very brief as “87% of the immigrant population served is homeless for less then a year,” thereby clearly veering from the traditional profile of the homeless.

More recent data: the survey of Centres for the Homeless on caring for immigrants and foreigners.

As there is no official source of data on care for the homeless in Spain, research on this topic requires new approximations in the field each time the information available is to be updated. Inasmuch as the data that we were able to obtain were partial and fragmentary – referring to the three large cities in the country, rather than providing any other local illustration – we deemed it necessary to conduct an ad hoc attempt to collect data geared to

the specific purposes of this report. So that, in view of the scarce means available, which properly speaking, do not allow for a primary research, and relying on personal and institutional resources within our reach, we decided to send a questionnaire by post to the 630 or so centres and services that look after the homeless. The response, although not excessively high, will enable us to say something more about the current degree of involvement of the network intended to care for homeless people in catering to the basic needs of foreigners and immigrants.

We received 148 questionnaires from throughout Spain, from which we were in the end able to include 139 valid replies in our analysis. We can surmise that, as this was a questionnaire explicitly geared to gather information on “migrations and homelessness,” many of the possible respondents did not feel concerned, either because they did not look after immigrants in their centre, or because they considered that it pertained to different social situations. We think that the situational focus that emerges from the definition proposed by Faentsa, which would make it possible to report on these situation on a basis of the same situation of lacking a place to stay, has still not been generalised in our country. Nevertheless, in spite of all these limitations, we think that the sample is sufficiently large to enable us to detect the main lines of development of the problem in our country.

The sample of entities that replied consists largely of Caritas centres, religious and private. Few public centres replied. It is also true that data gathered previously indicate that the situation is more or less the same in the municipal centres of the large cities, and that according to the data of previous research study, the Administration alone holds exclusive or mixed ownership of 19% of all the centres that exist in the country, whereby in our sample, the percentage is reduced to 8%, a little less than half. It is also true that in many places, the separation between “accommodation centres for immigrants” and “centres for the homeless” is defined much more sharply between those that fall under the Administration, and small private and religious emergency centres that cater to the basic needs of those who go to them, whether they are foreigners or not.

Table 11.- Entities that replied

	Ownership	Management
Caritas	49%	50%
Religious	22%	26%
Private	21%	21%
Public	6%	2%
Mixed	2%	1%
Total	100%	100%
(N)	(139)	(139)

67% of the centres that replied (3) provide accommodation service, with an average of 26.4 places per centre²⁸. In all, the centres that replied to our questionnaire have 2,492 accommodation places, representing 25% of all emergency accommodation places estimated to exist (see Cabrera 2000:120). On this basis, which limited but more ample than is usually the case, we are going to try to summarise the situation of emergency social care for immigrants.

First, the replies gathered showed that the network is quite saturated. Whereas the average rate of occupation in the summer months is around 80%, during the winter months it is 95% at national level, which should not conceal the fact that although there may still be places available in small, rural shelters, large cities have to improvise sites where people can lie down and sleep.

In an initial characterisation, a little more than half of the sample consists largely of centres that provide a complete residence service with accommodation and food (51%); 17% are only shelter services, 14% are canteens, and finally, nearly a fifth of the sample consists of day centres, social and employment guidance services etc., where neither temporary accommodations nor food are offered.



Among the centres that replied, the places occupied by young people aged 16 to 24, account for 14% of those served, with a similar proportion of women (15%). The families, or family groups take up 4% of the accommodations offered by these centres, which means in particular that something more than 2% of the places are occupied by minors under 16.

²⁸ In our previous study (see Cabrera, 2000:120) 60% of the centres provided accommodation, with an average of 28.72 places per centre; the data obtained in this new poll are therefore sufficiently consistent with the previous, broader and more numerous figure.

The majority of the centres that replied said that they looked after the homeless in general (54% of the sample; 53% of the centres that offer accommodation²⁹), without any subgroup or specific segment for their action; however, immediately afterwards we came across the reply that indicates a priority in caring for immigrants; 48% of those who replied expressly show that this subgroup of homeless falls under their priorities, which confirms our initial impression that those who replied to the survey, were chiefly from the network caring the homeless who were more geared to social welfare action for immigrants.

Table 12.- Different social groups can be distinguished among the homeless. Which three groups do you look after as a matter of priority? (Multiple answer).

	%	N
All in general	54%	72
Immigrants and refugees	48%	64
Long-term unemployed	33%	44
Drug addicts	23%	31
Elderly persons	17%	22
Women and young people in difficulties	15%	20
Mentally ill and disabled persons	13%	17
AIDS patients	5%	6
Former inmates	4%	5
Total	211%	133

Now then, considering the network as a whole, what proportion to homeless immigrants represent? From the total number of replies, we learn that at present, foreigners account for 41% of the users. This figure shows an enormously rapid growth in recent years, if we bear in mind that in 2000, the same centres replied that foreign users accounted for between 13% and 24% of the total. At present, their numbers in the network that cares for the basic needs of the most excluded has doubled or tripled, depending on the locations.

Consequently, when we asked those surveyed whether they considered that the group of immigrants and/or asylum seekers had increased in recent years, the replies paint the following picture:

Table 13.- In recent years, the number of immigrants cared for as homeless persons has increased ...

Tremendously	26 %
A lot	50 %
A little	19 %
Yes not increased	5 %

²⁹ This percentage coincides exactly with that of the national report for 2000 (see Cabrera 2000:73)

Total	100 %
(N)	(129)

There is obviously an extremely keen awareness of the major increase of immigrants among the homeless population in Spain. Their presence has increased in 95% of the centres, and three fourths of facilities for the homeless, the number of immigrants has increased a lot or tremendously.

Furthermore, when we later asked the persons who replied to the questionnaire if they thought that the number of foreigners who request services in their centre would continue to increase, stabilise, or drop, 76% said that it would continue to increase in the future, compared with 22% who thought that it will stabilise, and a mere 2% who thought that it would drop. This means that the most widespread feeling among professionals and managers of centres caring for the homeless is that the number of homeless immigrants has risen a lot in recent years and is expected to continue to increase in the near future.

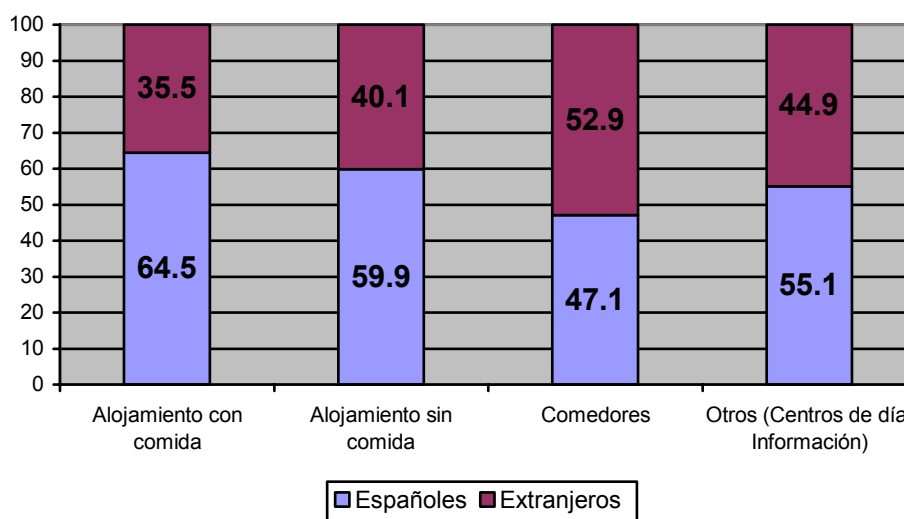
Table 14.- Do you think that the number of foreigners who request services in your centre will continue to increase as it has up to now?

Yes, it will continue to increase	76 %
No, it will stabilise	22 %
No, it will decline	2 %
Total	100 %
(N)	(120)

All this reveals the enormous lack of protection faced by poor, undocumented immigrants, which forces them to compete for a plate of food and/or a roof over their head with the traditional homeless population. As was reflected in one of the replies “we could think that the scarcity of accommodation services (for foreigners and native citizens), the scarcity and precariousness of housing, the situation on the labour market, and the impossibility of foreigners to legalise their stay in Spain, afflicts and will continue to afflict in future a large number of people with basic needs of subsistence,” who will turn to emergency services.

Curiously enough, the proportion of immigrants is particularly high in canteen services, where they represent 53% of those served, while rather low (36%) among the residential services of our sample. It is true that there are accommodation services specifically geared to foreigners which perhaps are not represented equally in our sample, since we rely on an institutional universe centred on care for the homeless; nevertheless, we think that such an

% de Extranjeros según tipo de centro



element may reflect the fact that many immigrants in an exclusion situation, are literally sleeping in the street, or in emergency accommodations, in parks, etc., and can only turn to free social welfare canteens to subsist, places where anyhow they find a place which is otherwise denied them in residential services. In other cases, it may also be ignored that turning to charity canteens is a form of saving on expenses, as pointed out to us by the manager of a canteen in Salamanca: “we essentially serve men working in construction who try to save the maximum to send money to their families.”

The responses we elicit from those surveyed about the causes behind the increase in the number of homeless immigrants can be divided into two major groups: that of general considerations on the origin of contemporary international migrations (“Economic and political difficulties in their countries,” “seeking to improve their lives compared with the country of origin,” “economic and social inequalities, violence in the different countries, the attraction of our standard of living,” the basic reason is war; most have come here fleeing from war”); the second group of answers, supposing that there is a growing number of immigrants in our country, try to broach concrete aspects that lead to some immigrant workers to become homeless. The former assume that the increase in the number of immigrants makes it inevitable that some of them will turn to social institutions that provide emergency assistance, while the second group goes beyond this background and investigate the mechanisms that cause homelessness among immigrants. These include in particular:

- The gaps in migration policy: “Increase of the number of immigrants in Spain without permit (illegal immigrants); “Why they have not legalised their situation;” “the effect of legislation that have hardened,” “immigration laws, which make any possible integration difficult, and condemn an ever increasing number of immigrants to live in the street;” “the lack of documentation that hinders them from obtaining a legal contract and forces them to go from one place to another looking for work or using the resources of such programmes;”
- The lack of residence and/or work permit: “Most do not have ‘papers,’ which makes it difficult for them to access the world of work and certain social welfare benefits”
- The precarious nature and scarcity of the employment available: “saturation in other parts of Spain, and little knowledge of the job situation in Leon,” “lack of work and therefore of economic resources,” “generally come looking for work;”
- The high cost of housing: “They do not have the resources to access housing.”
- Disinformation: “Disinformation on the real possibilities to obtain a work permit in Spain;” Idyllic information about access to employment in the EU,” “they are not well informed. They come beguiled from the country of origin with a round trip ticket, they sell it and remain here as illegal immigrants.”
- Erroneous and excessive expectations: “Great expectations aroused by the media and the mafias;” “information in their countries of origin through friends, etc. That there is work here, etc.” “Great expectations aroused by the media and the mafias.”
- The scarcity of places and specific facilities for immigrant workers: “There are no adequate public welfare services. Disastrous policy before the obvious reality of immigration;” Lack of facilities for immigrants;” “Insufficient specific resources;” “They are not offered any alternatives to ours;” Lack of specific services for foreigners in an emergency situation.”
- The geographic situation of the centre in certain enclaves of transit areas: “Extremadura is a border region with a sizeable agricultural sector;” “Our region has gone from being a transit area for immigrants to Almeria, to a place of permanent residents, due to the boom in winter quarters in our region.”
- The existence of “mafias” and organisations that engage in people trafficking: “Organisations that facilitate and run a business in getting them out,” “the low standard of living in the countries of origin and the impulse to look for a better life, makes them victims of mafias that promise them non-existing jobs.”

The scope of the phenomenon is reflected in references from small villages with a small reception centre for transients who express their astonishment at the arrival of immigrants without resources in rural areas³⁰ which have been created relatively recently in conjunction with this type of problem: “the number of immigrants that arrive in the village

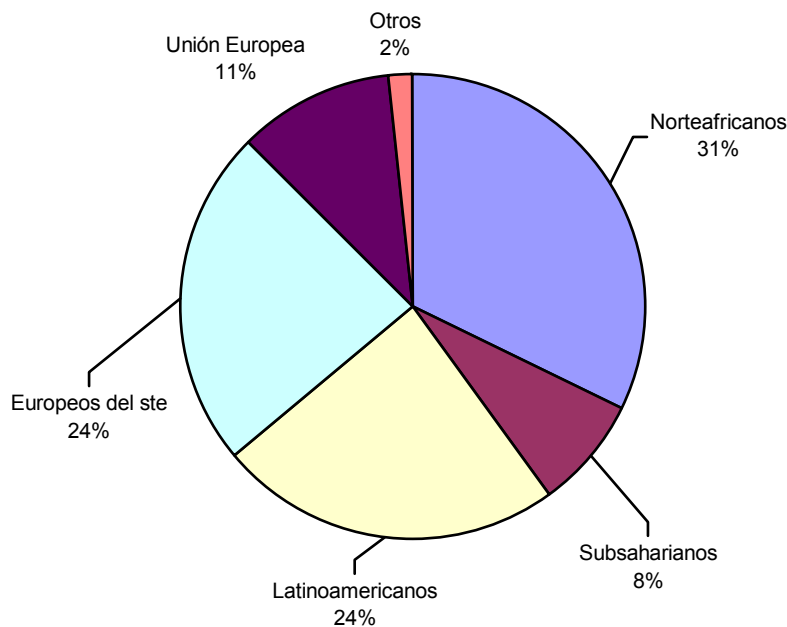
³⁰ In a village like Sonseca (Toledo) with a population around ten thousand inhabitant, we are told that there are more than 400 immigrants from Equador.

looking for work has increased tremendously, although only very few wind up in the shelter;” “There is a tremendous number of immigrants looking for work for the olive harvest during the months of November – January. We have 3 dormitories (with shower), 1 of which with 2 berths = 4 places. There are days when we accommodate 7 and 8 people in the corridors so that they will not sleep rough.”

In the end, as “there is a greater number each time of those who arrive in search of work but do not find any because they do not have ‘papers’,” the result is that “each time there are more immigrants without resources that embark on marginalisation processes.” According to data managed by the Information and Reception Centre for Transients and Homeless Persons of the diocesan Caritas of Huelva, they cared for 695 immigrants, of whom only 14% had a work permit and therefore any real possibilities of integration through employment; 28% were in the process of negotiation their documents, and could thus cherish some hopes of getting them, while 26% had already been turned down, and a third had not initiated the formalities, concluding that for 60% of them, the only possibility of getting them is to work in the underground economy.

As to the origin of these immigrants who arrive at centres caring for the homeless, we inquired about the three majority nationalities in each centre. The people who replied however, were not always able to indicate the precise nationality, so they limited themselves to apprising us about “Latin Americans,” “Eastern Europeans,” “Maghrebians,” etc. Taking this circumstance into account, we would say that the references in large geographic areas are those that report better from the 327 replies obtained in 121 questionnaires on this issue. The result can be gauged from the following graph:

Origen de los inmigrantes sin hogar



It is clear that the larger contingents that wind up in emergency centres are North-Africans (especially Moroccans), followed by Latin Americans and Eastern European, who are practically cited to the same degree. Finally, there is a negligible group of EU nationals, who account for 11% of all references; although it is true that two third of these are Portuguese nationals. Finally, Sub-Saharan Africans are cited in 8% of the responses. Naturally, this cannot ignore that in certain areas, such as the Canary Islands, for instance, nationals from countries like Nigeria, Ghana, or Senegal represent the large majority of immigrants cared for at short-stay emergency centres. In any event, the limitations of the available sample do now allow us to conduct a segmented analysis by Autonomous Community.

If we consider the countries expressly cited by the respondents, the nationality most present on the national scale are Moroccans, which are cited as the most numerous in 54% of the centres, followed by Ecuadorians (22%), Portuguese (21%), Rumanians (20%), Columbians (19%) and Algerians (14%). Further down come Bulgarians (9%) and Ukrainians (5%). Other countries are less represented, or subsumed under generic references to the continent of origin. In any event, the mere enumeration of these eight most cited countries gives an idea of the cosmopolitan tenor of those served at this time in Spanish social shelters and canteens.

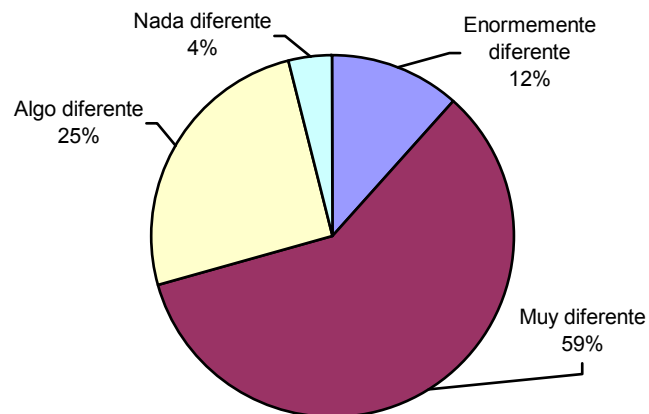
Table 15.- “What are the main countries of origin of foreign users at your centre?”
(Multiple answer)

	% of	(N)
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	sample	
Morocco	53.7	65
Ecuador	22.3	27
Portugal	20.7	25
Rumania	19.8	24
Colombia	19.0	23
Algeria	14.0	17
Bulgaria	9.1	11
Ukraine	5.0	6

This new human landscape naturally entails an enormous quantity of networks for professionals and managers of centres which until recently had to deal with a local population with clearly different problems than those of these new homeless persons. The rootless wandering of the typical transient of the 1970s and 1980s, gave way at the end of the 1990s, to a new type of clients with whom, to begin with, is difficult to communicate, as they speak a different language and have a different culture, which at times, is far remote from the practices of local social workers. There is a great deal of confusion about the networks created by these new uses. In many cases, the balance turns out negative for those give as a reason that they are not “homeless,” whereby we return to the naturalist definition of the residential exclusion that tries to define sharp and distinct profiles to

“¿Cree que los usuarios extranjeros tienen una problemática diferente a la de otras PSH?”



delimit the area of action of the centre. To those who appreciated that there are great or enormous differences of the problem, we asked them to explain to us what the difference consisted in; in general, the answers are in sufficient agreement; whereas among the native homeless population, there are said to be “internal” problems that lead to social marginalisation, in the case of immigrants such problems are said to be “external” (“problems of socio-occupational integration tend to be exogenous, or such that the majority have no control over them: lack of papers, etc.”) are circumstances that have to do with their legal status which makes it difficult to gain access to employment, and thus to income and a normal life. In this respect, it could be said that they are more “innocent” and

less “responsible” for what happens to them. And as is natural, the defining difference is the fact that they want to work, since “in most cases, it is not a marginal population, but is capable of working;” “most are 100% employable without added problems (alcohol, drugs, etc.), but are lacking the main ingredients: work, housing, income, papers.

It is worth remembering the historical importance attached to distinguishing clearly the dividing line that separates deserving from undeserving poor to receive assistance based on the fact on being prepared to work and engage in a productive activity. In the case of homeless immigrants who turn to the emergency network, “most are 100% employable and have no other problems (alcohol, drugs, etc.), but they are lacking the main ingredients: work, housing, income, papers.” Unlike the traditional profile of the homeless, they have “fewer problems with mental illnesses,” or what comes down to essentially the same thing, “in most cases, they are looking for work, although they do not have a permit, but are without other problems (alcohol, drug addition, etc.);” while homeless immigrants do look for work, the other homeless “tend to wander, are alcoholics, marginalised, they have family problems, are ill-adapted, etc.”

In the end, their “basic problem lies in the lack of employment and their legal situation,” to which are added certain difficulties that obstruct their possible integration, such as, difficulties with the language, administrative and bureaucratic red tape, rejection and racism that makes it doubly difficult to find housing, and the lack of family support; but, in theory, their situation, although very vulnerable, does not show signs of chronic and permanent exclusion. And whereas traditional clients find their “natural” place in these centres, homeless immigrants make a transitional and opportunistic use of them while getting established in the country: “Immigrants are not transients, they do not share the characteristics of this group. They have a higher cultural level and come to ask for work. They use this service until they manage to get settled”.

It is true that there are those who cite as a difference certain characteristics of that give rise to blatantly xenophobic views, such as for example, the case of a certain “propensity for violence and rebellious and even criminal conduct.” But in general, for nearly all of those who replied, the main difference is the fact that “most homeless immigrants are people who in their family of origin at least had a family and a home. These are generally in transitional periods, that they hope to overcome when they get “papers” and/or stable employment. “Getting out of this situation and seeking solutions means, in addition to their readiness to work and their motivation to do so, the main difference is the fact that ultimately, although they are far away, “they have a family and have not suffered from abandonment, separation or abuse.”

As can be expected, important differences can be encountered among immigrants too; to start with, those that separate men and women, in general, as men who go to the centres are a little older (32.4 years old on average), and tend to be single, without children, whereas women are younger (29.6 on average), with far greater probability of being married and having children with whom they maintain their relationship, thereby making prospects for action very different from one case to the other.

Table 16.- “What is the family situation of most foreign users of the centre (Multiple answer).

	Women	Men
Single, no children	19 %	51 %
Living together, no children	9 %	5 %
Married, no children	6 %	3 %
Divorced, no children	1 %	2 %
Single, with children	16 %	3 %
Living together, with children	13 %	6 %
Married, with children	43 %	33 %
Divorced, without children	6 %	10 %
Total	100 %	100 %
(N)	(79)	(111)

In general the difference in homeless foreign users emerges from their lack of papers. The circumstances that lead to social and residential exclusion, have to do essentially with the lack of a residence permit. As they do not have papers, they cannot find work under regular conditions, so they lack any income and have to operate in the underground economy, which makes it extremely difficult for them to find a place to live, and thus have to resort to canteens and/or shelters. Naturally, the lack of social skills and not speaking the language makes it all the more difficult to get integrated in the world of work, but in the eyes of the professionals, the fact that they are looking for work and cannot find it because they do not have a residence permit, is what clearly differentiates them from other PSH, most of whom are also faced with other problems such as drug addiction, mental health problems or relational conflicts. As can be gauged from the table below, the lack of “papers” and unemployment are by far the elements that generate homeless exclusion among immigrants.

Table 17.– “In addition to being homeless, what do you consider the three main problems faced by foreign users?”

Lack of a residence permit	80 %
Unemployment	62 %
Poor social skills	22 %
Lack of occupational skills	18 %
Alcoholism	17 %
Lack of family support	17 %
Drug addiction	11 %
Personal conflicts	10 %
Serious emotional problems	6 %
Illiteracy	6 %
Mental disorders	5 %
Prior repeated failure of social services	4 %

Sexual abuse	3 %
Imprisonment	2 %
Abuse	1 %
Total	264 %
(N)	(125)

These immigrants, uprooted and without the most basic resources to subsist on their own, go to centres intended to care for homeless persons; essentially from “mouth to ear,” they find themselves together with other fellow countrymen essentially in informal networks where they can get basic information on existing social benefits (76%). Nevertheless, the role played by referrals from other entities and services is also undeniable, since in the absence of real, more standardised residential alternatives, these tend to refer them to shelters and canteens for the homeless. In this respect, the role played by the police and the national guard must not be overlooked either, as it is cited by 17% of the respondents to the questionnaires. It is true that their intervention is very important in rural areas, whereas in the cities referrals between social services operate in large measure.

Table 18.- “What are the two main routes by which foreign users arrive to the centre?”

"Mouth to ear" from other users	76 %
Referred from another entity	40 %
Referred from social services	35 %
Police/national guard	17 %
Social workers	14 %
Parish priest	8 %
Hospital	3 %
Neighbours	2 %
Courts	2 %
Brochures-leaflets	1 %
Total	198 %
(N)	(127)

But, going a step further, under what conditions do immigrants arrive at such centres? What words would better express their emotional circumstances? These are precisely the questions we put to the respondents, and the answers can be summarised by

serious confusion (66%), a strong feeling of insecurity (51%), followed by lack of confidence (34%), pessimism (27%) and disappointment (23%). All these negative feelings summarise the emotional state of those on the verge of having to turn to reception centres to be able to survive, coming to terms with the wreckage of their dreams for a better economic situation and personal progress, albeit temporarily. Many will move forward, and their stay at the centre will be merely circumstantial, but the danger is that more than one will not manage to move on, but will end up in institution for homeless excluded persons.

Table 19.- Emotional circumstances of foreign users upon arriving at the centre

Confusion	66 %
Insecurity	51 %
Lack of confidence	34 %
Pessimism	27 %
Disappointment	23 %
Interest	16 %
Personal mistake	11 %
Motivation	10 %
Hostility	10 %
Confidence	8 %
Depression	8 %
Apathy	7 %
Other	16 %
Total	291 %
(N)	(124)

Nowadays, the people who look after them are clearly aware that they reason they are homeless is the lack of papers and employment, or so at least 86% of those questioned think. Furthermore, it is also true that emergency accommodation places are lacking (35%), and that in many cases, immigrants are discriminated against by the owners, who refuse to rent their dwellings to foreigners, although they can pay the rent (25%), which in certain cases is made difficult by the fact of not having “papers” (18%), or because the rent prices are unaffordable for them (16%) (See table below).

Table 20.– “In your opinion, which 2 of the following situations most explain why foreigners turn into homeless persons?”

The lack papers and employment	86 %
There is no sufficient social accommodation	35 %
Landlords refuse to rent to them, even when they can pay	25 %
They lack papers, even though they have a job	18 %
The high cost of rent	16 %
They do not know the language, cultural customs, etc.	7 %
They cannot access social services	6 %

They want to save the expense of housing	4 %
Total	198 %
(N)	(125)

Notwithstanding these circumstances, what they can expect to receive from the network of such centres is shelter and information – a service available in 86% of the centres that replied – after which, it is relatively easy to find clothing (66%) and food (62%), as well as assistance to solve their problems with red tape and see to administrative formalities (53%) and temporary shelter (44%).

Table 21.– “Indicate which services from the list below are currently provided by your centre”

Reception	86 %
Clothing	66 %
Canteen	62 %
Administrative formalities	53 %
Shelter	44 %
Occupational integration	38 %
Legal advice	34 %
Message service	32 %
Counselling for alcoholics	30 %
Occupational/professional workshop	29 %
Monitored sheltering flat	26 %
Counselling for drug addicts	25 %
Psychological treatment/therapy	23 %
Search for relatives	18 %
Day centre	17 %
Counselling for compulsive gamblers	15 %
Guardianship	15 %
Care for the chronically ill	14 %
Counselling for abused women	11 %
Street work	6 %
Total	100 %
(N)	(133)

In the end, the centres for the homeless have to deal with a situation with very different characteristics than those they have had to face to date, for which there is no other alternative than turning, as a last resort, to this network comprising shelters, canteens, and centres for the most excluded. This entails new difficulties and challenges for professionals and volunteers that man these services, the first of which is obviously the language. Problems of communication with everything this entails top the list of difficulties professionals have to overcome to do their work. In a country where the knowledge of

other languages is not excessive, the presence of immigrant workers is conducive to adopting this major course of study, and there are always more people who embark on the adventure to learn the language of our neighbours. Finally, we should be grateful to foreigners that the paltry number of Spaniards who speak Portuguese or Arabic, is on the rise; not to mention English and French.

Then, aside from the 30% of the respondents who said they did not encounter any specific difficulty in caring for immigrant homeless persons, we come across, albeit sufficiently remote from the problems of communication, a second major difficulty: the confrontations that occur with Spanish users. This is certainly a difficult topic to broach, one we risk applying hastily our middle class standards which sees the massive arrival of immigrants from a certain social distance, and to condemn as xenophobic those outbursts of violence that occur at the gates of canteens and shelters, but it is worth bearing in mind that, for those who move within the same boundaries of subsistence, the fact of having to compete for what are certainly scarce resources, must not be an easy experience against the calls for tolerance and understanding, as reflected in a questionnaire which indicated how “on occasion, the services for the homeless are absorbed by the large number of immigrants, which limits or cancels the offer of places and services for (native) homeless persons.” Consequently, it is not rare to hear proponents of separating the care for immigrants from centres from the homeless because, in their opinion, putting the two together “fosters xenophobia and conflicts in the centres, which in turn has repercussions on the social workers who are working “on the front line” as it were, day in and day out.

Without excusing such outbursts of violence in any way, we must realise that the rapid increase in immigrants among the users of shelters and canteens for the homeless in Spain has considerably exacerbated conflicts between the users of these facilities. The importance of introducing training and awareness raising programmes for inter-cultural understanding is therefore beyond any doubt. In fact, what some respondents identify as a lack of respect for the rules of the centre (10%) or ignorance of the minimum cohabitation standards (19%) undoubtedly leads us to a problem of introducing new cultural conceptions and parameters for both sides.

Table 22.– “What are the two major difficulties that your centre faces in caring for foreign users?”

Communication problems (language, etc.)	72 %
No particular difficulties	30 %
Confrontations with native citizens	20 %
Lack of respect for the rules of the centre	10 %
Ignorance of minimum cohabitation standards	10 %
Other	10 %
Aggressiveness	9 %
Confrontations among users	6 %
Insubordination to authorities or technicians	6 %
Poor maintenance of the centre’s infrastructure	2 %
Theft	1 %

Threats	1 %
Total	178 %
(N)	(125)

Finally, the feeling of being overwhelmed expressed by officials of the services before the increase of homeless immigrants is reflected in the answers on what they consider the major achievements of the centre with respect to foreign users: the overwhelming reply was that said achievement was “redirecting immigrants to appropriate services” (64%), which essentially comes down to saying that they did not consider centres for the homeless as being the most appropriate to tend to their needs, where they have to “take them out” and refer them (dump them?) to another type of centre. To be sure, this also reflects the conviction that homeless immigrants do not have the prominent characteristics of uprooting and alienation that the other groups of homeless marginal persons have; so it is considered indispensable to have their stay in these services as brief as possible to prevent them from getting “tangled up” in the network. A more generalised phenomenon nowadays is that the majority of foreigners who go to the centres have arrived recently in Spain, which means that “the intervention methodology requires appropriate strategies to prevent the immigrant population from becoming chronically stock in its social situation,” because, as is shown further, “we are beginning to see the emergence of immigrants with more similar profile to that of Spanish homeless people.”

For the same reason, there are those who advocate separating the institutional resources intended for the two groups: “the problems of foreign users and those of other homeless people are very different, so in our view, there is a need for social welfare resources (accommodation, subsistence and other basic needs) to be independent. “Homeless natives frequently suffer from mental disorders, drug addiction and a high level of social inadaptation;” in its most hard-line version, this argument is made while alluding to a purported “contagious effect,” whereby putting the two groups together would be “like a room of infected people in a hospital, where practically all those not already infected will eventually succumb (!)

Nevertheless, it is obvious that there is neither the preparation nor the resources needed to be able to do this type of more in-depth work with the more excluded immigrants, so during their stay there, these centres can scarcely redirect them or provide moral and psychological support (46%) that will enable them to recover emotionally, acquire valid references to look and to find a job (33%), and improve their language and social skills (31%), while they rest and recover physically (29%). It is no mean achievement, taking into account the confusion, deterioration and state of physical and psychological collapse in which they arrive in this last network of social protection, which was initially designed to care for them, but has moved apace with their needs because there is nothing better on offer at the moment.

Table 23.– “In your opinion, what are the 3 main achievements of the centre in regard to foreign users?”

Redirecting them to appropriate services	64 %
Emotional and psychological improvement	46 %
Integration through jobs	33 %
Improvement of language and social skills	31 %
Improvement of physical health	29 %
Access to permanent housing	13 %
Improvement of employability	8 %
Improvement of the family situation	8 %
Rehabilitation of drug addiction	7 %
Recovery from other chronic problems	2 %
Other	11 %
Total	100 %
(N)	(112)

The emergency accommodation network for immigrants

The 2001 assessment of the Regional Immigration Plan of the Community of Madrid, in which 82 of the 92 planned measures were completed (social, educational, training, housing, employment and cultural activities), the authorities allocated some € million for foreigners and distributed 280,000 health cards.

Under this framework, 9 social welfare centres for immigrants were opened in 2001. Known by the Spanish acronym CASI, they are intended to provide information, guidance and legal support. They also have 145 emergency accommodation places in flats, guesthouses and shelters “for recent arrivals who have no housing and who can stay in these accommodations for up to three months.” There are plans to create another five centres in 2002, and yet another 5 in 2003. On the other hand, the Social Welfare Services sheltered 213 migrant families. 46 cultural mediators were taken on, the number of places and employment projects tripled (3,651), and schooling was provided for 47% more minors than the previous year (14% of those registered are under 16), by creating 13 remedial education classes with 21 auxiliary teachers.

At the present time, however, the accommodation and emergency reception specifically for immigrants depends in large measure to private associations and civil society organisations; the Red Cross, and for associations integrated in the “Red Acoge” [Reception Network] are those which in a certain way, carry on with caring for most immigrants. Most of the users depend on the action of these NGOs. Although it is not possible to rely on data at national level, we can rely on some partial data made available by these organisations; for instance, the “Reception Network” in Andalusia cared for 39,039 immigrants in its various associations in 2001. Nearly one third of these (30%) were women, and the immense majority were undocumented (77%). By nationalities of origin, the largest group consisted of Moroccans (26%), followed by Colombians (9%),

Equadorians (9%), Rumanians (9%) and Algerians (6%), a state of affairs that sketches a profile consistent with that of the nationalities at the centres for the homeless.

Countries of origin of immigrants
cared for by the Reception Network of
Andalusia in 2001

Morocco	26.2
Colombia	9.5
Ecuador	9.0
Rumania	7.0
Algeria	5.8
Senegal	4.4
Ukraine	4.1
Ghana	4.0
Mali	3.9
Russia	2.0
Asia	1.0
Lithuania	0.8
Nigeria	0.4
R Africa	9.2
R America	4.4
R. Europe	2.9
Other	1.7
Total	100.0

More worth mentioning, perhaps from the data provided by the Reception Network, is that the accommodation supported programme intervened in a total of 10,669 cases, i.e. 30% of the immigrants in contact with the network in Andalusia seek assistance to find a place to live, and consequently, they would in a certain manner fall under the definition of homeless used by FEANTSA.

Detention centres and prisons

There is also a series of emergency facilities located on the Spanish coastal areas, where immigrants arrive in “small boats”(Andalusia, Ceuta and Melilla and the Canary Islands). In these localities, the authorities have assigned spaces which are little if at all suitable to accommodate people, such as old airports, commercial ships, buildings of the security services, etc. These are used to house undocumented or illegal aliens who are detained pending their deportation. Women in an advanced state of pregnancy and minors, are sent to health institutions or specific centres for minors. These centres are generally overcrowded and lack health and hygiene facilities.

The Spanish Red Cross, which cared for more than 140,000 foreigners in 2001, is one of the most prominent non-governmental organisations in social work with immigrants. In these centres, the Spanish Red Cross provides emergency relief, distributes humanitarian aid, and provides primary medical care, medicines and advice.³¹

For immigrants who require accommodation and are in difficult social situations, the organisation provides its own facilities or tries to find places in existing shelters in the environs. Actions to promote the accommodation of immigrants is carried out in its own facilities: reception centres (Ceuta, Puente Genil, Las Palmas, Fuerteventura, 4 centres in Madrid, Melilla and Torrelavega) and flats (Alicante, Guipúzcoa, Jaén, Madrid – for women -, Murcia, Tenerife, Valencia and Vizcaya). Unaccompanied foreign minors are cared for in residential shelters (primary reception and residence), emergency facilities (Fuerteventura and Lanzarote), night educational support facilities in Barcelona for minors not registered by the Autonomous Government of Barcelona, social mediation and street work.

In some territories, mediation work is carried out to facilitate access to the rent housing market for foreigners. Finally, the Employment Plan for Immigrants, implemented in 38 locations on Spanish territory can act as a reference for access to and retention of housing (CRUZ ROJA, 2002).

In general, the network of centres offering emergency accommodation to immigrants and foreigners operates separately from the network that has traditionally offered shelter to transients and homeless persons that fit the more traditional profile. Unfortunately, the change of profile, far from bringing about a better integration of the network for the homeless within the General Social Services, has give rise to the appearance of a new, specific and segregated network for foreigners where, in addition to the traditional stigmatising effects of all the internment and detention centre, more than dubious legal situations arise, because the equivocal legal regulation of these centres – some are real prisons that do not dare speak their name – and its residents are left in a type of legal limbo with very few guarantees.

In this respect, up to a certain point, the legal status of those incarcerated in prison is much more clear, because the General Penitentiary Act and the Penitentiary Regulation which define the rights and obligations of incarcerated persons offer a greater guarantee of the rights than many of the internment centres for undocumented foreigners. Moreover, we cannot forget that the penitentiary system, the prison, in Spain de facto offers one of the institutional possibilities of “residence under a roof” with more places available for foreigners. At the end of January 2002, of the 48,398 people in Spanish prisons, 13.5% were foreign (11,383); they are therefore enormously over-represented compared with their proportion in the overall population of the country (around 4%). This does not indicate that they commit more crimes than native citizens, but only, and above all, that they have

³¹ Other tasks related to immigrants who arrive in boats is maritime salvage or the recovery of corpses.

far greater chances of ending up in jail. For instance, as there are no papers in order or social and support networks to count on, preventive imprisonment is probably applied much more by judges in the case of a foreigner accused of a crime than of a Spaniard. Naturally, the overwhelming majority of such people are poor foreigners and immigrants who perpetrate petty crime against property or the public health, used in many cases as couriers to transport drugs so that they can afford in this way the ticket to the European “paradise;” poor immigrants who are thus added to our traditionally imprisoned minority: the gipsies.

The question of begging and the image of the marginalised poor immigrant

The city of Vitoria is the meeting place of Rumanian families that lead a “semi-nomadic” life moving in vans and cars into the city for more or less stable periods of residence, which prodded the municipal Social Services to provide a plot of land and equip it with baths, showers, water and electricity, so that they could settle there, which is referred to as “settlements on wheels.” A specific programme called “Traveller” has been operating for a year to care for these people.

Nor is it always ethnic minorities from Eastern European countries. In a study conducted in the Canary Islands two years ago on the basis of street encounters with 609 people in a situation of social exclusion, 9.3% were foreign, among whom the authors indicated that they had “detected the presence of a new type of destitute person that fits in the profile of “bohemian European,” aged between 25 and 45, that has spent the night on the streets of Las Palmas for under three years, with a greater probability of a university education than the rest” (EDI Management Consultants 2000). This suggests that there is a migratory current inside EU borders towards the more sunny regions and better climate in Europe by a certain number of people who live somewhere between a cultural or alternative segregation and pure marginality. In this sense, Spain could be playing the same role as that detected a few years ago in sunny states in the US (California and Florida).

The Las Palmas Study was repeated using a similar methodology two years later, in field work carried out between 20 March and 16 April 2002, which questioned a total of 732 literally “homeless” people in the street, i.e. lacking a “regular owned or rented dwelling in which to live. It is true that those questioned were noticed by their interviewers by external signs, such as more or less inappropriate physical appearance, begging, etc. that made them think they were in a severe exclusion situation; as is well known, however, in many cases, the people do not correspond to the stereotype, so it can not be ruled out that many went unperceived, though in any event, we would be talking about an exhaustive census of visible poverty in the streets of Las Palmas.

Of the 732 people contacted, 218 were non-EU foreign nationals, accounting for 29.8% of all homeless people found in the street. To these could be added another 176 foreigners interned in reception centre, which would bring the percentage of homeless foreigners to 43.4% of the total homeless population of Las Palmas. To get an idea of what

these figures represent, it suffices to bear in mind that two years earlier, only 7.2% non-EU foreigners were detected. An enormous increase in population has occurred in this brief period of time that arrives illegal to the Canary Islands from Africa, so that, as stated in the

report on the homeless, “they find in the Canary Islands a gateway to Europe and thus flee the economic and political situation they suffer from in their country of origin” (EDEI

Un ejemplo de práctica innovadora: Alojamiento temporal para mujeres inmigrantes con cargas familiares no compartidas de la Asociación de mujeres OPANEL. (CONT.)

Normalmente llegan al proyecto con un elevado grado de estrés y ansiedad, a veces, con síntomas depresivos derivados de la difícil y compleja situación que sufren. Tras ingresar en la vivienda, se encuentran con la posibilidad de abrir un período de calma y tranquilidad, que les permite afrontar la incorporación de habilidades para la realización de gestiones, tramitar documentación, manejar los conflictos derivados de la convivencia, buscar empleo, atender a los hijos e intentar hacerse con una nueva vivienda.

Para ello cuentan con apoyo profesional, desde el que trabajar y analizar las situaciones que se van presentando cotidianamente en las propias viviendas tuteladas, y además disponen de las actividades y el apoyo, profesional y de los voluntarios, que les proporciona la Asociación en sus propios locales, lo que les sirve para ampliar la red de contactos y relaciones sociales.

Como resultado de su paso por el proyecto, consiguen:

- Un mayor equilibrio personal y familiar
- Mejorar su empleabilidad
- Aumentar el conocimiento de la lengua y la cultura autóctona
- Mejorar la atención a sus hijos, escolarizarlos, e incluso recuperarlos en los casos en que se encontraban internos en centros de acogida.
- Poner al día su documentación, empadronamiento, cartillas sanitarias, residencia y permiso de trabajo, etc.
- Aumentar y mejorar su red de relaciones, e incrementar sus capacidades para la convivencia y poder compartir piso con otras familias.

Precisamente en este punto, se encuentra el gran límite del proyecto: en el momento en que se ha restaurado la situación psicológica, administrativa y sociolaboral, las mujeres deben abandonar la vivienda tutelada y buscar otro lugar de residencia autónomo. En ese instante la práctica inexistencia de viviendas públicas en alquiler a precios asequibles para quien se encuentra cobrando un salario bajo, obliga a buscar soluciones imaginativas que, habitualmente pasan por coordinar a un grupo de mujeres para que se decidan a compartir una vivienda de alquiler, compartiendo gastos y con el apoyo de una agencia de mediación social para el alquiler (Provivienda)

Desde la Asociación se destacan los siguientes obstáculos para lograr que estas mujeres puedan finalmente acceder a una vivienda en régimen de alquiler:

- Recursos económicos insuficientes e inseguros debido a su inestabilidad laboral. En muchos casos se trata de trabajos sin contrato, en los que carecen de nómina y avales para poder ofrecer como garantía al arrendatario.
- Enorme dificultad para ahorrar, ya que tienen que afrontar en solitario los gastos de la crianza de sus hijos: pañales, medicamentos, alimentación, etc, con lo que no llegan a acumular lo necesario para el depósito o fianza.
- Escasez de viviendas en alquiler, que prácticamente no existen para estos niveles de ingresos.
- Prejuicios por parte de los arrendatarios para alquilar sus viviendas a población extranjera.
- Las dificultades aumentan en el caso de tener más de un hijo. La salida es más fácil para mujeres con un solo hijo/a a su cargo, ya que al menos tienen la posibilidad de encontrar una habitación compartida, eso sí a un alto precio pero que al menos pueden asumir. En el caso de las mujeres con dos o más hijos esta opción no es posible.

El difícil acceso a una vivienda normalizada es por tanto la gran barrera que hace que, en ocasiones, el enorme trabajo de movilización y activación de recursos que se ha llevado a cabo durante seis meses acabe perdiéndose, teniendo que comenzar de nuevo el proceso.

Management Consultants 2002). For their part, marginalised homeless persons from EU countries account for a little under 3% of the total homeless population in Las Palmas.

CONCLUSIONS

Immigration of workers from poor countries is a recent phenomenon in Spain, and the country lacks a political and legislative tradition to deal with it. The geographic position of the country has turned into a strategic junction for the inflow of socio-demographic imbalances in the Mediterranean, together with its historical role as a bridge between Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America and the old continent.

Until a couple of decades ago, the country had been sending emigrants to America and more recently, as of the 1960s of the last century, to the more developed countries of Northern Europe. The Spanish migration policy has been one of support for emigration, but the country was not prepared to deal with and regulate the current influx of immigrants. The speed with which the immigration phenomenon occurred and the all types of disruptions caused by its uncontrolled nature have in scarcely three years turned into the “third most pressing problem” for public opinion, after unemployment and terrorism.

Available data show a rapid rise in the foreign resident population. However, the sources of these data contain serious deficiencies stemming from the complexity of the legal status arising from a confused and tangled legislation, the diversity of the available and rarely concurring sources, and the obvious concealment of data produced among those known as “illegal” or “undocumented” migrants, as have been shown by the outbursts in the successive legalisation processes.

In any event, there is no doubt that foreign residents now exceed the million and a half mark, stemming mostly from the Maghreb and Latin America, with a sizeable and sustained growth from Eastern European countries.

Its geographic distribution is highly irregular, with immigrants tending to concentrate extensively in the large Metropolitan areas (Madrid and Barcelona), the provinces of the Mediterranean Coast and the archipelagos (Balearic and Canary islands).

Although the percentage of foreigners continues to be one of the lowest in the EU, the fact is that the growing feeling of being “invaded” has serious consequences for the rise in xenophobia, particularly against immigrants from North Africa, which contrasts sharply with the formal, “politically correct” statements.

This growing feeling of suspicion, if not outright rejection, is reflected in the difficulties many immigrants encounter in accessing housing. The general difficulties of accessing housing from the high rent prices, the non-existent public rental housing offer, and the hardening of the renting conditions are exacerbated even further in the case of immigrants, with their precarious integration in the world of work, the lack of documentation in many cases, the lack of knowledge of the language and local customs, together with the resistance of landlords to rent their homes to foreigners.

In urban areas, this is manifested in cases of pre-ghettoisation that have started to emerge in certain central districts of cities with dwellings in a poor state of repair, where groups of immigrants are concentrated under overcrowded conditions that generate a real “vertical shanty town.”

In rural areas, on the other hand, there is a tendency to live under very precarious conditions next to the farming fields that are ceded or rented, which do not meet the minimum conditions of habitability, but which they can occupy while the work lasts, or during the harvest season, which condemns them to itinerancy that enhances their sense of being uprooted and forces them to resort to shelters and support institutions during periods of unemployment.

As a result of all this, there are more immigrants each time that are radically excluded from accommodation and are housed in centres for the homeless. Whereas two years ago, the proportion of foreigners accommodated in shelters for the homeless was between 13% and 20%, depending on the region, data from a study conducted for this report today show that some 40% of the places in shelters are occupied by foreigners.

This percentage is even greater among users of social canteens, where it exceeds the 50% mark, and in some of those in large cities which traditionally carried to native excluded or homeless persons, immigrants now represent 80% of the clientele.

This extremely rapid and unexpected growth which, taking Valencia as an example, saw the percentage of foreigners cared for by the network for the homeless go from 5% in 1997 to 57% in 2001, has enormous consequences on many levels:

- Competition inevitably arises between traditional clients and new arrivals.
- The homeless population is getting younger and includes a larger number of women and families.
- The centres and services are rarely prepared to deal with the new profile.
- Professionals and volunteers who man the services have to deal with unknown problems, such as e.g. language barriers and legal aspects, that oblige them to change their style of intervention and objectives.
- The use made of the services is much different, and is generally of a transitory and opportunistic nature, while immigrants endeavour to stabilise their migration project.
- Cases of homeless immigrants are beginning to emerge among those where prolonged precariousness and the feeling of being separated from their roots are turning them into chronic homeless, thereby joining the more traditional profile of the homeless.

All these circumstances make many people think that welfare services for immigrants should be institutionally separated from those for homeless excluded persons, but the fact is that, given the absence of residential alternatives at this time, the network for the

homeless is absorbing a large part of the problem of the residential inclusion afflicting the poorer immigrants with the less social roots. There are no prospects of the trend changing in the short term; on the contrary, it is expected to continue to gain momentum.

For all these reasons, it is indispensable to call for a more active policy on the part of the government, the autonomous communities and the local authorities geared specifically to broaching the problem of accommodation faced by immigrants, and thus to avoid having to turn to emergency centres which hardly have the means or possibilities to help them. This would moreover prevent the further tarnishing of their image in public opinion that tends to get stigmatised more every time that the mass media link immigrants with activities such as begging and delinquency, and ensure that their contribution to the economic and productive development of the country is beyond all doubt.

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