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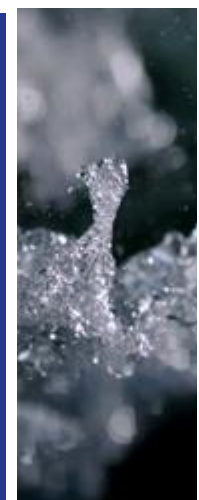**MIGRANT INTEGRATION IN SMALL COMMUNITIES**

Dec. 2022

Social relations, individual attitudes and migrant integration experiences in small and medium-sized towns and rural areas in Spain

Country Reports on policy outcomes

By

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REPORT

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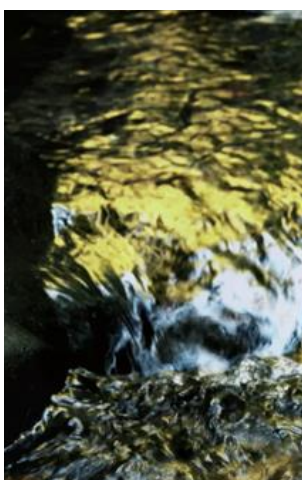
Executive summary

The aim of this report is to better understand the role that local contexts play in shaping integration outcomes for post-2014 migrants in Spain. Based on a mix of qualitative data (in-depth interviews, focus groups, and participant observation) collected in five Spanish towns it identifies similarities and differences in terms of interactions between post-2014 migrants and long-term residents, the individual attitudes they have towards each other, and migrants' experiences of inclusion and exclusion. Compared to many other EU countries, Spain has a relatively short history of (net) immigration, its immigration regime produces (and implicitly allows) a lot of irregularity, and immigration has not (yet) become as politicised as elsewhere.

Despite having selected a very diverse range of municipalities, we found very similar overall situations and only few, rather nuanced, differences in terms of local integration outcomes. More specifically, our analysis leads to several conclusions: Firstly, the five localities face few concrete problems and no significant conflict/s related to migrant integration, but there is little interaction between locals and newcomers in everyday life. Secondly, there are many contextual factors that influence migrants' relations, mutual attitudes, and experiences, but none of them seems to be pivotal, and many of them can potentially work towards inclusion as well as exclusion. What ultimately shapes local integration outcomes, although in rather unpredictable ways, is the interaction between migrants' individual characteristics and personal aspirations on one hand, and a wide and diverse range of contextual factors on the other.

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Acknowledgement

1.   Introduction

In the wake of the 2015 so-called "refugee crisis" small and Medium-sized Towns and Rural Areas (SMsTRAs) have been playing an increasing role in accommodating humanitarian migrants. The arrival of asylum-seekers in the EU has peaked after 2014 and many EU countries have struggled to re-organise and manage the reception of humanitarian migrants. The lack of immediately available reception facilities in cities, coupled with the dispersion policies implemented by states to ensure an "equal" distribution of asylum seekers across their national territories, has led to the increased involvement of Small and Medium-sized Towns and Rural Areas in the reception of people seeking refuge (Flamant et al. 2020). Even though immigrant integration in cities has been in the focus of research since decades now, we know relatively little about smaller towns and rural areas, localities that often have no or little prior experiences with migration. Research has shown, that "the experiences that new arrivals face in the first phase of their reception and accommodation, and the relationships they build in their neighbourhoods and host cities have a long-term effect on their later lives and play a significant role in the way their impressions, aspirations and motivations develop along the way of their integration trajectories" (Seethaler-Wari 2018).

We need to know more, which factors facilitate, and which hinder positive experiences when migrants (mainly arrived after 2014) settle in these Small and Medium-sized Towns and Rural Areas. The objective of the country report is thus to understand which role specific local contexts (or "local refugee integration opportunity structures"), within the same country, can play in shaping individual attitudes, social relations, and consequently migrant integration experiences in SMsTRAs. We define local (refugee) integration opportunity structures, as "sets of resources, arrangements and pathways that can facilitate or block integration" (Phillimore 2020). Among the contextual factors that determine the local opportunity structure we identify, following and adapting Phillimore (2020), four dimensions:

a) the social dimension, highlighting the individual (e.g., age, gender, country of origin, class, religion) and the group level factors (e.g., presence or absence of support networks, civil society organisations);
b) the ideational-political dimension, which includes a set of factors connected to discourse, such as media information, political ideology of leaders and the local community, and political mobilizations pro- and anti-migrants;
c) the factors connected to governance including the impact of housing, labour market, and specific immigrant integration policies and practices, and their implementation at the local level;
d) the spatial dimension, focusing on the specificity of SMsTRAs compared to cities but also on local socio-economic determinants and on spatial proximity/segregation.

The aim of this report[1] is to identify which factors are most relevant in shaping individual attitudes, interactions between long-term residents and post-2014 migrants, and migrants' experiences of inclusion/exclusion in several Spanish localities of different characteristics. Whilst our analysis will primarily focus on four core dimensions – the social dimension, the ideational-political dimension, the governance dimension, and the special dimension – we also pay attention to other factors that seem to hinder or facilitate exchange and impact on attitudes in the specific context of the SMsTRAs we studied.

We are currently facing new refugee arrivals triggered by the Russian invasion of Ukraine. Even though the focus of the Whole-COMM project is on post-2014 migrants' integration in SMsTRAs, the arrival of Ukrainian refugees begs the question: what can we learn from experiences of inclusion/exclusion in SMsTRAs of refugees who arrived in a different "crisis" period? Are SMsTRAs involved in the reception of Ukrainian refugees? Moreover, how is the arrival of Ukrainians reshaping social interactions, individual attitudes and post-2014 migrants' experiences? In this country report, we try to address also these questions to capitalise on the fact that this research has been conducted precisely during yet another critical juncture.

The case of Spain is particular both in terms of (the timing and magnitude of) migration flows, and the way immigration is being addressed. It was not before the early 2000s that Spain turned into a net-immigration country and became one of the major migrant-receiving countries in the world, second only to the United States. Between 2001 and 2007 the total number of foreigners increased by more than 3 million, the highest inflow being in 2007 with a figure of 958,000 new arrivals. In terms of numbers, this "migratory boom" has been – and is being remembered as – much more significant than the post-2014 arrivals. That said, it is true that after a significant drop in immigration during and after the economic crisis of 2007, immigration flows quite quickly started to recover after 2014, with 532,132 arrivals in 2017, 643,684 in 2018 and 750,480 in 2019. The impact of the Covid-19 pandemic led to a new reduction of immigration flows, from 750,480 in 2019 to 467,918 in 2020. In 2020 there were almost 5.5 million foreign residents in Spain, representing 11 percent of the total population (NIEM 2020). The main countries of origin were Morocco (760,715), Rumania (665,905), UK (300,640), Colombia (297,934), Italy (280,152), Venezuela (187,205), China (197,188), Germany (138,952), Ecuador (132,637), Honduras (109,500) and France (117,080) (INE 2021).

In contrast to many other EU-countries, post-2014 immigration to Spain consisted mainly of arrivals from Latin America (and other parts of the EU). The former migrated to Spain mainly as a consequence of push factors in their countries of origin: serious political and economic crisis in Venezuela, increasing levels of citizen insecurity in Central America and increasing social inequalities in countries such as Argentina, also due to the effects of neoliberal policies

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(Domingo et al. 2020). The forced nature of some of these migratory movements explains the rising numbers of asylum applications: from 5,947 in 2014 and 14,881 in 2015 to 31,120 in 2017, 54,065 in 2018 and 118,264 in 2019. In 2019 Spain received the highest (absolute) number of asylum applications among all EU countries. Though still much higher than in earlier years, the Covid-19 pandemic led to a slight reduction, with 88,762 applications in 2020 and 65,404 in 2021. The great majority of asylum seekers came from Latin America. In 2021 the main countries of origin were Venezuela, Colombia, Morocco, Mali, Senegal, Peru, Honduras, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Nicaragua (CEAR 2022).

In terms of integration policy, the national policy framework is based on the idea of equal access to rights. According to MIPEX, Spain scores high in terms of immigrants' access to health care and to some extent as well in terms of labour market mobility, family reunion and permanent residence. In contrast, it scores poor with regard to education, political participation, anti-discrimination and very poor regarding access to nationality (conditional to 10 years of residence except for Latin American immigrants) (MIPEX 2020). To understand the mechanisms through which migrants in Spain not only gain access to rights but also become members of local communities, it is fundamental to take into account the exceptionality of the Spanish Municipal Population Register (*el padrón*). This system was introduced by a national law in 1996 and implemented in 1998. It makes municipal registration in mandatory for all residents regardless of their legal status. Interestingly, on registering, all residents (nationals, immigrants, and irregular migrants alike) are entitled to basic health coverage and access to education for their children. Registration in the municipal register is also key for legalisation through so-called arraigo, an ongoing regularisation mechanism that has various strands and is in place since 2005. The central role of the padrón could explain why in Spain the national, regional, and local authorities emphasise local residence as absolutely crucial whenever they talk about migrant and refugee integration or social cohesion.

Finally, the Spanish case cannot be understood without taking into account the significant role of irregular immigration both with regard to the migration regime as well as in terms of migrants' integration and their relationships within the local community. As for the migration regime, we could argue that irregularity is part and parcel of Spanish immigration policies. In the early 2000s most immigrants arrived with a tourist visa, found work, and subsequently legalised their stay in the country. While regularisations have frequently been interpreted as the best illustration of the "failure" of immigration policies and, more generally, the state's loss of control, regularisations in the Spanish case should be understood primarily as a de facto entry policy. As González-Enríquez (2009) noted, this is nothing more than a cheap model of (foreign) labour recruitment. Cheap not only because the costs and risks of the migratory process are shouldered by the immigrant but also – we would add – because in political terms it was possible to have a high-numbers policy without putting it in writing and thus without needing to justify it. As will be shown/discussed in more detail below, also the vast majority of the "post-2014-migrants" interviewed for this project have entered the country either irregularly or with a tourist visa that they overstayed; and in both cases had to spend significant amounts of time (usually more than three years) in an irregular situation. It is thus

important to note that while national policies create this situation, they do very little to address the highly precarious conditions of irregular migrants living in the country. As will be shown in the core sections of this report, it is precisely this precariousness resulting from migrants' irregularity that they (as well as many other local level actors) often perceive as the main challenge in terms of successful integration and as a huge strain on their relationships with other people.

The report draws on empirical research conducted in five[2] Spanish localities – two medium-sized towns (one in Catalonia, the other one in Andalusia), and three small towns (one in Catalonia, one in Andalusia, and one in Castile and Leon) – each of which will be presented in more detail below (see sections 3.2 – 3.6). Overall, the analysis carried out for this report allows us to draw several conclusions: **Firstly**, the data suggests that while the five localities face few concrete problems and no significant conflicts related to migrant integration, there is relatively little interaction between locals and newcomers in everyday life. **Secondly**, it is very difficult to relate differences in migrants' social relations, individual attitudes, and personal experiences to concrete characteristics of the locality or local context in which these are formed or taking place. While there are many contextual factors that influence these relations, attitudes, and experiences, none of them seems to be determinant on its own, and many of them can potentially work both ways: towards inclusion as well as exclusion. Rather than contextual factors and specific features of a specific locality, it is often the migrants' individual characteristics (age, gender, ethnicity, education, family situation, etc.) as well as the sector in which they work, which primarily determine their opportunities for interaction. **Thirdly**, also the migrants' own motivation and agency and, more specifically, whether or not they want and plan to stay in the locality where they are expected to integrate, naturally play a fundamental role in shaping integration trajectories as well as outcomes.

Notably, these findings complement the results and conclusions of other work packages (WP) of the Whole-COMM project, particularly WP3 and WP4.

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[2] Note that one of the initially six selected cases (locality 4, a rural area in Valencia) has been left out of the second round of fieldwork and can thus not be covered in this report.

2. Methodology

This report is based on qualitative data collected through semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, and participant observation carried out by the three authors in five Spanish municipalities. As in the other countries covered by this research project, the localities were selected on the basis of the following set of variables:

Population size	Medium town: 100,000 − 250.000
	Small town: 50,000 − 100,000
	Rural area: 5,000 - 50,000 and low population density
Presence of a reception centre AND/OR Reception facilities	Time period: 2014-2017
Number of currently residing migrants	Time period: arrived after 2014
Share of Foreign Residents	Time period: in 2005 (SF2005)
Variation of Unemployment level	Time period: 2005-2014 (VARUN)
AND/OR Unemployment Levels	Time period: 2005 and 2014
Variation of number of inhabitants	Time period: 2005-2014 (VARNI)
Regional variation	For example: East / West or North / South, choosing localities from different regions
Local politics	Parties in government and local political tradition, choosing localities with different political traditions (conservative / progressive)

The case selection process was very structured and theory oriented. All selected localities were directly involved in the reception of asylum-seekers and refugees, as well as other categories of migrants, between 2014 and 2017. At least some of these newcomers are still residing in the localities. None of the selected localities is a satellite town of a big city and we aimed to exclude 'extreme cases'. Case selection was conducted by the country team in close collaboration with the project coordinators, and with the aim to maximize variation across the various variables listed above, but especially population size, administrative role (a mix of provincial/regional capitals and localities with no administrative function), the localities' experience with cultural diversity, their economic and demographic situation, and the political affiliation of their local government. The variables 'experience with cultural diversity' and 'structural factors' were also combined and used to distinguish four (ideal) types of localities:

Type A	Characterized by a recovering local economy and an improving demographic profile and migrants' settlement before 2014
Type B	Characterized by an improving economic and demographic situation and no remarkable arrivals of migrants before 2014
Type C	Characterized by demographic and economic decline and migrants' settlement before 2014

Type D	Characterized by economic and demographic decline and no remarkable arrivals of migrants before 2014

In Spain, a total of six municipalities had initially been selected for in-depth analysis but due to several reasons only five of these are covered in this report (see sections 4.2 – 4.6 for a description of each of them). In order to maintain our interviewees' anonymity, we have decided not to name the localities. In each of them, primary data was collected through a combination of three different research methods: 1) a series of individual in-depth interviews with post-2014 migrants; 2) a mixed focus group discussion with long-term residents and migrants; and 3) participant observation in two selected sites of potential interaction between post-2014 migrants and long-term residents. The sites for **participant observation** were selected by the research team and based on their existing knowledge from previous visits as well as information obtained during interviews and in informal conversation with various key informants. The aim was to observe whether and how post-2014 migrants interact with long-term residents, and what the barriers or facilitating factors for such interaction are, also considering that Covid-19 might also have played a role in changing patterns of interaction. **Interviews** with post-2014 migrants were aimed at understanding migrants' experiences of inclusion/exclusion in the selected SMsTRAs and at further analysing the type of interactions already observed through participant observation. Finally, **focus group discussions** were aimed at further exploring the perceptions of local residents – migrants as well as non-migrants – while also trying to understand the dynamics going on between them, as well as between more specific sub-groups that make up the local community. The overarching aim was to better understand which factors are more or less relevant in each locality in shaping positive and/or negative social relations and individual attitudes.

All the empirical data on which this report is based have been collected by one of the three authors, during fieldwork periods of around one week in each of the five localities. All of this happened between June and October 2022 and constituted the second phase of data collection within the Whole-COMM project. The collected data thus complements a first set of interviews conducted in the same localities with a wide range of other local actors, including "policymakers" (i.e., representatives of the local government and municipal officials), "street-level bureaucrats" working in relevant departments (social services, housing, etc.), representatives of trade unions, NGOs and local associations working with/for migrants or refugees, as well as various "private actors" (particularly private employers and/o their organisations, and real estate agents).

During this second phase, a total of 43 interviews were conducted with post-2014 migrants (between seven and ten per locality). Most of the interviews were conducted face-to-face during the field visits, whereas three of them had to be conducted online or by phone (either for reasons of timing, or because interviewees' explicitly preferred it that way). Almost all interviews were conducted in Spanish (apart from one in French and one in English) and all but four were audio-recorded and subsequently summarised, that is, partially transcribed and translated to English. All names that appear in this report are pseudonyms. The data obtained

was also complemented by additional (informal) conversations as well as insights gained through participation in local events (for detail see sections 4.2 to 4.6).

We analysed the data in two steps: first, all the interview, focus group, and observation material from each of the five localities was analysed by the researcher who had collected the data, following the three main themes: social relations and everyday interactions (between migrants and non-migrants; individual attitudes (of migrants and "locals"); and (migrants') experiences of inclusion and/or exclusion. We then discussed the findings regarding each theme among the three of us in order to identify commonalities and differences between the localities, as well as potential explanations for these differences. We thereby took into account the four dimensions of local integration opportunity structures (as outlined in the introduction) as well as the Whole-COMM typology.

In conducting the fieldwork, we hugely depended on the help of various key contacts in each locality. Contact with them had often been made during the first fieldwork phase (by the first author) which in some cases had happened almost a year earlier. In most cases these people were nonetheless very happy to help us (again) and we did make every effort to make them feel our gratitude. In addition to this, however, it will also be necessary to have an internal debate about possible ways of making sure that future projects – especially if funded by the EU or other power- and resourceful funding bodies – do not depend so much on personal resources (contacts, time, etc.) of local, very often civil society, actors, or at least not without being able to offer them any compensation. A closely related problem and key obstacle was the very limited time we had to conduct the fieldwork (around one week per locality), which – for example – made it necessary to conduct a large part of interviews during the week, when most potential interviewees are working. Many of our gatekeepers warned us that it will be very difficult to find people willing and able to participate in an interview or focus group during the week, and suggested to instead do it on weekends, of which in some cases we only had one that we could spend in the locality.

Apart from the very tight timeframe, also conceptual issues complicated our fieldwork and data collection – most importantly, the project's focus on "post-2014 migrants": Even more than during the first phase of data collection it became very clear that this category does not make sense to most participants, since it does not reflect the reality nor peoples' experience of immigration to Spain. Many respondents asked us why we focus on this particular period, and what the difference is between someone who arrived in 2008 and in 2015, for example. Other people who would have been very keen to share their experience could not be included because they had spent too much time living in the locality. We certainly did our best to explain the category and underlying rationale to (potential) research participants. "Post-2014-migrants" were thereby defined as covering non-EU citizens who arrived and settled in Spain after 2014, independent of whether or not they claimed asylum or otherwise regularised their residence; it thus explicitly includes migrants with no or precarious residence status. Even this broad and inclusive interpretation of the term does not, however, solve the more significant (and very practical) problem of identifying "post-2014 migrants". In practice, and particularly

during observation, it is impossible to differentiate them not only from people who have not migrated at all (but might still have e.g., darker skin than most other people born in the locality) but also from those who had migrated before 2014.

3.   Main findings per locality

3.1. General information on the national and regional context/s

The fact that everyday integration always happens locally, is very much reflected in the way the issue is being addressed in Spain. While "immigration management" is the exclusive prerogative of the state, the "integration of immigrants" has always been seen as a matter to be resolved at regional and local levels (Pajares 2007). In terms of relevant competences, a considerable part of jurisdiction in health, education, employment, housing, and other related policy areas is in the hands of regional governments, questions of urban planning and community cohesion are the responsibility of local governments. While the regional level and context thus plays an important role in terms of integration policies and frameworks[3], it did not appear as particularly relevant in the data we have collected for this report. In other words, post-2014 migrants' and other local residents' integration experiences and their everyday relationships with each other do not seem to be shaped very much by the regional context. There is one significant exception to this, however, and that is the fact that Catalonia – in contrast to both Andalusia and Castile and Leon – has its own language (Catalan), and newcomers are officially required and strongly expected to learn it (in addition to Spanish), if they want to be seen as "fully integrated" by the local ("autochthonous") population. In most parts of Catalonia, especially outside of the capital Barcelona, it is a prerequisite for participation not only in the labour market but also most other spheres of life, including interactions with public institutions. This makes a crucial difference particularly for newcomers from Spanish-speaking countries, which constitute a significant proportion of post-2014 migrants in all selected localities. Another particularity of the Catalan context is the ongoing debate around independence (from Spain). Especially in locality 3, when discussing the current political context, several respondents referred to the independence movement and how it further increased polarisation of the local population between Us (Catalans) vs Them (Spanish and foreigners).

An important particularity of Spain as a whole, which many of our (non-migrant) interviewees were keen to highlight (in all localities), is the fact that even the face of high immigration numbers the issue of immigration and migration-related diversity has not been a very "hot topic" for many years, including part of the post-2014 period (Arango 2013, Domingo et al. 2020). In contrast to most other EU countries, it was only quite recently that the issue started to become more and more politicised, partly because in Spain there was no far-right political party that would rely on the issue for political success. The first such party (VOX) was only founded in 2013 and for several years remained insignificant. In the general elections held in 2015 and 2016, it received less than 0,5% of the votes. It was only since 2018 that the party

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[3] On this, see the country report on multilevel dynamics (WP3): https://whole-comm.eu/working-papers/country-report-on-multilevel-dynamics-spain/

became a relevant player, winning seats in several regional parliaments (first in Andalusia in 2018) and obtaining more than 10% of the votes in the latest general election of 2019. In 2022, VOX was the third-most voted party in the regional elections in Castile and Leon, and in Andalusia, a development that has been noted also at the local level, as will be discussed in the following.

In the next five sub-sections we will present and discuss the main findings from each locality, before we discuss them from a comparative perspective (in chapter 5).

3.2. Locality 1: small town, Catalonia

Background information

Locality 1 is a small agro-industrial town located in the north of Catalonia that has a long history as the economic engine of the district and surrounding area. As such, it has always attracted a significant amount of immigration – initially from the South of Spain and since the end of the 1990s from various other countries (the most numerous groups are India, Morocco, China, Romania, Gambia, and Honduras. This is well reflected in the very high share of foreign population (21,7% in 2020, well above the national and regional average and comparable to some of the country's major cities) which is also highly diverse. In spite of this, and in stark contrast to the localities in Andalusia, both migrant (SP-1-M03, SP-1-M05, SP-1-M06, SP-1-M07) and non-migrant (SP-1-04, SP-1-05, SP-1-06, SP-1-10) interviewees described the local society as rather "closed" and traditional/rural/conservative and some explicitly point at a clear "divide" between locals and foreigners (e.g., SP-1-10).

The most important pillars of economic activity are the industrial and services sector, as well as agriculture and forestry. Especially the textile, metallurgic, leather, wood and paper, and furniture industries have a long history in the area; as has the meat industry which still plays a very important role, particularly as a sector that heavily relies on foreign workers. Several of our interviewees worked in these factories. The town is also an important tourist and weekend destination with many hotels and restaurants, so also the hospitality sector has significant weight. The local economy is going well, unemployment rates are significantly below the national and regional average and even the pandemic has had relatively little negative effect (as was mentioned during the focus group), given the dominance of the food industry and the role as a destination for mostly local and day tourism.

Since 2011 the locality has been governed by Conservative parties, the current government is in power since 2019 and formed by the Catalan nationalist party *Junts per Catalunya* (Together for Catalonia). The locality's population has constantly been growing over the last decades, most significantly during the 2000s, which coincides with, and is mostly the most significant period in terms of immigration. In spite of the relatively small size and "village character" (e.g., SP-1-01) of the locality, it suffers from quite significant residential segregation – many interviewees identify a "classic immigrant quarter" – that goes back to earlier waves of

immigration, and which is being addressed through policies in different areas, like the active mixing of pupils in the local schools. The locality/district is quite well known for its social and community services and active approach to maintain social cohesion, including significant spending on its social and community services.

Relevant Infrastructure

The locality has all the relevant infrastructure: various schools, youth centres, sports facilities, religious sites: several Christian churches (including an evangelist one), a Sikh temple, and three mosques (none of which is identifiable as a mosque); supermarkets, ethnic markets, social services located at the Eastern end of the city centre; there are several parks in and around the city centre, and a botanical garden. Also in the immediate surroundings of the town there are a lot of nature areas (within walking distance from the centre and partly within the municipal boundaries), including hiking trails and viewpoints. There is a reasonable public transport network consisting of four local bus lines connecting all parts of town with the centre.

There are two health centres (one in the largest "migrant neighbourhood" and one in the centre of the town). The one in the migrant neighbourhood was opened recently and was seen as contributing to a further ghettoization of the neighbourhood by one of the city's imams, who in an informal conversation pointed out that this would contribute to "locals" being treated in one health centre and immigrants in another. Not necessarily particular to this locality but quite often mentioned, especially by migrant interviewees, was the local adult school, where many of them were taking language classes and/or had finished their secondary education.

In terms of missing infrastructure, it should be noted that locality 1 has no train station so people depend on buses to reach surrounding towns and larger cities, to which there are several departures per day, but several interviewees noted problems with the timetables (SP-1-M05, SP-1-M06, SP-1-M07). One migrant interviewee (in his 30s) noted that the locality is missing a shopping mall, which can of course be a crucial site for everyday interaction between locals and newcomers, but for a town of this size it is quite normal not to have one so this is something that he would miss in most towns of this size.

Locality 1 is quite strongly segregated. Two neighbourhoods in particular are known for their high share of immigrants (in general, not just post-2014), they are located at the two extremes of the town, to the East and West. Especially considering the town's relatively small size, this high level of segregation seemed quite surprising, and it was explicitly mentioned by the majority of migrant interviewees, as well as other local actors interviewed during the first phase of data collection. One of these two quarters was mentioned by one participant of the focus group to attract most of the public investment to build public housing – which also contributes to a higher concentration of migrants and more vulnerable communities in the migrants' quarters in contrast with other neighbourhoods of the locality. Also several other

local actors (interviewed during field work phase one) referred to this neighbourhood as the "immigrant quarter" and noted that this perception is reinforced by the fact that organisations and services for migrants (but also other socioeconomically disadvantaged populations) are concentrated there (e.g. SP-1-10, SP-1-15).

In 2017, one of the major refugee-serving NGOs (CEPAIM) opened a local branch and reception centre in the locality – also in the "immigrant neighbourhood" – where it accommodates around 40 asylum seekers. This centre is still in operation and has almost always been fully occupied. One of the migrant interviewees reported living in a shared accommodation for non-accompanied minors and young migrant adults that is run by the municipal social services and located in the other immigrant quarter (SP-1-M08). Most of the migrant respondents – including families – were sharing their accommodation with others, and while not all of them were living in one of the known migrant neighbourhoods – half of the interviewees lived in the city centre or other neighbourhoods dominated by "locals" (SP-1-M06, SP-1-M07, SP-1-M03, SP-1-M05). Overall, the interviewed migrants' roommates and/or immediate neighbours were often also migrants, although not necessarily from the same country of origin.

Local organizational landscape

Given the town's long history of immigration and the high share of foreign population it is not surprising that there is a significant number of migrant(-led) organisations, which play an important and active role within the local organisational landscape. Some of them are listed in table 1 (below). As also noted in table 1, several of the "usual" transnational NGOs dealing with vulnerable populations including migrants and refugees, as well as one of the major refugee-serving NGOs are active in the locality. Many local actors interviewed during fieldwork phase one highlighted that one thing that works really well in the locality, and that they described as a very characteristic, if not outstanding, feature of the local organisational landscape, is the density of existing professional networks spanning public, private, and third-sector organisations and actors.

According to our informants, there have never been any significant protests against immigrants or refugees (or immigration more generally), nor is there an organisation or group that would organise or call for such protests at the local. The only incident that was mentioned by a few (non-migrant) interviewees was a very local protest against the opening of a new "mosque" (in fact, more like a prayer room; from outside it is not even identifiable as such) in 2015. It was a local neighbourhood association that had organised the campaign and led a small demonstration. According to a representative of this association, the protest was not directed against the mosque (nor against immigrants or immigration) but against the local government's decision to allow it to be opened in this particular and, in their eyes, "unsuitable" location (a residential area, basically under quite a large housing estate). Several neighbours had seen this decision as yet another instance of the local government

"producing" an immigrant "ghetto", but with time, the resistance has been fading and nowadays the issue does not seem to be a problem anymore. Members of one of the local Mosques mentioned that in recent years, the case of non-accompanied minors had also been at the forefront of the public debate, associated with a strong negative image which has been generalised for the total migrant population and has been received with strong prejudices.

The locality has also not seen any explicit protests or local mobilisation in favour of its migrant and refugee population. The only instances that some interviewees mentioned in this regard were more general manifestations of solidarity e.g., with migrants dying in the Mediterranean Sea (or other border areas) and primarily addressing national or EU policy makers rather than the municipal government or local institutions.

Table 1: Overview of the most relevant NGOs and selected migrant associations active in the field of migrant/refugee integration (some names have been changed to not undermine the anonymity that we promised to all research participants)

Name	Year of foundation	Formal/Informal	Purposes and activities	Leadership and membership
CEPAIM (local branch)	Local branch/centre opened in 2017	Formal	Refugee reception; immigrant integration	The head is Catalan but not a local; 40% of staff is "culturally diverse" ie has an immigrant background
Red Cross (local branch)	Pre-2014	Formal		Mostly locals
Caritas (local branch)	Pre-2014	Formal		Mostly locals
Asociación "XY"	Pre-2014	Formal (registered)	Anti-racism	Mostly migrants
ASSOCIACIÓ DE DONES SUBSAHARIANES XY	Pre-2014 (2004)	Formal (registered)	Socio-cultural	All migrants (women)
Associació "XY Diversa"	2016-17	Formal (registered)	Socio-cultural; support for immigrant women	All migrants (women)

Detailed description of how you conducted fieldwork in Locality 1

The second round of fieldwork in Locality 1 was carried out over four days in mid-June 2022 and a one-day visit at the end of July 2022 for the Focus Group. For various reasons the latter had to be postponed several times and thus in the end overlapped with the beginning of the summer holidays, which led to several of the expected participants unfortunately cancel their participation just a few days before. A related difficulty was the very high temperature (fieldwork took place at the beginning of a heat wave affecting the whole area), which

probably discouraged a lot of interaction in public space, especially during the day. In total, they conducted eight individual interviews with post-2014 migrants, one mixed focus group, and 12 hours of participant observation.

Participant observation:

Two locations have been selected as sites to carry out observation in Locality 1 – one of the main squares in the city centre next to the city hall and a central square in the main 'immigrant neighbourhood'. Both sites were visited once per day during three days of the fieldwork at different moments of the day to gauge the differences between working hours and afterwork as well as some key moments during the day, like breakfast or lunch time. The first site of observation is one of the main squares of the locality, traversed by the street where the city hall is located and with multiple bars and terraces, a children's playground, the local theatre and two bank offices. The square is similar to a small amphitheatre with a children's playground at the centre and multiple long beaches all over the square. While most of the square is built on cement, the upper part is full of trees, which invites people to walk by and sit down in one of the multiple bars and terraces as the area is completely pedestrian. The square is where many of the public events are held, including the weekly market takes place every Monday in the square and the adjacent streets.

The first visit to the first site of observation (SP-1-OBS1.1) was just after the arrival to the locality, with the coincidence that the weekly market was taking place and it lasted during the morning and early afternoon (12h30-15h00). The market was expected to be a place of encounters, where locals and migrants alike would meet while buying groceries and other goods. Nonetheless, the visitants were mostly local women and a few groups of two or three women of African origin or Muslims, who walked together with a trolley or their children – which shows the gendered division of work. There was almost no interaction between locals and migrants at the stalls, besides a polite greeting sometimes. The researcher decided to come back the next day in the afternoon-evening (SP-1-OBS1.2; 18h30-20h30), to see the dynamics of the site without the market and afterwork, which could encourage some encounters around the playgrounds or the multiple terraces in the area. Finally, the last visit (SP-1-OBS1.3) took place in the afternoon of the last day, as a member of the Moroccan community mentioned that women tend to get together after leaving the kids at school (15h00).

The second site for observation (SP-1-OBS2) was a neighbourhood square in the most segregated 'immigrant' neighbourhood, as suggested by various long-term migrants as well as local actors interviewed during the first fieldwork phase as a site mostly used by migrants. The square is constituted by different spaces: a children's playground with games, an open space which was used to play ball games, a dozen of benches and trees and multiple (ethnic) businesses in the immediate surroundings, including a Moroccan café, a bar managed by Latin American migrants, two small supermarkets with South Asian owners and a hair salon.

The first visit to the second site of observation (SP-1-OBS2.1) was conducted during the morning of the second day in the locality – even if the site was visited already the previous day and the researcher conducted the first interview (SP-1-M01) with a customer of the Moroccan café. The reason to visit the square in the morning (09h00-13h00) was to see how people approached both cafés to have breakfast. While the square was mostly empty, the researcher was approached by a long-term migrant from Africa who was curious about her. The second and third visit (SP-1-OBS2.2. and SP-1-OBS2.3) were arranged during the third day of the fieldwork during lunchtime (13h00-14h30) and after working hours (18h00-19h00). The weather was rather hot – which may explain why the square was mostly empty on the morning and the early afternoon. Overall, there was few instances of interactions between locals and migrants. However, there was some divisions visible. First, North African-looking people would go to cafés while locals and people from Latin American origin would go to the bar. Secondly, on the afternoon visit, two groups of children (including locals and foreigners) were playing in the playground. One of the groups was mixed with white and children of colour playing together and speaking in perfect Catalan. The other one, was mainly teenagers from African descent speaking a language that was unrecognizable by the researcher. It was the only instance where the researcher thought it could be local and long-term residents and newcomers sharing the same space – but without any significant relation.

In-depth interviews with post-2014 migrants

A total of 8 interviews with post-2014 migrants were conducted by the researcher[4], seven of them in Spanish and one in French. Five of them were recorded in bars, one in the interviewee's house as per request and two in the sites of observation. All interviews lasted between half an hour and one hour and a half. Respondents were between 18 and 68 years old, half of them women and half, men. All of them but two were from different nationalities, except for two respondents who were both from Morocco. They had a different legal status: four of them had a residence permit (one was married to a European citizen, another had arrived as a non-accompanied minor), one had received asylum or humanitarian protection, one was in the process of regularisation, and two were in an irregular situation. All interviews were audio-recorded and partly transcribed and translated to English.

The selection of the interviewees was mostly done by their disposition to participate in the project rather than through active selection by the researcher. Most of them were provided by personal contacts – friends, collaborators, volunteers – of NGOs workers or officials in the social services of the locality. Before arriving at the locality, the researcher contacted a few activists, NGOs and the social services who shared her contact information in different WhatsApp groups of migrant networks – but the response was inexistent. Additionally, once in the locality, the researcher personally approached the owners of a few migrant-owned businesses – but most of them mentioned that conducting the interviews during the weekdays

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[4] See Appendix for the complete list of migrant interviewees.

and with this little notice was almost impossible. Remarkably, when the researcher approached Chinese businesses and the owner of an African bar, they mentioned how their contact with people who arrived at the locality after-2014 was minimal. Only one of the interviews was facilitated by the owner of a Moroccan café. Finally, the researcher also was able to conduct one interviews on the street by engaging in small talk with one of the respondents.

Focus group discussion

One focus group discussion was organised in Locality 1, around month after the main field visit. Originally, the focus group was expected to be conducted two weeks after the fieldwork to be able to recruit new participants and to avoid missing the contact with some of the contacts who were interested in participating. Due to various delays (also on the part of the NGO that facilitated the organisation and event and was struggling with its workload), it had to be postponed several times and was ultimately conducted at the end of July 2022. This delay in combination with the beginning of the summer vacations, meant that the group had to be completely rearranged with new participants. Unfortunately, a few migrants cancelled their participation on the day before, which led to an unbalanced presence between locals (5), long-term migrant (1) and post-2014 migrants (3). Three of the participants were female and six were male. Regarding their ages, it was quite significant that the local participation were mostly retired people – the youngest one was 50 years old. On the contrary, the migrants and long-term resident were way younger – between 35 and 43 years old. The difference was quite interesting – as there were some enriching debates on the intergenerational difference and understanding of migration.

The discussion took place in a small courtyard next to the civic centre of the migrant neighbourhood and lasted for two hours and 20 minutes (after 20 minutes of introduction and arrangement of the tables and some water and juices for the participants). The discussion was held in Catalan and Spanish, as all the participants were fluent in both languages, so they choose to express themselves in the language they were feeling more comfortable and confident. It was audio-recorded and transcribed and translated to English. The atmosphere was very open, even if some of the local participants sometimes expressed some micro-racist aggressions in an unconscious manner (such as calling Africans "*negritos*" - little black people). Some of the local participants were migrants from the South of Spain who came to the locality 60 years ago and contributed with their perspective of how migration had changed over time. In contrast with some interviews, the migrant participants were also highly critical of the situation and brought new insights in the situation of undocumented migrants in the locality. Finally, the participants and the researcher were especially content as a part of the dynamic helped for the locals to understand more clearly the barriers and the everyday life of the participants, as well as their struggles. There was a shared interest in organising more activities that would bring migrants and locals to together in a similar way.

Discussion on social interactions, individual attitudes, and migrants' experiences

This section presents some key insights from the data collected in locality 1 through participant observation, (migrant) interviews and focus groups and aims to provide a better understanding of (1) post-2014 migrants' social relations and their interactions with non-migrant residents, (2) the individual attitudes that members of both groups have towards each other, and (3) migrants' concrete experiences of inclusion and exclusion in the locality. The analysis is thus structured along these three aspects:

Social relations and (everyday) interaction

Like in other localities, most of our interviewees in locality 1, and especially migrants who arrived after 2014, report having relatively few meaningful relationships nor regular interaction with "locals". On one hand, this was sometimes described as having to do with the lifestyle of the locality which several of them describe as that of a small village, where not much is happening. On the other hand, it is also a lifestyle that is very much focussed on work and most migrant interviewees describe their everyday life in the locality as happening at work and at home. Given the multiple barriers to find high quality jobs, they mostly work in low-skilled and physically demanding jobs (construction, factories, hospitality, etc.) which have either very long (8h to 18h, with 2 hours to rest in the construction sector) or difficult schedules (from 4h30 to 14h30 or from 13h30 to 21h30 in factories) that render a good work-life balance impossible. Many interviewees seemed to believe that free time is only possible on the weekends, as the following quotes illustrate:

> I normally have a very boring life here: work-home, home-work. That's it. I start working at 13h and I finish at 21h. When I finish my duties, I go home, I take a shower, I eat something, and I go to bed. [...] I really feel that I have a very boring life, and, with this schedule, I cannot enjoy anything. [...] After work, I don't get home before 22h30 or 23h00. What am I going to do then? I have no time or energy. It's difficult to have social relations. I know there may be a lot of very nice people around, but my work, my schedule... It has been impossible to build personal relations (SP-1-M04)

> This is a very good village, also very family friendly. It really pushes people to focus on working and to do whatever they came to do and earn some income. It's a type of lifestyle that encourages going from home to work, from work to home, to fulfil your job schedule. I feel it is quite calm. (SP-1-M06)

The relatively few migrant interviewees who have built significant relations with people "from here", have usually done so through support groups or programs for asylum seekers or non-accompanied minors (some of them also mention support from social services or local NGOs as important anchor points of their social life). Those who do not have these links tend to rely on their family (in the locality or abroad) for emotional support or they keep their problems for themselves. Age is clearly a very relevant factor in this sense, including having arrived at a younger age and therefore having had more time (and institutional support) to build relations.

The following account of Amina, a 19-year-old Moroccan citizen who had arrived as an unaccompanied minor, illustrates this:

> [There are] the educators from the centre and a network group of support where there are a lot of young foreigners … but also a lot a people from here, who are trying to help us, and want to participate in different activities. [In that group] we share job offers, flat or room advertisement, if there's anyone looking for a room... That's also really important because it helps me a lot [in my everyday life]. There are locals from the locality, but they are mostly people older than me – there are not that many young people, but there's a little bit of everything (SP-1-M08).

Some research participants, including Victor, a "local" focus group participant, also highlighted the fact that a mostly young migrant population is facing an aging local population and that this combination is not conducive to the relations between the two groups: "our locality has one of the highest share of elderly population, [while] newcomers normally are young people, so the spaces to interact and meet each other [are very limited] and that makes everything more difficult" (SP-1-FGP4).

But also between people of similar age there is not a lot of interaction across ethnic lines. This was confirmed by the researcher's own observations: At the town's weekly market (SP-1-OBS1.1) – where most of the sellers were white people, some looked like they were Roma or of African origin – there was almost no interaction between migrants and locals at the stalls – besides a polite "Good morning" and some casual talking[5]. On the local playground (SP-1-OBS1.2), children from different ethnic origins were playing (locals, Africans, Latinos and South Asians), but the parents were sitting on the benches around the area, only speaking with those of their own origin. Latin families were speaking among themselves, a few South Asian women with their children were speaking in their language on the bench nearby, and the locals were sitting and chatting on another bench. Interestingly, it seemed like the separation and lack of communication between the parents were also reflected in the kids' behaviour: those from the same ethnic profile were playing together instead of playing with the rest of the kids – as if they were copying their own parents' behaviour. The same dynamic was also described by many migrant (but also non-migrant) interviewees, including Omar, a young man from Gambia who noted that

> in the streets, it is really difficult to see a black person and a white person with children playing around, sitting and talking to each other. If you go to the square, the Indian people are in one corner with their family, the Spanish people are sitting in

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[5] Interestingly, on the other hand, the researcher (a white, young woman) was also greeted by locals who did not greet those from a different ethnicity. This situation was recurrent during the fieldtrip, and she would be often greeted while walking on the streets by locals, which did not happen when these local people met with racialised people.

another bench with their own family, the Africans are somewhere else... You can see that they are not together (SP-1-M04).

The same was said about local restaurants, bars, and other businesses that are often identifiable as either "local" or belonging to a certain migrant community. A post-2014 migrant of Honduran origin who participated in the focus group provided an explanation for this phenomenon:

> I feel way more comfortable going to a Colombian shop or Latin shop because I will find my food, the brands from my country, a typical cheese from my country… I also had the opportunity to be in a local square with multiple bars and cafés, and I was drinking a coffee with some migrant friends, and I saw my bosses, who are Catalan, who greeted me, but they sat in another café, which is mainly visited by Catalans. So, I can sit down and see that in a bar all the customers are Catalans, and in the one next to it, Latinos. It's like this, it's separated. With hairdressers it's the same… It's not that we don't want to go to the locals' [businesses], but the [familiar] way in which they treat you, the products… it's all important (SP-1-FGP7).

In this context, the existence of different ethnic communities – some of which have a very long history in locality 1 – was seen as both beneficial (in terms of crucial sources of support as well as bridges between individual newcomers and "mainstream society"), but also as a potential barrier to successful integration and normalized relations. For example, some respondents mentioned the far-reaching support within the Latino community, who often start their own businesses, like restaurants, bars, or clubs, which then become meeting places for many other Latino migrant workers (SP-1-M02; SP-1-M06). Importantly, these initially personal links become professional networks and often reach well beyond the own ethnic community, as Sebastian, a Colombian migrant explained:

> It was really helping to arrive in a place where there's a Latino community who is open and keen to help each other, who are open to give you an opportunity. From the first moment, it helped to getting noticed by businessmen and businesswomen in the public, who later helped me to find other gigs, to know new people who could help with my career, etc. (SP-1-M06).

At the same time, as a "local" focus group participant was very keen to highlight, it is important to avoid spatial segregation, and that the that local government has contributed to such ghettoization by concentrating almost all social housing in the same "immigrant neighbourhood". The high level of residential segregation that characterizes locality 1 was very often mentioned as a barrier to integration. Other factors that have been mentioned as significant limitations to intercultural relations and everyday interaction are the lack of economic resources that hinders many newcomers' equal participation (often in combination with fear of detection and expulsion in the case of migrants in irregular situations, who avoid spending time in main squares known for heightened police presence, as noted by several focus group participants, SP-1-FGP7); and the relatively limited public transport network

within the town and its immediate surroundings but especially connections to other towns and larger cities. Several migrant interviewees noted that to reach their workplace they need a car or a co-worker who gives them a lift every single day or to put up with very long waiting and travel times that take up the little free time they could enjoy with family and friends.

Individual attitudes

When asked about how they perceive the local population and the way they have been received in the locality several migrants described the host society as rather closed and narrow-minded (some compared it to the much more open and welcoming mentality of Southern Spain), and some noted a certain village-character. Liliana, a 68-year-old woman from Argentina, suggested that this closed mentality might have geographical reasons:

> This is a little village, near the mountains, which has been isolated until very recently, ten to twelve years ago [when the tunnels were build that nowadays connect locality 1 to several major cities in the region]. I believe the society here (…) it is so homogeneous because without the tunnels, for a long time, the society was isolated. That's also something that I've realised in other regions with mountains (SP-1-M05).

During the interviews and particularly the focus group discussion, several participants referred to typical negative stereotypes which they described as widespread among (parts of) the local population and very unhelpful for positive intercultural relations. Negative attitudes are – as everywhere – clearly linked to individual factors like age, level of education, and job environment (reflecting the degree of exposure to competition from migrant workers, as was highlighted during the focus group), and they often follow from personal negative experiences or stories (which are often rumours) of other people's negative experiences with migrants. Quite a few migrant respondents seemed to have internalized some of these negative stereotypes and/or subscribed to the "good vs. bad migrant" narrative: They tend to differentiate themselves from other members of their own community by highlighting that they do not create any problems, do not follow some of the customs of their country, etc. in order to fit in well. The following account of a Sebastian is a good example:

> Bad experiences that may have happened previously are what makes these people mistrust us. We have done bad things, and I include myself because I'm also Latin American even if I haven't done it, but because one person did it, the rest must pay for that. There's a generalisation. They see Colombians as drug dealers. […] When I say that I am migrant, and Latino, they may be misgiving. But I believe that my personality sets me apart from other migrants, it makes me different. They realise that I am not just another Latino, I'm not as you think once you get to know me (SP-1-M06).

Closely related to this is the fact that many migrants interviewed in locality 1 understood "integration" almost exclusively as their duty, and something to be achieved through their own individual effort to fit in, as expressed by Esperanza, a Peruvian woman who had only recently arrived in the locality: "I can't just arrive in a place and impose my rules (…) You need

to adapt, that is what [integration] means. [...] It is an adaptation process. If you want to integrate, you need to adapt how they live, and to respect their culture" (SP-1-M02).

In Catalonia, a crucial part of this culture is the Catalan language. This is what sets locality 1 (and also locality 3, but to a lesser degree) apart from the others, especially for newcomers from Spanish-speaking countries, who thus also have to learn an additional language if they want to be (accepted as) full members of society. Most of the migrants we interviewed in locality 1 (three of which were from Latin America), described learning that language not only as their duty but also a crucial precondition for accessing the local labour market, and especially the better-paid segments of it.

> The most important [barrier to find a good job] is knowing the language – Catalan, not Spanish! I know foreigners that live here, who speak perfect Spanish, but they are not able to speak Catalan and they can't find a good job. [...] If you don't know the language, you can go work in factories or restaurants [kitchens], but they are really hard jobs. I've already tried it; it is really hard work. But if you want to work in an office... You must speak the language (SP-1-M07).

On one hand, the language issue was often perceived as a significant barrier and a deficit that locals sometimes used as a mechanism of exclusion, especially regarding access to privately rented housing but also in other spheres, as several migrant interviewees noted:

> I believe that there's a barrier related with the language. In [the locality] they speak more Catalan. It is difficult for you if you only speak Spanish or if they know that you don't speak Catalan. I've heard that there are some people who had issues in the library because the clerk didn't want to speak in Spanish, only Catalan. (SP-1-M08)

On the other hand, Catalan can also work as a connecting and thus integrating factor, that sometimes sets non-Spanish speaking migrants (who learn Catalan) apart from Latin Americans (who do not, since they already speak Spanish), and which can significantly change locals' attitudes towards individual migrants, as many of them were aware.

> I didn't want to learn Catalan in the beginning, I thought it was going to be difficult. And I was always wondering about Catalan. But when I read about the history, it makes complete sense that they want to protect their language, which is also an official language [in the region]. It is not a dialect, is a language. They don't want to lose their language; they don't want to lose their history... So obviously they protect it, and they take care of it. After learning this, I really respect them. And people really like when I speak the language (SP-1-M07).

Experiences of inclusion/exclusion

As in other localities, many of the post-2014 migrants interviewed in locality 1 had experienced discrimination, racism, and sometimes sexual harassment but they tend to avoid using these words. This became clear during the interviews themselves but also from how they had reacted in the concrete situations, as the account of a young migrant from Senegal

who in the three years that he has been living in locality 1 experienced a lot of everyday racism and explicit exclusion from various sites, including the local night club: "For me, it was a lack of respect […] If all my friends, Spanish people, could go in, why couldn't I? I am also going to pay my entry ticket and my drinks at the club […]. The police told me to denounce it as racism, but I told them that I was not going to do it" (SP-1-M03).

When asked specifically about their experiences of everyday racism and discrimination in the locality, many migrant interviewees first of all spoke about the difficulties of finding a flat, which was not only but also due to racist prejudices held by many local property owners. Notably, the issue of racism in the housing sector ('*racismo inmobiliario*') was also highlighted by many other (institutional) actors that we interviewed during field work phase one, and especially in locality 1[6]. The following account of Karina, a refugee woman from Armenia, is only one of many similar stories we came across:

> When we were looking for our flat on the internet, we saw a flat that we liked. A girl from the Red Cross who speaks Catalan helped us with everything, explaining our situation [to the agency] and when she mentioned it was for a migrant family, the real estate agency said that they were going to ask the landlord, and will call her back. And when they did, they said it has already been rented. But two or three weeks later, the same advertisement was online again. So, I believe they didn't want to rent it to us because we are migrants" (SP-1-M07).

As is the case here, many if not most post-2014 migrants' experiences of inclusion were usually related to the help and more or less formalised support they had received from NGOs, without which many of them would not have been able to cope. Some interviewees also reported positive encounters with, and/or inclusionary practices of, people working in municipal services, like when they registered their residence in the locality. The latter constitutes crucial bureaucratic step, and most interviewees did not remember any difficulties doing so, even if many of them were (or still are) in an irregular situation and thus did not have any Spanish identity document. Manuel, a post- 2014 migrant from Honduras that participated in the focus group discussion remembered that he had been rather surprised to realise that "I can use my passport to register at the city hall, but I cannot rent a flat with it" (SP-1-FGP7).

Interviewees' experiences of finding work in locality 1 were characterised by a combination of inclusion and exclusion. When describing the many barriers in terms of labour market access, participants highlighted the crucial difference that legal and socioeconomic status can make: for people who are in irregular situations, the lack of documentation clearly constitutes the main barrier. These migrants normally work without a contract, and they are paid in cash. Women tend to work as caregivers or in restaurants, men mostly in restaurants. Those who managed to regularise, report language issues, (formal) educational requirements, and their

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[6] See WP4 country report: https://whole-comm.eu/working-papers/country-report-on-integration-spain/.

lack of personal contacts as the main problems. The need of having a large social and support network is mentioned almost in every interview, whether for finding a job or renting a flat (SP-1-M01/M02/M05/M06/M08). The vast majority of people working in low-skilled jobs (often because their diplomas are not recognised) has found these opportunities through Temporary Job Agencies (ETT) and the short duration of the resulting (work) contracts becomes a significant barrier in other spheres, especially when trying to rent a flat, as Amina noted:

> The main barriers to find a home in the locality is that they ask you first for a [work] contract – a good one. But you can't have a good contract right now because they only give you a 3-months or 6-months contract. […] Another barrier is that a lot of times, they [landlords] don't want foreigners. People do not trust you; they may welcome you, but they do not trust foreigners. I did have a lot of friends who were looking for a flat, they have a job... but they do not trust us. Then, it is very difficult (SP-1-M08).

She was one of several interviewees who explicitly mentioned the need to build trust with the landlord as a key element to be able to rent a flat (SP-1-M04, SP-1-M07, SP-1-M08). While they usually refer to trust between individuals, the same is true at the collective level, where trust is necessary to overcome the negative stereotypes that seem to be quite common in locality 1. As in other localities these stereotypes often overlap and/or interact with structural (legal) exclusion and more general bureaucratic difficulties, as the following account of a post-2014 migrant from Argentina (who also holds EU citizenship), illustrates:

> It was a vicious cycle in the administrative and bureaucracy domain. If you are not registered in the tax agency, you can't buy or rent a home. But to do that, you also need to have a NIE first, but they can't give you the NIE because you don't have an address or a rent contract. You cannot open a bank account only with the Passport because you need the NIE […] and without a bank account, you cannot contribute to the social security and the tax agency (SP-1-M05).

Brief summary of main insights for Locality 1

The overall impression from migrant interviews, the focus group discussion, and the observations is that locality 1 is a small but nonetheless highly segregated city that has been strongly affected not only by recent immigration but had a long history of receiving newcomers from different parts of the world. However, this history and experience has not led to a truly cohesive local community but one where the different ethnic groups get along fine but do not interact very much with each other, at least not in everyday public life. Regarding the **ideational-political dimension**, it must be mentioned that locality 1 has a very active (although conservative) local government in terms of support for integration and community cohesion, but these efforts are not explicitly recognised very often by migrant respondents. The local population's attitudes towards immigration seem to be mixed, with particularly older people still struggling to get used to the very diverse local community. There

has been little political mobilisation around the issue and overall, public discourse has remained relatively positive – not least due to the local industry's very high demand for cheap and flexible labour. In terms of the **social dimension**, individual characteristics (particularly age, gender, family situation, and ethnicity) seem to significantly shape integration opportunities; whereby NGOs and migrant associations – some of which have a very long history in the locality – are crucial sources of support for newcomers but also try to function as bridges or create links with the "autochthonous" population. A very important factor that sets locality 1 apart from the others is the Catalan language, which constitutes a key element and measure of integration and thereby works as a mechanism as both exclusion (when locals refuse to speak Spanish and insist that newcomers have to learn their language, in addition to Spanish) as well as inclusion (because it allows newcomers to express not only their wanting to belonging but also their solidarity with the Catalan people). When it comes to **governance**, many participants highlight the exclusionary consequences of (national) immigration law and policy, but few refer to local governance. One issue that several interviewees and a focus group participant highlighted is the problem of residential segregation which some measures are being criticized as contributing to (like the concentration of many migrant-specific services as well as social housing in the same neighbourhood) while others are seen as helpful (like the efforts to de-segregate local schools by mixing pupils across the municipality). Hence, **geographical/spatial aspects** appear as relevant, especially the high level of residential segregation, which seemed unusual for a town of this relatively small size and has clear negative effects in terms of everyday interactions but also individual attitudes (since it contributes to the feeling or fear that certain parts of the town are "lost to the immigrants" and that this will attract even more immigration). An additional factor – though not specific to this locality – is the climate: In hot places and/or during hot periods of the year, most of peoples' lives take place inside the house and the time for interaction is reduced to the evening hours and/or to sites where people can more easily stand the high temperatures, so that the presence of trees, parks, and other including built infrastructure can play a significant role.

3.3.   Locality 2: small town, Castile & Leon

Background information

Locality 2 is located in an area known as "Spanish Lapland" due to its extremely low population density. One of the characteristics and main challenges of this area is the shrinking and aging of the local population, which is making it increasingly difficult to provide important public services (like schools or public transport) but also to keep local supermarkets and restaurants open in every locality, especially in the countryside. It is quite a remote area where it is difficult to get to and around without a private car. Of all the localities in our sample, it is the most difficult one to reach by public transport (any larger city including the regional capital is at least a three-hour train or bus ride away). Another characteristic that the region shares with Lapland is the cold and snowy winter, which several interviewees had not been aware of before coming to the locality, and had to get used to (e.g., SP-2-M05).

The main economic activity in the locality is agriculture, livestock, and hunting, which represents 13.35% of employment. The automotive industry represents 7.45% of the economic weight, closely followed by the hotel and restaurant sector representing 7.47% of the affiliates. Finally, the wood, cork, and furniture manufacturing industry account for 3.12% of the economy. Given the aging population – the share of people over 85 is among the highest in Europe – also (domestic) care has become a relevant sector of the local economy. For young people, on the other hand, it is a lack of attractive employment opportunities that makes more and more of them leave the area and move to other parts of Spain or other countries, in order to study or find work in other sectors; and many of them never return. Similar to locality 1 (and 3, and in contrast to localities 5 and 6), the local culture/community was described by several – migrant and non-migrant – interviewees as rather closed and difficult to enter by "anyone coming from outside", even just other parts of the country.

Unsurprisingly (and in stark contrast to locality 1) the locality and surrounding towns and villages have never attracted much immigration. As a result, the share of foreign residents has traditionally been low and even though there has been a notable increase in recent years it continues to lie below the national average, and the same is true for the unemployment rate, which is significantly lower than in most other parts of the country. As a result, the relatively few local companies struggle to find workers locally (but also from other parts of Spain where unemployment rates have been much higher in recent years). On several occasions, this lack of local labour supply has been compensated by hiring and brining workers from other (mostly Latin American) countries (SP-2-04, SP-2-05), and also the regional government has long seen immigration (policy) as a measure against depopulation. Also some of the migrant interviewees were aware that this is part of the reason why they ended up in this locality. María and her family, for example, had claimed asylum in Catalonia but the NGO in charge of their case had brought them here because "at that time Spain was sending the refugees to its least densely populated areas" (SP-2-M02).

Relevant Infrastructure

The locality has most of the relevant infrastructure: various primary and secondary schools, youth centres, sports facilities, and religious sites: several Christian churches and two mosques/prayer rooms. There are several supermarkets, none of which is located directly in the city centre, and the larger ones in the more industrial outskirts of the city. Municipal social services are located right in the city centre. Every neighbourhood has its own civic centre. These are municipal multi-purpose facilities where all kinds of events and activities take place and can be organised by any local association (rooms must be booked in advance and events or activities must not be for profit; the existence of these centres is the local government's primary argument against local migrant organisations' long-standing demand to be given their own, permanent space, as was highlighted during the focus group).

There are several parks in and around the city centre. One of them is very large and central (it includes the town's botanical garden) and constitutes a very important landmark and meeting place for local residents as well as sight for tourists and day visitors. As one of the two sights of participant observation, it will be described in more detail below (in the sub-section describing the fieldwork). Considering the relatively small size of the town and especially its centre, there is a reasonable public transport network, consisting of six local bus lines. To one side the town is confined by a river, which during the summer months becomes a popular bathing spot and picknick area that is also being used by short term visitors for parking and wild camping (At the time of the first field visit, in November 2021, the area was not used due to the winterly weather, during the second visit in October 2022, it was frequented by hikers and joggers but not very much transited). Because of the river, the town can only expand in the other direction where it is bordered by hilly and unused land, and where quite a lot of residential construction is currently ongoing.

What is notably absent from the urban landscape is an ethnic market, as well as any other place or site or street where a visibly more diverse population could be observed. What several interviewees noted is the lack of opportunities for higher/further education and specialised training, which is seen as the main reason why so many young people (locals and newcomers) leave the town in search for better opportunities elsewhere, usually in larger cities. Given the small size of the town (centre), most important services and infrastructure can be reached by foot quite easily, but there are two notable exceptions (as highlighted by interviewees): the main hospital is located outside of the centre and on a hill which makes it necessary to take the bus to get there; and also the main cinema is located quite far away from the city centre (clearly beyond walking distance), which significantly reduces its role as an everyday meeting place, also for migrant and non-migrant youth. Especially older residents instead referred to the acute shortage of medical specialists in the town (and the whole province) which leads to very long waiting times and to several interviewees considering to leave the town/province before they get older and might become more dependent on medical services.

In contrast to other localities (especially locality 1), there is no particular neighbourhood or street or otherwise defined "part of town" where immigrants in general and/or post-2014 migrants in particular would live. All interviewees (during phase 1 and phase 2) coincide in highlighting a very low level (if any) residential segregation. Instead, the various different communities live (and work, go out, etc.) all across the town, and also "their bars" (as one focus group participant called it) and the relatively few ethnic restaurants or shops (or other businesses) seem to be quite equally spread across (as was mentioned during the focus group discussion). The locality and province only started to receive more significant numbers of refugees and asylum seeker around 2016/17 when several NGOs opened reception facilities in the town itself and the province. In August 2021 the city government – formed by the Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE) that has been in power since 2007 – renewed its commitment (first made in Sept 2015) to act as a city of refuge and to receive refugees from Afghanistan. Until now, however, there is no centre within the locality to house and accommodate larger

numbers of asylum seekers and refugees, but three different organisations (CEPAIM, the Red Cross, and APIP-ACAM) run several smaller reception facilities (usually flats) that are spread across the city (as well as other municipalities in the area, in 2019 the three NGOs provided more than 500 reception places for asylum seekers in the province). One of the people (a local politician) interviewed during phase 1 highlighted that most local residents have no idea where these flats are or how many people live there (She herself only found out that one such flat had been opened in the building where her husband has his office several months after it had been established and did not recall any problems or critique from neighbours). Apart from accommodation, these organisations also run several related projects and services, including legal and immigration advice, language courses and other kinds of integration support for migrants and refugees.

Those whose claims for international protection are rejected (which sooner or later is the case for the vast majority of asylum seekers, according to interviewees) will have to leave the accommodation provided to them (usually within a couple of weeks) and in case of vulnerabilities a referral is made to social services. Since the latter cannot provide longer-term/substantial support given these people's irregular situation, the only places available would be the emergency accommodation managed by Caritas, but these are very limited (12 places, usually occupied). In these cases, it is often the church communities, including the evangelical church but also the mosques, that provide some support to these people, outside of the formal reception system. It was only in February 2022 that the city government officially revealed plans for a new state-run refugee centre (CAR) with approximately 200 reception places to be built at the edges of the town (see photos), on municipal land. At the time of the second field visit building works had not started and the planning phase was officially estimated to take another one to two years. Many of the locals we spoke to were aware of these plans but did not perceive them likely to be realised any time soon. Thus, while the project is sometimes justified with reference to the current war and resulting arrival of refugees from Ukraine, the centre will not be finished quickly enough to be part of the response to this particular conflict.

Local organizational landscape

As already mentioned, and indicated in table 2 (below), there are several NGOs and many local associations, including many migrant associations, active in the locality. While this might seem surprising given the locality's relatively short history and comparatively low rate of immigration, it is not unusual for Spain, where associations can (generally) very easily be founded and play an important role in and for society.

On one hand, most of the large (national and international) NGOs that are active in relation to asylum and immigration have a local (in some cases provincial) branch in locality 2, and as in all other localities (and in Spain in general) they are seen as crucial actors and play a key role for the local implementation of (national) asylum and (mostly regional) integration policies. The researcher's overall impression was that one of the three organisations providing (state-funded) asylum-related services – which did not respond to any of the requests for an interview, further contacts, or other information – was somewhat less integrated in the local network and the otherwise very good and close collaboration between different entities. Interestingly, the same organisation was mentioned by at least two migrant interviewees as having a much worse reputation (among service users) than the other two.

In addition to these formal NGOs, there is also a large number of migrant (-led) organisations. At least 25 of them were active at the time of research, but this landscape is changing significantly over time. New associations are formed while others become less or completely inactive. In part, this fluctuation reflects the number of (active) community members living in the locality. In the case of locality 2, the Venezuelan community provides a good example: Until 2017 they had an association together with the Colombian community and only with the sudden and significant growth of their local community they split and formed their own association. According to their president at the time of the second field visit, a new association needs 25 members in order to be registered (and thus officially founded). According to another informant – also a president of a migrant organisation – most of these associations were founded in the 2000s and one of the first migrant communities to register their own association were the Brazilians[7] more or less at the same time with the Bolivians (who are still very active) and the Moroccans. The latter community is an interesting case that illustrates that some of these organisations are more, others less integrated in the organisational landscape and that also this is changing over time: In a conversation with several community leaders regarding the organisation of the 2022 "intercultural days"[8], they very much welcomed the recent integration of the Bulgarian association and lamented the simultaneous disintegration of the Moroccan association[9].

One thing that all – migrant and non-migrant – interviewees, as well the participants of the focus group and other people we spoke to, agreed upon, was that there have never been any significant protests against migrants or refugees (nor immigration more generally) in the locality. Some of the participants admitted that this does not mean that there is no racism or

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[7] She also noted that the Brazilian association still exists but has not been very active lately, and did not participate in the main annual event, the "intercultural days".

[8] See following sub-section for a more detailed description of this event.

[9] For them the latter has been an unfortunate development that they couldn't really explain, but the researchers impression was that it might well have to do with the fact that the event is nowadays very much dominated by the various Latin American communities whose way of celebrating (e.g., including Latin dance music and alcohol) might not be easily compatible with Islamic traditions.

rejection but that it is almost never openly expressed and never collectively. "We obviously don't know what's going on in people's heads, but at least they don't openly express such feelings and attitudes", as a focus group participant had put it (SP-2-FGP5). The only instance of what could be called "anti-migrant" protest was the initial resistance of a very small and local movement of "concerned neighbours" against the new refugee reception centre. It was fuelled by the open criticism of the project and the way it was publicly announced (only days after the regional elections) that came from various representatives of the conservative party (PP) and involved a local neighbourhood association and the collection of a few hundred online signatures. So far, however, the campaign never gained real traction and the preoccupation clearly remained limited to a relatively small group of people living in the also quite newly built residential blocks next to which the centre is to be build.

On the other hand, research participants could also not remember any instances of pro-migrant mobilisations within or by the local community. What some of them refer to when we ask this question are various small-scale demonstrations of solidarity with disadvantaged or oppressed groups in other world regions (like the people of Palestine) or opposition to authoritarian regimes (like in Venezuela).

Table 2: *Overview of the most relevant NGOs and selected migrant associations[10] active in the field of migrant/refugee integration (some names have been changed to not undermine the anonymity that has been promised to all research participants)*

Name	Year of foundation	Formal/Informal	Purposes and activities	Leadership and membership
FUNDACIÓN APIP-ACAM (local branch)	Pre-2014	Formal (state funded)	Asylum accommodation & support	locals
CEPAIM (local branch)	Pre-2014	Formal (partly state funded)	Asylum accommodation & support + other (own) projects and initiatives	locals
Red Cross (local branch)	Pre-2014	formal	(legal) advise, education & training	locals
Caritas (local branch)	Pre-2014	Formal (linked to the Catholic church)	Social assistance, emotional support,	locals
Red XY de Ayuda al Refugiado	Formed around 2015, now inactive	Informal	Refugee support	locals

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[10] Many – especially Latin American but also some African and European – countries/communities have their own association (this list is not exhaustive)

Asociación XY Amigos del Pueblo Saharaui	Pre-2014	Formal (registered)	Host Saharaui refugee children over the summer ("holidays in peace")	Migrants*
Asociación [XY] [pan-African]	Pre-2014	Formal (registered)	Socio-cultural activities	Migrants*
Asociación of Venezuelans	2017 (until then together with Colombia)	Formal (registered)	Socio-cultural activities	Migrants*
Asociación of Ecuadorians		Formal (registered)	Socio-cultural activities	Migrants*
Asociación of Dominicans	2009	Formal (registered)	Socio-cultural activities	Migrants*

Detailed description of how you conducted fieldwork in Locality 2

The second round of fieldwork in locality 2 was carried out in the course of one week, at the end of October 2022. Given the significant travel time it has in this case not been possible to organise more than one visit, so everything had to be fitted into the same week which made it relatively difficult to find research participants. This was especially true for the focus group discussion, which in order to allow sufficient notice period had to be held on Friday afternoon, which is certainly not the most attractive time slot for participants.

What hugely facilitated the data collection was that the field visit could be organised in a way that it coincided with the annual celebration of the "intercultural days". The researcher arrived on the day (Sunday) of the main event, which consist of a street parade followed by a small festival of traditional music and dance performances, and a street food festival, all at the main town square. The whole event is organised by the local migrant associations with the support of the city government.

This day constituted the ideal setting for the researcher to get a glimpse of the town's most intercultural moment of the whole year, and more importantly, a chance to meet many of the local community leaders in person. The researcher had arranged in advance to meet with one of them – the president of a pan-African socio-cultural association – at the event, and this person introduced him to several other presidents or representatives and/or passed him their personal telephone numbers. This saved several days of work contacting the various organisations, reaching/meeting the right people within them, and obtaining their participation or help with finding research participants.

Participant observation

Two locations have been selected as sites to carry out observation in locality 2 – the main square (Plaza Mayor) and the main park, both located in the town centre – and both were

visited at two different moments in time: The first site of observation as the central town square, right in front of the town hall (Ayuntamiento), opposite of which is a large church and to one side a theatre (the main one in the town). One half of the square is very bleak: no tree, no bench, etc. The other half is surrounded by bars and restaurants (and one hotel), and there is a line of trees and beneath them several benches, in addition to the tables that belong to the restaurants that use this part of the square as their terrace. In the middle of the square, separating the two halves, there is a fountain with a small monument.

The first visit and observation of the main square (SP-2-OBS1.1) took place during the "intercultural days" and lasted the whole afternoon (from 13:30 to 18:30). On that occasion, the site was explicitly meant as one of encounter, but mostly frequented by migrants (many of them long-term residents). Since this is obviously not an every-day scenario – but rather the opposite: it is THE (only) day in the year that is dedicated to the city's immigrants and their cultures (particularly traditional dances and cuisine) – the researcher visited the place again on the day after (SP-2-OBS1.2, Monday, 14:30-16:30) to get an idea of what is going on there on under "normal" circumstances: which is hardly anything. Even though the weather was quite nice (slightly colder and not as sunny than during the first visit) very few people could be observed and thus very little interaction in general, none between migrant and non-migrant population.

The second selected location was the (main) municipal park and botanical garden. Already in the first fieldwork phase many of my interviewees suggested this park as the best place for this kind of observation, since throughout the year (even in winter, but especially in summer) it is much frequented by people from all parts of the town, both "locals" and newcomers. Several migrant interviewees referred to the park when asked where they spend their free time (especially without having to consuming anything, e.g., INT SP-2-M04). It is very big, very visible if you look at any map of the city. It stretches from the very centre to the West and is shaped like a triangle or piece of cake that covers one eighth of the town centre. There is a lower (Eastern) part with lots of different trees between walkways (all paved) that are all flanked on both sides by benches and connect several small "squares", all surrounded by benches. In the middle of this part lies a restaurant/café with tables inside and a terrace. Behind the restaurant lies a part that looks more like a classic botanical garden and behind that (further west) is the "upper" part of the park which consists of a huge meadow with large trees to each side, and another restaurant/bar with a large terrace on the far end. The park was visited three times: one short initial visit during one hour in the afternoon (17:00-18:00), a second, longer, visit in the early afternoon (SP-2-OBS2.1, 14:30-17:30) and a third visit during what in Spain is the "late morning" (SP-2-OBS2.2, 12:00-15:00). The weather was quite pleasant on all three occasions and even though many different people frequent (in most cases: pass through) the park, very few actual instances of interaction between foreign (looking) and local people could be observed.

In-depth interviews with post-2014 migrants

A total of 10 interviewees with post-2014 migrants have been conducted by the researcher in locality 2[11], all of them in Spanish, mostly in bars or restaurants (following the preference of the interviewee, one of them preferred to do the interview through WhatsApp, one interview was arranged at the premises of an NGO). All interviews lasted between half an hour and one hour. Respondents were between 21 and 52 years old, six of them men, four women. They all had different nationalities but most (six) of them were Latin American, the other four from Algeria, Tunisia, Senegal, and Syria. They had a variety of legal statuses: One had obtained Spanish citizenship, four had received asylum or humanitarian protection, one was still in the asylum process and four in an irregular situation[12]. All but two interviews were audio-recorded and partly transcribed/translated to English. The other two participants were not happy to be recorded, nor to give written consent. In these and two other cases, oral consent was obtained instead.

Given the very tight timeframe the researcher had little chance to really select interviewees. Most of them resulted from initial contacts with several leaders of migrant associations who quite happily agreed to facilitate contacts with one or more compatriots who had arrived after 2014 (only one of the community leaders had arrived after 2014 herself). Since most of these interviewees were Latin Americans (because initial contacts with facilitators/gatekeepers were made at the very Latin American-dominated "intercultural days" event) the researcher also contacted various NGOs serving other migrant populations. For very understandable reasons (lack of time, data protection, etc.) they were not very willing to facilitate contacts, but the researcher was lucky enough to visit one of the NGOs during a private fare-well celebration of one of the workers in which also several service users took part and so various interviews could be arranged directly in person, for the following days, in order to diversify the sample.

Focus group discussion

One focus group discussion was organised in locality 2, on the last day of the fieldwork. This was done in order to have as much time as possible to find and recruit enough participants, which worked reasonably well. The focus group was planned to be mixed, and in the end, it had five participants, two of whom were locals (both female) and three migrants (one male, two female) but none of them had arrived after 2014. The two prospective participants who were post-2014 migrants unfortunately cancelled their participation on the same day (as did one "local" and one "long-term resident migrant"). It should also be noted that many of the post-2014 migrants that were interviewed, for example, spoke good enough Spanish to be interviewed but would not have been able to participate in the group discussion on an equal

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[11] See Appendix for the complete list of migrant interviewees.

[12] Only one of them (the mother of a Syrian family who were resettled from Lebanon) had never been in an irregular situation since they arrived to Spain.

footing with the rest, so the researcher regarded the mix of participants obtained as quite appropriate.

The discussion took place in a meeting/classroom at the premises of the Red Cross and lasted for one hour and 45 minutes (following about half an hour of introduction). The whole discussion was held in Spanish and was audio-recorded and subsequently transcribed and translated to English. The atmosphere was very friendly and positive. In that sense, but also for the openness with which the participants spoke, it clearly helped very much that all participants already knew at least one of the others from before. It did not really lead to any surprising findings but provided a great space for participants to reflect and collectively think about things that could actually be done in the locality – at least one concrete idea for a new intercultural activity/get-together arose and might be taken forward.

Discussion on social interactions, individual attitudes, and migrants' experiences

This section draws from the data collected in locality 2 through participant observation, (migrant) interviews and focus groups and aims to provide a better understanding of (1) post-2014 migrants' social relations and their interactions with non-migrant residents, (2) the individual attitudes that members of both groups have towards each other, and (3) migrants' concrete experiences of inclusion and exclusion in the locality.

Social relations and (everyday) interaction

Most interviewees and focus group participants, as well as the researcher's own perception obtained through observation, suggest that there is not a lot of interaction going on between "locals" and "newcomers", at least not in everyday public life. When we asked interviewees how and where they spend their time and tend to meet other people, most of them immediately spoke about their work (or their efforts to find work). It became clear how relevant the employment context was not just for them to be able to "make a living", but also in terms of their social relations:

Carmen, a 38-year-old mother of three (from Venezuela) remembered that her first job as a waiter allowed her to socialize a lot with locals, and that it also gave her the opportunity to make herself known, as well as the situation in her country. She described it as a "mutual getting to know" and noted that "a job like this helps a lot! …compared to working as a cleaner or care worker, even though they also involve close personal contact…" (SP-2-M02). The experience of Ani (38, from Honduras) shows that also care work can strengthen one's social and other ties in a place: Working as an "in-house" domestic carer for a local family she got to know many of their friends and benefitted from their network: "In my case, what helped me a lot was that I was living with a family from here, I socialised with them all day and they oriented me very well… I learned very quickly and made many friends [through them]" (SP-2-M06). Apart from that, they also helped her to access the healthcare system and to officially register her residence, by providing all the necessary proofs and accompanying her to the local administration office.

At the same time (vice versa), existing personal contacts/networks – especially with locals – are crucial for finding employment (as well as housing). Oskar, a 23-year-old who came to locality 2 as a minor (in 2015, with his family, from the Dominican Republic) highlighted that he found all the "better" jobs through word-of-mouth: "The many employment agencies usually send you to factory jobs, where you mostly work with other immigrants and in much worse conditions and more hierarchical settings" (SP-2-01). His first job was at a pig farm, outside of town (45min by car, one way) so he needed a car and hardly had any free time. After that he worked in a farm that grows roses. And now for one year he works at the betting café in the city centre, which he likes much better, and where he meets a lot of local people.

Another point of interaction between locals and newcomers is the school environment, but obviously only for those who have children, like Asma (mother of a resettled Syrian family), who is getting to know many other parents, including locals, at the official school meetings but also by chance whenever she brings or picks up her kids (SP-2-M10).

Relatively few migrants reported any long-lasting relations with locals that resulted from by-chance encounters. A 52-year-old cargo ship captain from Venezuela told the researcher that "it's quite difficult to get to know people 'from here'. Only once I got to know a lady when I was sitting in the park… a well-off lady, who had been born and lived here all her life… we got into a conversation… and became quite good friends, and over time she also introduced me to some other friends of hers… Sometimes you just need this one contact and through that person you get to know many more" (SP-2-M05).

Various individual and contextual factors clearly seem to influence the likelihood of having everyday social relations with locals. Several interviewees mention gender as one of these factors: being a woman not only makes it easier to find work in locality 2 (because a lot of the available jobs are in the cleaning and care sector) but also less likely to be perceived as a threat, as Oskar suggested: "You have to take some more care if you are a guy… I think. It's easier to offend anyone, I would say, as a guy, compared to being a girl. We don't have it more difficult, but as a man and if you are also of colour… then it's a bit more complicated" (SP-2-M01).

Oskar's story also illustrates the role of age: He describes his integration as "relatively easy" because he arrived at a young age (17) so he "integrated through school", where his classmates received him very well. The labour market access was a bit more difficult, but also here it helped a lot that he was young when he got here, "it's much more difficult for someone who arrives now and has no experience here and immediately has to start work" (SP-2-M01), he explained. Also other respondents noted that "young people generally make friends easier… [because] they go out, date, and all that" (SP-2-M04), as Julian put it.

Apart from gender and age, also ethnicity seems to play a role: Several respondents suggested that different migrant communities tend to be more or less integrated, as the president of a Latin American migrant association indicated, while also pointing at a potential explanation for it: "The Africans are much less integrated, also more discriminated! It starts with how they come here: we [Latin Americans] take the plane, they come in small boats! And even though

they make the same effort… it's much more difficult for them. The Arabs are more among themselves, they I think, don't even try to integrate, they are more closed, it´s very difficult to get in touch with them…" (SP-2-M02). Also the focus group participants agreed that (visible) ethnic difference (unfortunately) plays a crucial role in everyday encounters and that immigrants who can (more) easily "pass as Spaniards" will face less rejection.

Other concrete factors that respondents perceive as limiting everyday interactions include a simple lack of opportunities for encounter, limited economic resources (that would be necessary to participate in many spaces of encounter), and the pandemic, which according to Julian "came and ended everything… they locked us in for almost 5 months, all of us, and so that was what really stopped my integration process" (SP-2-M04).

In terms of facilitating factors, respondents particularly highlighted the important intermediary role of NGOs and migrant associations (which provide indispensable support, spaces of encounter, and crucial personal contacts with the community), of having a shared language (everybody agrees that this puts Latin Americans in a much better position than the rest, even though there are certain differences between dialects that do require adaptation), and the relatively small size of the locality. The latter was mostly described as helpful (especially by older respondents and/or those with children, whereas several younger respondents also mentioned negative implications (the town having "little to offer" and being a rather "boring place" where they feel "stuck"). Also the focus group participants agreed that in small towns word-of-mouth works very well and helps individuals to get along, find jobs, rooms, etc., but that such localities are also characterised by a generalised rejection or fear that still exists in many people's heads.

Individual attitudes

When asked about how they perceive/d the reaction of the local population to their arrival and settlement in the locality, the majority of migrant participants (including long-term migrants who participated in the focus group) say that overall, they have been received well, that most people are friendly and many (have been) supportive. While several of them do remember – usually rather isolated – situations where they felt rejected, discriminated, or were treated disrespectfully, they were all keen to not depict the local population (in general) as racist. For example, Oskar noted that "some locals feel somehow superior. You do feel it a bit. I try not to feel it. And I am not feeling racism, directly. But you feel that many Spanish people want Spain for them rather than the foreigners" (SP-2-M01). Ani remembered that when she was going to marry her (Spanish) husband "some people were saying that the foreign women just come here to steal your money and cheat on you… and so on, rumours like that. You will always find some people who express these view… I try to take it with humour. It's a minority" (SP-2-M06).

Most participants (incl. the locals that were part of the focus group) agreed that the locals in locality 2 are "not the most open", but many of them also conveyed the perception that instances of racism have become fewer over the last years, and that the population is becoming more and more open. The only sphere where it is (still) a very widespread problem

is the private housing market (as experienced first-hand by several participants)[13]. Focus group participants noted that this development has been helped by the fact that immigration has never been a very politicized issue in the locality (not even when the plans to open a new refugee reception centre became public, which did raise some debate and localised resistance). What according to several respondents also contributes to a more welcoming attitude among the local population, is their realisation that migrants are dearly needed as workers, particularly in the care sector. One focus group participant (a woman born in the Dominican Republic) noted that she and her four sisters all work in care and/or cleaning and they constantly reject job offers because there is such a huge demand, which according to her "is helping in the sense that people have to accept us!" (SP-2-FGP2).

A somewhat surprising finding was that (particularly recent, female) migrants often readily understand (and accept) integration as a process in which (only) they must adapt, i.e., in terms of assimilation. A particularly striking example – probably also an extreme case (she is undocumented and arrived very recently) – is the following statement of Rosa, which reflects a shocking willingness to accept her inferior position not only in the labour market but (arguably) also vis-à-vis the host society:

> The thing is that we must adapt ourselves to the way that they want us… this way we will have positive relationships and will be well-received… when we do what they want us to do. There are still some people here that make us sweep the floor on our knees, while others – probably most – let us use the mob. But if they tell us to do it on our knees we have to comply and do it how they tell us… and so I am not the person who complains quickly, I rather do what I am told, so that I don't get into trouble. And I always ask them how I should do things because here they are done differently, very often, and I don't want to do it the wrong way (SP-2-M03).

Unsurprisingly the interviewed migrants' more general perceptions of locality 2 were closely linked to their personal aspirations and plans for their (or their families') future. There was a clear divide between (usually younger, male) migrants who are planning to leave locality 2 as soon as they get the chance (either find necessary contacts/support elsewhere or manage to regularise their legal status), and those (middle-aged, usually women / families with children) who were planning to stay and thus much more willing and motivated to become part of the local community.

Experiences of inclusion/exclusion

Post-2014 migrants' accounts of how they perceived living in locality 2 (where some had arrived seven years, others only six months ago) were usually shaped by experiences of both inclusion and exclusion. The former was very often linked to crucial support they had received

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[13] This topic is discussed in much more detail in the WP4 country report: https://whole-comm.eu/working-papers/country-report-on-integration-spain/

from civil society organisations: almost all interviewees had lived through difficult periods during which they depended on assistance provided by one of the various NGO working in the locality. Oskar, for example, very well remembered that The Red Cross supported his Family for some time (at the beginning), when it was just his mother and sister working and four other cousins and siblings living with them: "We received a food parcel every two months or so and that helped a lot! We went directly to the organisation, had to fill out some documents… but it was quite easy" (SP-2-M01). Also Carmen highlighted that "the NGOs and migrant associations… were marvellous, and extremely important! They helped us in all situations, also when we didn't have papers they helped us, when we were about to end up on the street, with three little children!" (SP-2-M02). Respondents also reported mostly good experiences with the public health and school systems, and some also mentioned the local or regional welfare department as a source of support. Compared to NGOs, however, these latter institutions are much more limited in terms of their target group, especially when it comes to migrants in an irregular situation. Reda, a 21-year-old Algerian citizen whose asylum claim has been rejected several months ago, is still in touch with a municipal social worker and receives food vouchers as well as a temporary rent subsidy, for which he is only eligible during three months per year, the rest of the time he covers the rent through small cash-in-hand jobs in the informal economy. He would like to regularise his situation through a new route that requires completion of a one-year professional training course, but the problem is that "these courses are full time – so how am I supposed to also work and be able to pay my rent?! And without the training I will not be able to get the work permit… so what am I supposed to be doing?" (SP-2-M07). Those migrants who already have found a job in the formal economy are usually included into very specific (low-paid) segments of the local labour market. Ani's story is quite typical: "It was relatively easy to find jobs, honestly, but only if you are willing to give up your dreams, or at least to lower your expectations. I would have liked to work something related to my studies [she has a university degree in tourism] and I tried to do that, but I couldn't homologate my studies because they asked me to take extra classes…" (SP-2-M06).

The private housing and labour markets are often perceived as inaccessible for newly arrived migrants and refugees (even if they speak Spanish and have the necessary skills). In relation to housing, this exclusion is very often (perceived as) the result of racist discrimination, whereas in the case of employment it often results directly from the lack of the work permit (or other documentation): Julián explained that just in the last week he had had six job interviews with six different companies, all working in his area of expertise, and they were all quite happy with his performance, but none of them gave him the job:

> They invite me, and we do the interview, I pass some tests and all that, answer some [job-]specific questions, and then they ask me for my documentation… and that's where I get stopped. I try to explain my situation, what would be the procedure [in order for him to regularise, the company has to make an offer, and then wait for the paperwork to be competed] and then they tell me 'no', because they know that this will take several months… and they are right (SP-2-M04).

Exclusion from the (formal) labour market is not always/only a matter of immigration status, however, but also reflects a lack of acceptance of cultural difference on the part of some employers. Asma is pretty sure that part of the reason why she hasn't found a job yet, is that she wears the headscarf (hijab): "I have a friend you found a job as soon as she decided to not wear it anymore, but as long as she had been wearing it: no chance. So, you must stop wearing it if you want to work here. But I don't want to. I want them to respect my religion, just as I respect theirs!" (SP-2-M10).

Brief summary of main insights for Locality 2

The overall impression from migrant interviews, the focus group discussion, and the observations is that while there is no concrete problem related to immigration and no significant conflict between newcomers and locals, there is relatively little interaction between them in everyday life. A close analysis of the local context suggests that it is rather conducive to such interaction and to positive community relations: Regarding the **ideational-political dimension**, we find that the (progressive) local government and a majority of the population are aware that in order to counter the trend of a declining and aging population, some immigration is necessary and helpful, even though not all locals are ready to fully accept and embrace the resulting diversity, and the changes it means for the locality. Attitudes towards immigration seem to be changing, even if slowly. The absence of political mobilisation and overall quite positive discourse on immigration and integration helps (although the recent victory of the conservative and far-right parties in the regional elections in spring 2022 might change that). The **social dimension** appears as particularly crucial, both at the individual and group level: individual characteristics (particularly age, gender, family situation, and ethnicity) significantly shape integration opportunities and trajectory; the various NGOs provide indispensable support, both material and emotional; the presence of a surprisingly large number of migrant organisations helps in making migrants' needs and claims visible at the local level (but this also lead to a notable separation between the different groups, by country-of-citizenship). Some groups are (perceived as) more integrated than others, which primarily reflects relative cultural proximity (as well as corresponding levels of acceptance/rejection). In terms of **governance**, many participants highlight the exclusionary consequences of (national) immigration law and policy, but few refer to local governance. One issue that several interviewees and a focus group participant highlighted is the wide range and easy accessibility of the municipal sports facilities and offers, which appear as a significant site for everyday interaction, as do other public institutions, especially the local schools. Also **geographical/spatial aspects** seem relevant: Given the relatively remote location of locality 2, it is not surprising that most migrant respondents have been "sent there" rather than explicitly choosing to settle in the locality, which in several cases (especially among young people) undermines their motivation to become part of the local community. Other spatial characteristics are the low level of residential segregation, and the small size that allows for common meeting places (like the central municipal park), both of which are described as very conducive to integration.

3.4. Locality 3: medium-sized town, Catalonia

Background information

Locality 3 is a medium-sized town in Catalonia. Many interviewees, including post-2014 migrants, described the city as "divided" and thereby primarily refer to the high level of residential segregation, which is very visible and based on ethnicity as well as socioeconomic status. A woman from Colombia put it this way:

> I believe that there's not a real integration of the migrant community in the locality. There are options to become engaged, but society is very divided. You cross the river, and you see all the locals, and on the other side of the river, it's all migrants. That's when you realize that we are not that integrated (SP-3-M08).

While there are some very poor neighbourhoods in the city, others like the historical centre attract many tourists and the city's overall economic situation is quite good. Since before the economic crisis the unemployment rate has remained well below the national average. Unemployment mostly affects the services sector, which accounts for around two thirds of the local economy, while industrial production (mostly food, paper, metal, machinery, textile, and electronics) accounts for the rest.

Since 2011 the city has been governed by Conservative parties (before that, the Socialist Party had been in power for more than 30 years), the current government was formed in 2019 by the Catalan nationalist party *Junts per Catalunya* (Together for Catalonia). Like in locality 1 (and also locality 2), the local society was often described as rather closed and conservative.

When asked about immigration, many interviewees pointed to the adjacent municipality, which is often perceived as part of the city and has one of the highest shares of foreign residents of the whole country. While compared to that, the locality itself has received less immigration – since 2014 predominantly from Latin America – but its share of foreign residents is (and has been since long before 2014) significantly higher than the national average.

Relevant Infrastructure

Locality 3 is a medium-sized town (most people refer to it a city rather than a town), and provincial capital, and as such, it has all kinds of infrastructure and corresponding institutions. The locality is described as extremely segregated, whereby many interviewees refer to what in fact is an adjacent municipality as the towns' "immigrant quarter", which is very clearly the most diverse/multicultural part of the urban area, with lots of ethnic shops and markets. Even though it is technically a different municipality, and physically separated by the river and the train line and train station, it effectively forms part of the same urban space and is integrated

into the same public transport network. It should be noted, however, that not all the post-2014 migrants we interviewed lived in this neighbourhood, but several interviewees also mentioned two or three other specific neighbourhoods, all at a similar distance (not very far) from the town centre. Other parts of the city – including the historic centre and immediate surroundings – are almost exclusively populated and frequented by the White upper-class. It is very visible and was confirmed by many – migrant and non-migrant – interviewees that ethnic and socioeconomic segregation completely overlap.

Several NGOs provide reception places for asylum seekers throughout and around locality 3, including an initial reception centre for unaccompanied asylum-seeking children (located in a small municipality just outside of the city). The increased arrival of refugees in the years after 2014 coincided with the opening of new reception facilities by NGOs who had already been present. In 2017, the Red Cross opened several flats with a total of 20 reception places. Interviewees agree that the most significant migration-related challenge the city has faced since 2014 was the arrival of unaccompanied foreign minors, which suddenly increased after 2016 (especially during 2017/18) and caused significant demand for local emergency social assistance and homelessness services, which many of them rely on after leaving the mainstream care system. One interviewee mentioned that after the beginning of the Ukraine conflict, most hotels and hostels in the town were overcrowded and since available funding from the local government for housing was running out, they were asking various local associations to host migrant families in their facilities for 200€/month per room and family.

Local organisational landscape

The town has a very vibrant organisational landscape with a large number of national and transnational NGOs, local support groups and migrant(-led) associations, some of which are listed in table 3 (see below). Several research participants including a post-2014 migrant from Venezuela (SP-3-M05) mentioned the importance of more or less regular activities organised by different migrant communities and aimed to promote interaction and to create relations between different communities, usually at the neighbourhood level. A woman from Honduras gave a concrete example: an evening event that regularly takes place at one of the town's civic centres where each community brings a selection of traditional dishes and cuisine to get to know each other's food cultures, or a kind of open-to-the-public conferences where people can learn about and discuss the current situation in the migrants' countries of origin (SP-3-M06).

The municipality was among the first Spanish localities to declare itself a city of refuge (a commitment that has been renewed in August 2021 regarding the arrival of refugees from Afghanistan), and already in 2015, the City Council activated a series of municipal services (in the areas of housing, schooling, and social and labour-market integration), and offered 10.000 Euros of funding in response to the arrival of refugees to the city. At the beginning of 2016, a local volunteer and advocacy platform was founded and – in contrast to similar initiatives in

other localities – is still active today. The Platform was born as a reaction to the exclusionary and inhumane policies with which the European Union and its member states respond to people fleeing war, persecution, or extreme poverty, but it also very actively denounces instances of everyday and institutional racism and racist attitudes, or concrete incidents documented within the locality, which endanger coexistence and increase social exclusion (according to the self-description on the organisation's website).

According to our respondents, including both migrant and non-migrant interviewees, there have never been any significant anti-migrant protests in the locality. In terms of mobilisations in favour of migrants, there was at least one relevant instance in recent years: In spring 2020, a group of around 25 young (unaccompanied) migrants and their supporters – including a local antiracist network – spontaneously occupied parts of the local university to raise attention for and de-stigmatize young foreigners who have left the public care system. The largely self-organised protest gained significant local support from various activist collectives and lasted several weeks. It ultimately resulted in the re-housing of the protesters in various facilities across the city and some surrounding municipalities.

Table 3: *Overview of the most relevant NGOs and selected migrant associations[14] active in the field of migrant/refugee integration (some names have been changed to not undermine the anonymity that has been promised to all research participants)*

Name	Year of foundation	Formal/Informal	Purposes and activities	Leadership and membership
Caritas (local branch)	Pre-2014	Formal (linked to the Catholic church)	(legal) advise, education & training, social assistance, emotional support,	citizens
Red Cross (local branch)	Pre-2014	Formal	Asylum accommodation, Social assistance, emotional support,	citizens
Fundación XY	Local reception facility opened in 2018	Formal	Accommodation of UASC	citizens
Asociación Sociocultural de Colombianos para la Integración en XY	2019	Formal / Registered	Socio-cultural activities; integration, social cohesion,	Migrants (some also have Spanish citizenship)

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[14] As in other localities the number of relevant associations is too large and their existence too volatile to list them all, so this list is not exhaustive.

Asociación de Venezolanos residentes en XY	2017	Formal / Registered	Socio-cultural activities, integration, social cohesion, political support	Migrants
Organisation XY – Support group	2020	Formal / Registered	Despite being an NGO for international cooperation, they have created an emotional and support group for migrants (mostly from Latin America) run by volunteers.	Migrants (some with Spanish Citizenship)
XY, Associació de Suport i Acollida d'Immigrants	2003	Formal / Registered	Practical and emotional support; advocacy	Migrants & citizens
Plataforma "XY Acoge" (Welcome Platform)	2017	Formal / Registered	Citizen platform /support group	Mostly citizens
Espai Antiracista de XY	2015	Formal / Registered	Advocacy and legal support	Migrants & citizens

Detailed description of how you conducted fieldwork in Locality 3

Fieldwork in locality 3 was carried out in the course of several weeks, between July 4th and July 21st. During this period the researcher visited the locality five times, usually staying the whole day. On the last day, during the organisation of the focus group, she was supported by a research assistant. In total, they conducted nine individual interviews with post-2014 migrants, one mixed focus group, and 12 hours of participant observation.

To start with the data collection process, the researcher contacted respondents from previous field trips as well as key NGOs in the locality, who introduced the researcher to migrant collectives. Additionally, the researcher and the research assistant also contacted their own network of friends and acquaintances in the locality to identify potential focus group participants as well as interviewees. Since the fieldwork was conducted during the summer, many locals were on holiday, while several potential migrant participants mentioned that it is during holidays that they are able to find jobs or take over more shifts to compensate for those on vacation. This made it difficult to find participants and led to some last-minute cancellations.

Participant observation

Two locations have been selected as sites to carry out observation in locality 3 – the city hall square at the city centre and one of the main squares in the migrant neighbourhood, as the locality was described as segregated. Both sites have been visited a total of three times for

two days to see the change of dynamics at different times of the day and days of the week – including a Friday as the start of the weekend. The first site of observation in the city centre was in front of the town hall (Ayuntamiento), with multiple terraces and restaurants, a bookstore, and some souvenir shops – framed by stone arches and a bus stop. The neighbourhood is also famous for its monumental sites and shopping area, so it is normally visited by tourists and locals. However, as the city hall is also a key site to conduct any paperwork – including registration in the city or applying for social services in the locality –, it also works as a site of encounter. Nevertheless, it also shows its own separations and barriers, as the place does not invite people to mingle due to the economic barriers to consumption in the different bars and restaurants, which are more expensive than in other areas of the city.

The first and second visits and observation of the main square took place on a Thursday morning, from 11h00 to 13h30 and from 15h30 to 17h30 (SP-3-OBS1.1 and OBS1.2) to see the differences between the city hall opening hours (8h30 to 14h30) and closing hours (after 14h30). The visit was conducted on a very sunny day and quite hot. While it was interesting to see that there were migrant and non-migrant populations around the area on the mornings – with migrants going to the city hall and non-migrants mostly at the restaurants -, the interaction between them was minimal with a few exceptions of acquittances and friends meeting each other, or tourists asking for directions. The third visit was a Friday early afternoon, from 13h30 to 15h30 (SP-3-OBS1.3). At that time, the square was almost empty with few people in the restaurants, mostly tourists and locals.

The second selected location (SP-3-OBS2) was one of the main squares in the "migrant neighbourhood", which is in the opposite direction of the first site of observation. The square is a large area with two children's playgrounds, multiple benches and, framing the playground, five or six bars and restaurants (including a café managed by a Chinese woman and a kebab), a supermarket, a barbershop managed by people from South Asia, a shop to transfer money and a closed halal butcher. Nevertheless, a good part of the square has no trees, which makes that in summer, most of the square is empty while the visitors gather around the shadows of the trees or the terraces. The site was recommended by a part of the interviewees, because of its importance in the neighbourhood as a place to consume or meet with the children. It's a place frequented by long-term migrants and locals who lived in the neighbourhood all their lives.

The site was visited three times: one visit in the early afternoon from 13h30 – 15h30 to see how the dynamics of consumption and meals affected the dynamics and two visits on a Friday morning (11h00-13h30) and afternoon (15h30-17h30) to see if children went out to play and how the dynamics could change. The weather was quite hot on different occasions and, while significant people were walking through the park, it was possible to identify multiple interactions between the owners of the bars and the customers (as they may go to the same place almost every day), the different friends or families who meet at the café to eat something or a group of friends sitting down and talking. However, it was difficult to identify if they were long-term migrants or newcomers. The locals normally stayed together, speaking

in Catalan, but they would also greet some of the acquittances or the owners as they passed by – showing mostly a shallow relation between the different people present at the square.

In-depth interviews with post-2014 migrants

A total of nine interviews with post-2014 migrants were conducted by the researcher16, eight of them in Spanish and one in English. The first four interviews were recorded in an office at the premises of a local NGO – which had also arranged and contacted the interviewees through a support group they manage, three took place in a bar or a café (as requested by the interviewees), two online, and a final one in a different NGO. All interviews lasted between half an hour and one hour and a half. Respondents were between 28 and 71 years old, half of them women and half men. All but one of them were Latin Americans, mostly from Colombia, Honduras, and Venezuela – who were described as the most numerous nationalities of post-2014 migrants in the locality by one officer from a local NGO who acts as a platform of coordination between different entities of the locality. The interviewees had a range of different legal statuses: three of them had a residence permit (all of them were married to or divorced from a European citizen), one had received asylum or humanitarian protection, one was in the process of regularisation, and five were in an irregular situation. All interviews were audio-recorded and partly transcribed and translated into English.

As in other cases, the selection of the interviewees was mostly done by their disposition to participate in the project rather than through active selection by the researcher. Most of them were provided by personal contacts – friends, collaborators, volunteers – of NGO workers or officials in the social services of the locality. Before arriving at the locality, the researcher contacted a few NGOs and social services to identify potential interviewees and Focus Group participants. Some of these NGOs did not reply until the last week of the fieldwork, which only helped to find one interviewee (SP-3-M08). Additionally, the researcher met with a worker from the Red Cross by chance who identified a potential interviewee (SP-3-M06); and with a local friend working at the locality who shared contacts of his acquaintances who arrived at the locality after 2014 (SP-3-M07 and SP-3-M09).

Focus group discussion

One mixed focus group discussion was organised in Locality 3 at the end of July, a few weeks after the interviews and the participant observation to be able to find a suitable location and enough participants. While the focus was mixed, in the end, it had five participants: one local (female), one long-term migrant (male) and three post-2014 migrants (two male and one female). Two other locals cancelled their participation on the same day, as well as three post-2014 migrants (two of them because they managed to find a job or a job interview) that day. The two locals who cancelled were contacted afterwards to see if they would still share their view on the discussion topic, but they did not reply. The period of the year impacted the overall participation, but the group discussion progressed interestingly with different points of view and experiences, which was appreciated by the researcher.

The discussion took place in a classroom at the premises of the local youth centre and lasted for two hours. However, two of the participants arrived 40 minutes late, which changed the dynamics and the discussion a little, as the researcher went back to the first questions and encouraged new discussions with the latecomers' input. The whole discussion was held in Spanish and was audio-recorded and subsequently transcribed and translated into English. The atmosphere was quite open and friendly, and as the conversation evolved, the participants were every time more at ease, being able to contradict or oppose somebody else statements.

Discussion on social interactions, individual attitudes, and migrants' experiences

This section presents some key insights from the data collected in locality 3 through participant observation, (migrant) interviews and focus groups and aims to provide a better understanding of (1) post-2014 migrants' social relations and their interactions with non-migrant residents, (2) the individual attitudes that members of both groups have towards each other, and (3) migrants' concrete experiences of inclusion and exclusion in the locality.

Social relations and (everyday) interaction

As was to be expected, also the accounts of the interview and focus group participants clearly depicted the strong residential segregation that characterises locality 3 as a clear barrier to migrants' integration including their everyday interactions with other local residents. Valentina, a Colombian woman (post-2014 migrant) who participated in the focus group, put it like this:

> You have the locals on one side and the migrants on the other. There's a geographical divide, one side of the river is local, and the other side is migrant. [...] Everything that happens on the other side of the river, I don't know about it. These cultural activities... I've never heard about them... Maybe it's because I haven't been that active, but I think that in that part of the city there's not a lot of inclusion (SP-3-FGP3).

While Laia, a "local" (non-migrant) participant, agreed that "there's some spaces that you only go to as a tourist" (SP-3-FGP1), Alejandro, another migrant (also from Colombia), noted that the whole city centre was an area that migrants only tend to visit when they have to do some administrative procedure at city hall or the immigration office (SP-3-FGP2). This description was confirmed by the researcher's own observations at main squares in each of the two parts of the city, where very different publics could be seen and whereby the main square in the city centre was frequented by locals and migrants only on the morning hours because that is when they come to city hall to ask for any type of help or to regularize their situation. Also there, however, the relatively few interactions she observed between people were either between migrants or between locals (in some cases locals with tourists) and generally very shallow (SP-3-OBS1.2).

Several participants explicitly related the existing segregation to the rising housing prices that are so high that only very few specific neighbourhoods have remained affordable. José, a focus participant who arrived as a migrant more than a decade ago, also noted that with the exploding rents the discrimination against foreigners has risen significantly (SP-3-FGP5). He also pointed out that it is not just residential segregation that is hindering intercultural relations, since "whether or not you are in contact with locals depends on your job and on where you work [which side of the river]" (SP-3-FGP5).

Apart from that, and like in other localities, it is often the conditions under which migrants tend to work that inhibit their building meaningful relations and social capital. Many interviewees report that they find it difficult to "make time" for social relations and interactions ("making new friends here"), especially migrant women who very often struggle between work and childcare responsibilities that leave no time for themselves nor to meet other people (e.g., SP-3-M03). In addition to this, there is a common perception – especially among irregular migrants (almost half of the sample) – that it is generally difficult to establish contacts or even build personal relations with locals, which they sometimes relate to the more individualistic lifestyle typical for a bigger locality city. Valentina put it like this: "Here I feel it very different [than in her c/o origin]. It's like everybody has their own life, their job, and their place [home]" (SP-3-FGP3). Santiago, a 71-year-old community leader from Venezuela lamented a general lack of interest on the part of the local population, explaining that "all the activities that we have organized, locals... not a lot came along, they participated very exceptionally and because they are personal contacts, rather than anything else…" (SP-3-M05).

Another important factor (that was also relevant in locality 1) is the Catalan language, which interestingly appears as an element that can be inclusive but also exclusive and divisive. On one hand, it can be used (and is often perceived) as a means of exclusion, as a 31-year-old woman from Colombia noted: "I tried to get the recognition of my university title. But you know, it's always the same: They speak to you in Catalan, and I try to follow the conversation and I answer as I can... I realised that in most public offices they use more Catalan than Spanish, so it's very important to speak it" (SP-3-M09). On the other hand, it is also seen as an opportunity to prove one's willingness to integrate and become part of the local community, as Alejandro explained during the focus group:

> I think that we have a right and a responsibility. If I come here, I am not saying that I need to speak perfect Catalan, but I believe that Catalan communities close if you don't understand Catalan. If you don't understand the language, you won't be able to be part of the community. But if you understand and try to learn and speak a little bit… even the bare minimum, Catalans feel very comfortable when you do that (SP-3-FGP4).

The central role of the Catalan language (and Catalan identity more generally) must of course be understood in relation to the still quite active Catalan independence movement, one of the key figures of which is closely linked to this locality. At the time of fieldwork, the city hall and

main square were decorated with pro-independence symbols, which – as one interviewee suggested – could be perceived in terms of "the Catalans versus the Rest" (SP-3-M09). She (and others) did not perceive it as a sign of hostility against migrants specifically, but as an explicit way of emphasizing the regional identity in contrast to people from other countries but also other parts of Spain.

As in other localities, the migrants' own family networks and personal contacts appeared as very important in terms of emotional support and mental wellbeing but also for building social relations with locals and through these, access employment and housing opportunities as well as information on available social services and (financial) support. Among the specific places that post-2014 migrants identified as spaces of interaction with locals in the locality, were the municipal library (SP-3-M05), various establishments where they took language or employment/training courses (mostly at NGOs but also the local adult school), and the civic centres, as in the case of María, a recognised refugee from Honduras:

> The Catalan girls [I know], I met them at a conference in a civic centre where we explained the situation in each Latin American country, and they had asked me to speak about Honduras. […] I was explaining my situation, and I met them, and we have kept in contact ever since. I go to their places, or they come to mine… we meet, we drink coffee together once every week (SP-3-M06).

Apart from these more specific spaces and events, many interview and focus group participants highlighted the connecting role of sport, including football, dancing, tennis, and squash, as in the case of William, a South African citizen who had lived in the locality for three years: "I play squash and generally I do a lot of sports, and this has allowed me to meet a whole bunch of people. I have my squash community, and we meet every Friday to play, and sometimes we have competitions" (SP-3-M07).

Individual attitudes

As expected, and like in other localities, most post-2014 migrants' perceptions of "the people of this town" were mixed. Nicolás, a middle-aged (irregular) migrant from Venezuela, put it this way: "I think there are two types of people: There are a lot of very welcoming people and a lot who are not that open" (SP-3-M02), while María, described her experience like this: "My experience with other locals has been quite good, people here are very kind, very open… But obviously, you will find people who will tell you to go back to your country from time to time. But I just ignore them" (SP-3-M06). A relatively common perception (expressed by about half of the migrant participants in one way or another) was that "Catalans are really closed and cold", as Bessy, a woman from Honduras who had already spent seven years in the locality but was (still) in an irregular situation put it. While for some of them it was a characteristic of Catalans in general, others described it as a more particular trait of locality 3, as the following quote of Alejandro illustrates:

> This locality is weird… I think it's also different from other parts of Catalonia. I have a friend who when she arrived, she felt excluded because she was not from the city.

> They have a difference in their identity. It also happened to Andalusians, people from Madrid, people from other cities… that they felt rejected" (SP-3-FGP4).

Interestingly, several participants linked these rather negative perceptions to the fact that Catalans have their own language, as two focus group participants suggested: "I agree, I think it's because of Catalan… I think that speaking Catalan is what makes Catalan people so closed" (SP-3-FGP3 responding to FGP2). Another interviewee, María, also pointed at the same issue but recognised a shared responsibility: "I think that we don't get closer to local people because we are afraid of being rejected if we don't speak the Catalan language. If I pronounce something wrong…, will they reject me, will they mock me?" (SP-3-M06).

Just like the commonly expressed idea of the "cold and closed Catalan people" is obviously based on a stereotype, there are also many stereotypes attributed to certain migrant communities (some more than others). These prejudices significantly – and in most cases negatively – determine locals' attitudes towards these communities, or individuals who they perceive as belonging to them, but this effect can sometimes at least partly be offset by higher education or socio-economic status, as Daniela, a 31-year-old woman from Colombia, suggested in an interview:

> I feel that there's a social view and some stereotypes on Latin American migrants that come... I mean, this is what I see that they mostly think about us… that they see us as less. That we come here to work [or] to ask for help… But we have university level studies, we may also have a profession. If you have one, they do respect you a little bit more" (SP-3-M09).

The researcher who conducted the interviews in locality 3 had the overall impression that locals and migrants tend to refer to different things when asked about attitudes towards migrants: while the former often mention the increasing polarisation and politicisation of the issue in/by some political groups, the latter tend to speak about concrete instances of discrimination, everyday racism, and rejection that they have experienced themselves.

The migrants' plans or aspirations for their future very often reflect these experiences and their feeling accepted or rejected by the local community. Also in this sense there is a very mixed picture: Those who want and/or plan to stay in the locality tend to praise their feeling of absolute safety (usually in contrast to their country of origin), the fact that they already got used to the city and learned the language, but also the municipality's nice and convenient location (between the sea and the mountains). Those who would rather want or are planning to leave – often for better job opportunities and/or lower housing prices – say they only stay (for now) because of the support they receive in the locality (either from a social worker they already know, a local NGO, or through other networks) and/or because their kids are in school. In contrast to other (smaller) localities, these aspirations do not seem to be so clearly linked to their age and family situation. Interestingly, even though locality 3 is a relatively large town, there are also those who simply want to live in a bigger city. For example, Valentina, a woman from Colombia, said that for someone coming from the capital (Bogotá) "this locality is sometimes too small… I miss the dynamism and the chaos of big cities" (SP-3-M08).

Experiences of inclusion/exclusion

Individual attitudes and perceptions are closely related to migrants' experiences of inclusion and/or exclusion in the locality where they live. In the case of locality 3, many of the concrete **experiences of inclusion** reported by post-2014 migrants – especially women – had to do with different forms of support they had received (or were still receiving) from social services or an NGO, and which they described as a crucial source of stability in their life and (at least in this sense) as compensating for a lack of friends and other close personal relations.

As in all localities, many interviewees – and especially migrants in irregular situations – attribute huge importance of their personal networks and (family) connections that had helped them to find their current job or flat; Valentina explained, "it was mainly through contacts: normally, there's someone who tells you if a family are looking for a babysitter, or if the supermarket needs more staff" (SP-3-M08). Also here, these links are very often based on common origin or ethnicity, which clearly benefits the dominant groups. While Latin Americans thereby sometimes appear as one group, people from one's own country seem to occupy a special position, as Emilio, a young man who recently arrived from Colombia, suggested: "Latinos mainly look for other Latinos, in the city and for working. Latinos call Latinos. If I see another person from Colombia, I may treat them as family" (SP-3-M01).

Another important sphere of inclusion are religious communities and also there, shared origin plays an important role (since it is very likely to determine one's religion), as Alejandro noted: "Where I've seen a stronger community here is in the Church. I'm Catholic, and the service I go to every Sunday is a religious service in Spanish, because most of us still struggle to speak Catalan. And there's a big union, and we are all Latinos… but I feel this type of union in this community" (SP-3-FGP2). As already mentioned above, other respondents mentioned similar experiences of being or becoming part of a community through participation in different sports.

Interestingly (and seemingly in contrast to locality 1, where several interviewees mentioned fear of the police or of being apprehended), none of the migrants who mentioned encounters with the police in locality 3 expressed such fear. Instead, they sometimes even perceived the police as working against their exclusion from society. Carolina, a woman from Honduras who after four years of living in the locality was still in an irregular situation, provided a striking example:

> I remember once that I was living in the squatted flat and I had my daughter, because she was born there. We stayed there until she turned 8 months, and she started playing and making noises. And the neighbour was sometimes angry and would call the police. But I told them that I can't impede my child from walking. And I was worried back then, but the police officers told me not to worry. I ended up becoming close with two police officers, who would come to my place often and I would greet them whenever I saw them. That woman [the neighbour] really bothered me a little bit. She was someone who excluded us and discriminated us because we were

squatting, and we didn't have our documentation. She was always calling the police – and they would always come and tell us to keep it quiet and that's it (SP-3-M03).

Post-2014 migrants' **experiences of exclusion**, on the other hand, were usually related to either housing or the labour market, and especially the latter almost always had to do with a lack of legal status (or, closely related, some piece of official documentation). Irregularity is perceived as more relevant than other existing barriers – like the difficulty of having previous qualifications duly recognised (e.g., SP-3-M06, SP-M-07) – or even discrimination, Valentina was keen to highlight:

> I feel that Colombians are very well accepted, because they [potential employers] always tell me that once I get my papers, I should give them a call. They know that we are very hardworking people, that we are kind, and we are good at customer service. But if you don't have your situation regulated, you can't do anything – just wait (SP-3-M08).

Very importantly, irregularity does not necessarily lead to outright exclusion, but it always carries the risk of abuse and exploitation (including sexual exploitation). While this is of course no particularity of locality 3, several migrants we interviewed had experienced it themselves, and a few of them highlighted how some businesses would be using the opportunity of "hiring" them illegally to increase their profits while discarding them as soon as there are potential fines or problems with the authorities. The following account of Carolina, a woman from Honduras, is just one example:

> Recently, I've seen offers from people that want you to work for only 5 euros an hour. That's very difficult. I've done it a few times because I really needed the money, but there are some days that I really don't want to do it. Because they take advantage of that, they know that there's people who will do it because of their precarious situation. I've recently quitted one of those places. They asked me to do a lot of things […] that most workers don't want to do, so they look for someone to do these uncomfortable jobs, where you can get physically hurt… (SP-3-M03).

Another problem that several migrants in irregular situations were facing in locality 3 was that they were unable to officially register their residence in the municipality ('*empadronamiento*'). As discussed in more detail in another project report[15], this seemed to be particularly difficult in locality 3 (compared to other localities in the sample). Since registration constitutes a precondition for accessing many other basic rights and municipal services (including free

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[15] See WP4 country report (Spain) on access to housing, employment, and other crucial resources: https://whole-comm.eu/working-papers/country-report-on-integration-spain/

access to public healthcare) it indirectly leads to more exclusion, as the case of Nicolás illustrates[16]:

> Before getting my documentation, I hit my head once and I went to the hospital to get checked. And they didn't visit me, because I wasn't registered yet at the city hall, and I hadn't received my public health insurance card, so they asked me to pay an amount of money that I didn't have at that time (SP-3-M02).

Several migrants also pointed out how difficult it was to even get an appointment to start the process of regularisation in Locality 3, which led two of the interviewees to register in other localities (at the address of a friend or relative) to get an earlier appointment, there. A leader of a migrant organisation mentioned in an informal conversation that the recent arrival of refugees from Ukraine has led to even longer waiting times and slower procedures (whether for residence permits, international protection, or support from social services) for people from other countries (including Latin Americans).

The context in which the exclusion of migrants is most widespread and most explicit is the private housing sector, as almost all our participants had experienced themselves. Their perception is supported by numerous studies including a recent experiment conducted by a local activist group which showed that a shocking 80% of the real state agencies in the locality and the neighbouring municipality readily accepted (fake) owners' requests to not rent their flat to migrants or people of colour. This racist exclusion mostly affects those seeking to rent a flat (rather than just a room), and intersects with other barriers including legal, documentary, and financial requirements set by the agencies (e.g., SP-3-M02). Carolina highlighted that also in this context, irregularity is another barrier:

> If you go there [real estate agency], they ask you if you have your residence permit, your payrolls... and I have a job, sure, but because I don't have my papers, it doesn't count. It is like you don't have your identity. (…) I say that I don't exist. Me. I don't exist here, that is how I feel. The fact that my passport number is not enough to rent a flat, to do something, it is like you don't exist (SP-3-M03).

All this makes migrants more likely to squat empty flats that are owned by banks (as SP-3-M03 and SP-3-M04) or to share a flat with other migrant people who sublet individual rooms (e.g., SP-3-M05, SP-3-M08). The latter means that migrants live with migrants, and in often overcrowded flats – which is not only unhelpful for their integration but also contributes to the common stereotype of "the problematic migrant tenant prone to cause problems with the neighbours". Notably, those (very few) participants who have been able to rent an apartment, usually had a Spanish citizen who signed the contract on their behalf (usually a family member)

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[16] Note that he was not the only migrant to report similar problems (also SP-3-M04 & SP-3-M06).

or, as in the case of María, they could count on the help of Catalan friends who acted as financial guarantors.

Brief summary of main insights for Locality 3

Taken together, the various personal accounts of migrant interviewees and focus group participants, as well as the researcher's own observations in the locality depict locality 3 above all as an extremely segregated city and suggest that this constitutes one of the most important barriers to social relations and everyday interaction between newcomers and "locals".

The **geographical/spatial dimension** thus appears as particularly relevant in this case. The very visible segregation is closely linked to the city's natural and built environment (the two parts a separated by a river and the trainline) but it is also maintained through a wide range of other mechanisms, including the very tense and highly unequal local housing market. Because this segregation not only determines where people live but also where they work, go to school, or for a drink with friends, it is also intimately related to the **social dimension**. Overall, the data points to a lack of social integration of the different migrant communities in the locality, and particularly the more recent newcomers. If there is integration at all then only of second-generation migrants, particularly through school (even though also the local schools are very segregated). Integration seems to be further hampered by what interviewees describe as an "individualistic lifestyle" and a rather closed character of the local population, but it ultimately depends on individual migrants' characteristics, motivation, and attitudes. For example, Valentina perceived that "it really depends on how one person works and behaves here, what's her attitude... that's what makes people welcome you or not" (SP-3-M08). As in locality 1, an important part of this behaviour and attitude is whether migrants use (or not) the Catalan language, which also here can work as an additional mechanism of exclusion as well as inclusion. In terms of the **ideational-political dimension**, it should be highlighted that quite a few migrants mentioned the struggle for Catalan Independence (SP-3-M05, SP-3-M07, SP-3-M08, SP-3-M09) as a relevant issue that has changed the way in which people perceive newcomers, whether they come from other parts of Spain or from outside the country, as one interviewee named Daniela put it: "Many people told me that before this happened, people used to be more open to foreigners and migrants, including people from other parts of Spain. But for Catalans, everyone who is from outside Catalonia, is a foreigner. I heard this a lot: that I would always be a foreigner" (SP-3-M09). Whereas the locals' individual attitudes towards immigration seem to be very mixed, a lot of migrants describe the local population as rather closed, even though the issue of immigration has not (yet) become very politicised within the locality. When it comes to **factors related to governance**, many participants first of all highlight the exclusionary consequences of their irregularity, and the fact that nothing is being done locally to fundamentally improve this situation. While the local government has no competence to do that, it is responsible for the issue of municipal registration, which several interviewees mentioned as a significant barrier to accessing basic rights and municipal services in the locality. This reflects the fact that the local government in

locality 3 does not as actively promote and practically facilitate the registration of newcomers who do not (yet) have an official address. Also the problem of residential segregation not being successfully addressed, and is probably more difficult to resolve because what most of our informants described as the city's "immigrant neighbourhood" is in fact a different municipality, with its own local government.

3.5.   Locality 5: medium-sized town, Andalusia

Background information

Locality 5 is the largest municipality in the sample and the one with the highest population density. Many local actors highlighted the striking lack of residential segregation, both in terms of immigration and socioeconomic status. The city has a long history as a major port city that has been open to trade and visitors from many other parts of the world, especially Latin America. As a result, locals still feel very much connected to Latin America and praise their society as the most open and welcoming of the whole country. One interviewee explained it like this: "The local population of this province [and especially the city] has traditionally been open, close to the sea, connected to the world… so it's a rather welcoming atmosphere, generally speaking, and in spite of the dire economic situation" (SP-5-03).

In fact, locality 5 is one of the Spanish cities that was hardest hit by the 2008 economic crisis, from which it never fully recovered. It still has one of the highest employment rates in Spain (and the whole of Europe). Its main economic sector is tourism, followed by fishing and a depleted shipyard industry. While mostly generating seasonal employment, the recent tourism boom puts a significant strain on local housing offer, as do the increasing numbers of foreign students (mostly EU but also parts of Spain) coming to the city, whereas the local/resident population is shrinking (and has been since the 1980, when the city had close to 160,000 inhabitants). Between 2005 and 2014 alone, the city lost more than 7% of its population due to the fact that many locals have moved to one of the surrounding towns and villages even though they continue to work in the city. Among the factors that explain this exodus in the city we found the lack of employment and, in particular, the increase in housing rental prices. These are rising especially due to the lack of quality housing in the city (there is a lot of degradation and abandonment of housing, especially in the most central neighbourhoods) and the houses that are being rehabilitated are mainly used for tourist and vacation rentals.

The municipality is characterised by a very low share (and diverse mix) of foreign residents (around 2%, the lowest of all selected cases and far below the national average), mostly from Morocco, followed by various Latin American countries. This lack of direct exposure to what elsewhere has been perceived the "refugee crisis" partly explains why both its local population and political leadership have been very open to the reception of refugees, as one (non-migrant) interviewee had argued:

For example, when the war in Syria broke out, the city government was quick to declare the city a city of welcome… but that didn't have any practical implication. It was an important and necessary pronouncement but not much more than talk in the end. It also reflected the view of the majority of the population… but it was also clear that it wouldn't lead to a significant number of arrivals (SP-5-01).

This (at least rhetorical) openness might also have to do with the fact that since 2015 the city has been governed by a left-wing coalition, following 20 years of conservative (PP) government (1995-2015). It was right after the change of government, the city was among the first Spanish cities to join the network of refugee hosting cities, and about 100 families in the city welcomed asylum seekers into their homes. Currently, the city council collaborates with the NGO CEAR by providing several flats for the reception of asylum seekers. On the whole, however, the number of refugees who are actually living in the city remained comparatively low and of the relatively few people who pass through another local reception facility that is part of the humanitarian protection programme, hardly anyone stays in the city, mostly because there are no jobs (nor affordable housing).

Relevant Infrastructure

As a medium-sized town, and provincial capital, the locality has all the corresponding public services, institutions, and relevant infrastructure (including various primary and secondary schools, a university, youth centres, sport facilities, many religious sites, supermarkets, parks, and community gardens). What the town does not have is an ethnic market, nor an area or street dominated by ethnic shops. The central municipal market is an important landmark and meeting place but very dominated by locals and local shops and business, it is a very lively place especially during the mornings. The city has a large number of squares and parks that form the backbone of both the historic centre of the city and the more peripheral neighbourhoods. Many of these squares invite to stay and hang out on one a bench, but they also usually serve as terraces for the many bars and restaurants necessary to serve all the tourists that visit the town especially during the summer months. This means that a lot of the towns' public spaces are effectively commercialised and cannot be used without consuming anything. This implies economic limitations for using public space

That said, in contrast to other medium-sized towns (including locality 3), locality 5 is characterised by a very low level of residential segregation. Both migrant and non-migrant interviewees described the town as very mixed, in ethnic as well as socioeconomic terms, and many informants explicitly highlighted that there is no "immigrant quarter". The relatively few foreigners that live in the locality are rather equally spread across, and just as rich and poor/er people very often live immediately next to each other and share the same urban space. This space is very limited due to the particular location and geography of the town. Part of this particularity is the very long beachfront that delimits the city on several sides, and makes the beach a very characteristic and common site for everyday encounters and interaction, since

people see (and use) the beach as part of the urban landscape, where they do not only go for a swim of other sports activities, but also to eat their lunch, enjoy their break, and meet their friends for the after-work drink or on the weekends.

Unlike other localities in the sample (as well as several nearby towns, where more and more former residents of locality 5 move to because of the extremely high rents there), locality 5 is characterised by a very low level of spatial segregation. All interviewees agreed that there is no specific neighbourhood where immigrants are concentrated and only few locals live (and/or work). In general, as highlighted by almost all participants early on in the conversations we had with them, the number of immigrants living and/or working in the locality is extremely low, far too low to generate ethno-stratified neighbourhoods. The vast majority of foreigners who can be seen in the city are tourists, and those (very few) who permanently reside in the municipality are quite equally spread across the entire city. As already noted, this has made it quite difficult to find immigrants who arrived after 2014.

Partly due to the very limited space and extremely tight property market, there is currently no reception centre for asylum seekers or beneficiaries of international protection within the city itself. As in other selected localities, there are, however, several smaller reception facilities managed by NGOs, and the municipal government has traditionally been quite engaged in relation to the reception of refugees. Already in 2015, the municipality joined the network of refugee hosting cities, and around 100 local families welcomed and temporarily accommodated asylum seekers in their homes. At the time of research, the city council had a collaboration with a large (national) NGO that manages several flats that the municipality had dedicated to the reception of asylum seekers. The 23 places are mainly used for single women (mostly from Côte d'Ivoire and Guinea Conakry). A second (smaller) NGO operates from a nearby municipality but also provides some migration/asylum-related services in the locality 5. In addition, another (local) NGO has been (and is still) running a small reception centre for humanitarian migrants (who arrived irregularly by sea and have not claimed asylum) since the 1990s. Their target group are mostly young men from various parts of Africa who are provided temporary accommodation and basic support, usually for up to 3 months, after which the vast majority of them move on (either to another part pf the country or another EU country where they have relatives and/or better job opportunities).

Local organizational landscape

Locality 5 has a vibrant cultural life and is known as a city where associative activity is deeply rooted in the local culture. On one hand, it is important to remember the locality's strong industrial roots, with a long history and extensive activity in its many shipyards. This brought together a large and politically strong working class and gave the trade unions a very important role that is notable until today. This tradition has been maintained in the city, and there are several trade unions and more or less related organisations, as well as neighbourhood and cultural associations. On the other hand, this city's long history as a

trading city and its strong connections especially to Latin America has also left its traces: In many ways the city is quite similar to cities in the Caribbean and its popular culture is very similar to that of Latin American countries, which becomes apparent during the annual carnival, which is the most important popular festival in locality 5 and has many similarities to equivalent events in Brazil and other Latin American countries. Even though the number of immigrants permanently living in the city is quite low, there is also a significant number of (mostly well-established) migrant associations, as well as local (or national) organisations that provide services and attention to immigrants (see table 4).

As in the other selected localities, none of the people interviewed in locality 5 has been aware of any anti-migrant protest or mobilisation that would have taken place in the city in the last couple of years. Rather, several interviewees and other informants pointed at a series of events and demonstrations organised in favour of migrants and migrants' rights. Not least because the city is located not very far away from the beaches where migrant boats have been arriving for many years, there is a strong awareness of the migratory drama going on at the southern European border; and various local activist groups are engaged around this issue (among others). There have been several smaller demonstrations in favour of the fulfilment of migrants' human rights in this context, and there is also a regular event – called "circle of silence" – that takes place twice a month at one of the central squares where local people get together in silence, light candles, and demonstrate their solidarity with migrants and refugees, all of which is organised by the various local associations working on this topic.

During the week in which the researcher carried out the field work, two concentrations and a small demonstration were organised to denounce the killing of at least 23 African migrants by the Moroccan and Spanish police forces trying to prevent them from crossing the border and reach Melilla. These demonstrations were organized by several civil society groups and associations and aimed at greater awareness on the part of the local population as well as a firm condemnation of what had happened on the part of the municipal government. During the focus group, one of the "local" participants noted that he had recently attended various demonstrations in a nearby town in support of deceased immigrants trying to reach European soil in Melilla.

Table 4: *Overview of the most relevant NGOs and selected migrant associations[17] active in the field of migrant/refugee integration (some names have been changed to not undermine the anonymity that has been promised to all research participants)*

Name	Year of foundation	Formal/Informal	Purposes and activities	Leadership and membership
Asociación XY	1993 (works on	Formal	non-profit organization that has a national scope.	Locals

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[17] As in other localities the number of relevant associations is too large and their existence too volatile to list them all, so this list is not exhaustive.

	migration since 1994)		Social, cultural, and labour integration created under the Migration Secretariat of the Diocese of Cádiz and Ceuta, with which it constitutes a NETWORK OF ATTENTION TO MIGRANTS who arrive on Spanish shores	
Fundación Centro XY	Well before 2014	Formal	Linked to the Catholic church; Support for disadvantaged youth	Mostly locals
Asociación XY	1990	Formal	non-profit, pluralist, secular and independent association. Support and advocacy work for migrants and other groups in situations of violation of fundamental rights.	Locals and (long-term) migrants
Asociacion Intercultural XY	2008	Formal	foster participation and integration of the immigrant population and the host population. Organises a series of workshops, training courses (including volunteer immigration law and human rights activism) and festive events	Only migrants (women)
Caritas (local/provincial branch)		Formal	Association dependent on the Catholic Church that has various lines of action ranging from general attention to groups at risk of social exclusion, training and occupational training for all groups, promotion of the social economy and various social emergency programs aimed at all groups in general and migrants in particular.	Locals
Red Cross (local/provincial branch)		FORMAL	various activities for children, adolescents and the elderly, often related to	Locals

			the issue of poverty and social exclusion. These are not programs exclusively aimed at immigrants, but they cover and serve the entire population (including the population of migrants at risk of social exclusion).	
Organisation XY	2020 is an organization that replaces the entity formed in 2011 called "colegas" and that was dissolved in 2018	Formal	Aghois is an organization that defends the rights of people belonging to the LGTB+ collective. It is a local organization that defends violations of the rights of all people regardless of their nationality, ethnicity or social origin.	Mainly locals (40 persons and at least 2 inmigrants)
Casa de XY	2010	Formal (City council)	organizing and managing cultural and academic events; promotion of relations and links with Ibero-America and the promotion of policies aimed at promoting spaces of solidarity and cooperation with sister countries and cities.	Locals (incl. Some with migrant background, various LatAm countries)

Detailed description of how you conducted fieldwork in Locality 5

Fieldwork in locality 5 was carried out during five days between the 22nd of June and the 8th of July 2022. The researcher had contacted several local actors in advance via email, who acted as gatekeepers (mostly representatives of various local NGOs and migrant associations) and helped a lot in identifying relevant sites and reaching potential interview and focus group participants, as well as in building the necessary level of trust. Overall, the researcher conducted a total of seven individual interviews, one mixed focus group with a total of nine participants, and around 6 hours of participant observation at different sites across the city centre.

What significantly complicated data collection in locality 5 was the very low share of immigrants living in the city, combined with a very high number of tourists (who are often but not always easy to differentiate from resident foreigners). From the very first moment, it was

clear that the majority of foreigners who were to be seen in the city centre were tourists who usually came for short stays and spend most of their time walking around or eating and drinking at one of the city's many terraces and bars. Several interviewees highlighted the fact that most foreigners in the city are tourists who often came in larger groups and only visit the city during the day, since at night they return to their cruise ships, thus spending relatively little money in the city itself.

Participant observation:

Participant observation began the first day the researcher visited the city. Given the very low number of post-2014 migrants in the everyday life of the city, which meant that hardly any encounters, let alone meaningful interactions, could be observed between locals and newcomers, the researcher decided to do part of the observation while walking through the centre and stopping at different sites of potential interaction. While the researcher conducted participant observation on various occasions and during different periods of the day, it was in the central hours of the day (between midday and 7pm) when he did encounter the very few immigrants he saw.

One particular square (SP-5-OBS1) was chosen because of the existence of a consulate, a nursing home where female caregivers of Spanish and foreign nationality worked and interacted a little after finishing their workday in the doors of the centre, and a church that gave basic support to people in a state of vulnerability. Among this last group, it stands out that the vast majority of people who went to church were locals and not immigrants, as is often the case in other localities. After spending 3 hours being in that square and taking advantage of the fact that the researcher had an appointment for an interview in another part of the city centre, he took a walk through different streets, squares, and the city's food market (SP-5-OBS2). In these places, the same situation was repeated: there was hardly any immigrant population, and therefore, there were hardly any interactions between locals and migrants.

On his second visit to the city (in which he stayed for 3 days), the researcher continued with participant observation in different places (SP-5-OBS3), including the local youth centre and "women's house", different neighbourhoods on the periphery where most of the municipal services were located (hospitals, police stations, immigration offices and various social entities), as well as the beach, which is a common place of encounter and interaction. While in the youth centre he found several children of immigrants who interacted with local children doing various activities and sports, it was only on the beach where the presence of immigrants was higher than in other places. Specifically, on the city's beaches and on the promenades, there were several immigrants of Senegalese origin who sold handcrafts and towels and scarves to locals and (primarily) tourists. One of them, who later participated in an interview (SP-5-M07), commented that the Senegalese immigrants do not live in the city itself, but in a nearby town (that can easily be reached by public transport) and only during the tourist season, outside of which they tend to work in nearby provinces as agricultural workers.

In-depth interviews with post-2014 migrants

In order to select a more or less representative sample of immigrant respondents, the researcher sought help from various social organisations in the city that worked with immigrants and/or were made up of immigrants. Two facilitators were particularly essential in the preparation of the sample (a municipal worker at a cultural institution and the leader of a local migrant association). Between both people, they disseminated the information about the project among possible participants and passed the contacts of people who wanted to participate to the researcher.

In this sense, the sample was somewhat biased, since in addition to knowing each other among them, some of them had very similar life stories and migration history. Another possible bias was the high presence of people of Latin American origin (mainly Mexicans) and the low presence of men in the sample. This last situation can be explained by the fact that women in this city have a more active profile in associations than men. Likewise, the vast majority of immigrants interviewed were in a regular administrative situation and employed in more or less similar sectors. It is also worth highlighting that most of the people interviewed had a medium or high educational level in their countries of origin and were in most cases underemployed (overeducated) in their current jobs.

The vast majority of interviews were conducted in bars/cafes, with the exception of one that was conducted in the house of an interviewee (SP-5-M06) and another in the same location as the focus group (SP-5-M04). Four interviews were fully recorded (and subsequently transcribed) whereas in three cases the interviewee preferred not to be recorded, so the researcher took written notes instead, which he later complemented.

Focus group discussion

To carry out the focus group, the researcher sought out local people who were on the street (a fundraiser working for an NGO, a youth worker, and a secondary school teacher) and immigrant people who had either participated in the interviews or were acquaintances or relatives of some of the interviewees who were willing to participate in the focus group discussion. Given the very small number of post-2014 migrants in the city, some overlap between focus group and interview participants was unavoidable. The focus group discussion took place on the 7th of July at the Local Youth Centre (*Casa de la Juventud*) and had a total of seven participants (two locals, three post-2014 migrants, and two long-term resident migrants).

The discussions were overall very friendly and calm, despite the fact that the locals sometimes disagreed with the immigrants on some emerging topics, such as the low-intensity racism suffered by some immigrants in their everyday relations with locals as well as with public officials. Likewise, one of the locals positively confronted two immigrants, the fact that there were citizens who were aware of immigration and the violation of human rights, especially at the borders and in the arrivals of immigrants.

Discussion on social interactions, individual attitudes, and migrants' experiences

This section presents some key insights from the data collected in locality 5 through participant observation, migrant interviews and focus groups and aims to provide a better understanding of (1) post-2014 migrants' social relations and their interactions with non-migrant residents, (2) the individual attitudes that members of both groups have towards each other, and (3) migrants' concrete experiences of inclusion and exclusion in the locality.

Social relations and (everyday) interaction

Of all the selected cases, locality 5 is the one with the lowest share of immigrants among the local population, and this has implications for post-2014 migrants' social relations and opportunities for interaction. On the one hand, it means that there are not enough residents from any particular country for them to "only live within their own communities", as one of the local focus group participants SP-5-FGP1 commented. Also other participants agreed that because there are no migrant neighbourhoods and very few ethnic shops and other businesses, they are in continuous contact and (economic) exchange with locals in places like markets, offices, but also at the hairdresser, for example. The very low share of immigrants was further aggravated by their relative invisibility (they are mostly Latin American) which also made it difficult and even more unlikely to observe encounters and interaction in public space. Most of the very few actual interactions that the researcher could observe were work-related: One the first day of observation he saw a group of caregivers leaving the geriatric/residence after finishing their workday (To his surprise, it seemed that even the caregiver role in locality 5 was still dominated by local women, although there were some of Latin American background. They all spent around ten minutes engaging in friendly interaction – all speaking Spanish – before going their ways (SP-5-OBS1).

On the second day, the researcher observed a group of Senegalese immigrants who were selling souvenirs and beach items (towels, scarves, sunglasses, etc.) to what seemed to be mostly tourists (rather than locals), along the beach and around the cruise ship docks as well as in several central squares. All of them were young men (under 30-40 years old) and their interactions seemed friendly even though exclusively commercial (SP-5-OBS2). When the researcher later asked one of them about his relations with "locals", he just laughs and points at his large backpack containing the products he sells, and then notes that his usual (and preferred) customers are not locals but tourists who are much more likely to actually buy something (SP-5-M07). For the same reason, the street vendors' job is only seasonal (during the summer/tourist season) whereas the rest of the year they work and live elsewhere (usually the fruit and vegetable fields in the surrounding provinces), which obviously also hinders proper "integration" in the locality. In other cases, and like in all other localities, it is often migrants' work schedules that complicate or altogether impede social relations beyond the work context. Many interviewees convey the feeling of spending "most of their time at work" (SP-5-M01), as Valentina, a 52-year-old woman from Mexico put it who often works long shifts and difficult hours in a local restaurant.

On the other hand, it seemed that those (very few) post-2014 migrants who have established themselves and permanently live in the city have very good and close relationships with locals, like their non-immigrant neighbours. Carolina, who arrived more than ten years ago from Colombia, highlighted how other things (like having similar-aged children) becomes the uniting element instead of shared origin: "I am the only migrant in our building... but on each floor there are kids of more or less the same age and almost all of us are women... so we go to the patio and we ask, 'does anyone have yeast?'... I live in a wonderful building!" (SP-5-M02).

Also the vibrant local culture facilitates interaction, including through participation in socio-cultural events like the carnival but also other things happening throughout the year. And also the very active political culture can foster integration through migrants' involvement in the many (local) social movements and demonstrations, as Carolina also highlighted:

> I have at least two [demonstrations] weekly… around human rights, migrant rights, diversity, LGTBIQ+, health, education, social rights, environment, housing, there is a lot… wherever human rights are being violated, we are there. If it's a group of domestic workers, we are there... there have been weeks in which I had a demonstration every day! (SP-5-M02)

Also Renata, a young (18) Mexican who had been living in the locality for seven years, agrees that the city has "a very active political life" but that many of these occasions are primarily for "lifelong residents", and that even though she feels "integrated" in the city, she does not participate in all the events (SP-5-M04). Similarly, another Mexican woman, Valeria, said that she participates in the vast majority of cultural events and many leisure activities that take place in the city but usually goes there with other migrant women and that her interaction with locals (and with men) is very, very limited on such occasions (SP-5-M05). It is also important to note that it is just for Latin American migrants that is so easy to fit in, since their "own" culture is very closely linked to the local culture, as Carolina explicitly noted:

> I feel at home… anyone who comes here can feel welcome… because there is a human warmth here that helps a lot… but it depends on who you interact with… for us Latinas it is almost like being in our countries of origin… it is a one of the most Latin American cities in all of Spain... you walk along the boardwalk and you [feel like you] are in Havana (SP-5-M02).

While many interviewees from different Latin American countries recognised the strong similarity between the local culture and that of "their country", they also pointed at certain differences that have implications for their everyday interactions with friends or neighbours, like for example, that "in Mexico we can go to anyone's house at any time and just knock on the door. But not here... here you have to pre-arrange to meet in some place (SP-5-M01). Interestingly, like in the other medium-sized town (locality 3), several interviewees also hinted at a more individualistic mentality than they were used to from their country of origin, like Elisabeth (from the Dominican Republic):

> Where I live, it's not like in my country, where you meet your neighbour, and you know who he is... here you see him once in months... here if I've seen him on the street I don't know if he's my neighbour... everyone lives with their own things and minds their own business… I'm sorry to say so, but it's like everyone is colder (SP-5-M03).

Interestingly, several migrant interviewees conveyed a feeling that even though people are generally very open and friendly, it is difficult to develop closer and deeper relations with them, as Carolina put it:

> It is a very open culture, very outward… but whereas in other more closed cultures, once you meet someone, you become friends for life… not here: they are not going to invite you to their homes, nor are they going to call you. […] The people of [locality 5] seem very open and humorous, but they don't open their doors... I can still only imagine what their homes could be like…" (SP-5-M02).

That was also the overall perception of focus group participants: that locals and migrants only interact occasionally in places of leisure such as carnivals, nightclubs, or fairs, but this contact tends to be brief and rather superficial and hardly ever leads to long-lasting relations.

Individual attitudes

As already noted, the city (and the whole region) is known for local people's explicitly open and welcoming attitude towards newcomers and visitors, which is something that also the researchers who visited the city realised themselves. For example, it is much more common than in Catalonia that the bus driver not only promises to tell you at which stop to get off to reach the city hall but also suggests his favourite restaurant in that area as well as the best time and spot to enjoy the beach in the afternoon. One interviewee put it this way: "The city's idiosyncrasy is very particular… the urban bus is the living room of the local people… and people tend to enter into your conversations…" (SP-5-M02). Such open and welcoming culture can be expected to be rather conducive to everyday encounters and interaction between migrants and non-migrants.

That said however, interviewees also remember some, rather isolated, incidents of everyday racism, like being asked for their ID at the entrance of a club where none of the locals had to present theirs (SP-5-M03), or that a neighbour had complained about the noise of a small house-party by saying that "this is not Mexico" (SP-5-M04). While some respondents, like Valeria, also mentioned discrimination on the housing market (based on her Mexican accent), it is obviously something that migrants from other parts of the world (the non-Latinos), and particularly those coming from African countries, feel much more often and intensely. For Sam, who is from Senegal and works in locality 5 as a street vendor, it is not so much a question of where you come from but whether or not you are black. Having also lived in other parts of Spain, he noted that "there is a lot of racism everywhere, but here the people might make some joke and laugh, rather than insulting you" (SP-5-M07).

Regarding the politicisation of migration in general, one of the locals in the focus group said that the topic is not talked about every day, but whenever there is news from other places where immigration is related to some violent incident, and that after the recent regional elections, the far right has tried to explicitly criminalize immigration also at the local level (SP-5-FGP1). This, however, has not – at least not yet – significantly changed the rather positive attitude of most local people, who as already discussed above are generally described as quite open and friendly.

In terms of their plans and aspirations for their future, the post-2014 migrants interviewed in locality 5 were quite split, several referred to the very difficult job and/or housing situation in the city that is making it increasingly difficult for them to stay. The way Elizabeth described her own situation was quite typical: "In [locality 5] it is very difficult to rent [a flat] …since it is very densely populated. But it is a place where, if you have work [and earn enough money], you will never leave it, because it is a very nice, safe, and quiet place… if I had a job I would not leave; I would stay!" (SP-5-M03).

Experiences of inclusion/exclusion

Housing and employment were also what most migrant interviewees spoke about when the researcher asked them about experiences of exclusion that had marked their arrival and sojourn in the city. Notably, also the many locals who either participated in the focus group or that the researcher had informal conversations with during his visits, regularly highlighted the extreme scarcity of employment opportunities as a factor that endangers the good community that according to them (still) characterises the locality. For immigrants, this situation is often further aggravated by the irregularity of their residence, as well as a lack of personal networks and the usual difficulty of getting their (foreign) diplomas recognised, as Elisabeth explained:

> Without [legal] residency, you only get unskilled jobs, as caregivers, cleaning at home... etc. But even if you have it [the residence permit], there aren't many [jobs], everything depends on contacts... getting a job in my field is complicated and even more so here in the city […] I have been told there is a lot of cronyism... so to be honest, I don't think I will be able work in something related to my studies here (SP-5-M03).

She was not the only one who had accepted that they will only find a job in the locality if they are willing to give up on their dreams and work in unskilled (low-paid) jobs or change their profession. One interviewee re-trained to become a chef to work in one of the many restaurants in the locality (and in the end found a permanent job in the kitchen of a large care home); another one had lost her job as a waiter during the pandemic and has become a carer instead: Even though she does not particularly like her current job, she sees it as "the only way to work at normal hours and with a constant salary throughout the year, unlike in hospitality" (SP-5-M05).

The pandemic appeared in many accounts as a period of particular hardship during which migrants as well as locals depended on practical support and/or financial assistance from

either social services or NGOs and receiving this support had made many of them feel included (in practice, it allowed them to stay in the city rather than having to look for a cheaper place to live elsewhere). Several post-2014 migrants, including Elizabeth and Sam, also highlighted for them surprisingly positive experiences when accessing the public healthcare system. The city's current left-wing government that was formed in 2019 is sometimes seen as having facilitated certain improvements in the situation of migrants in the city, even though the initiative for these changes had mostly come from civil society, including several migrant organisations like the one led by Carolina:

> With the new city government there have been changes... thanks to the work that we [the migrant organisations] have done, the access of migrants to municipal resources has improved. We appreciate that they listened to us and that it did not cost us so much work... the councillor for equality took our requests into account... [for example,] there is a lot of information that does not reach migrants... so we asked that they set up an InfoPoint for immigrants (SP-5-M02).

In terms of housing access, migrant interviewees were aware that the main problem is the lack of affordable housing that partly has to do with the immense touristification of the city, especially during the summer months. At the same time, however, many of them also highlighted the many different ways in which housing access for migrants is made even more difficult, as the following account illustrates:

> Ufff... it's the language, the fact that you have your accent, the payroll, that you need a certain income, the guarantors... for a flat that costs 490[€ per month] they ask you for two guarantors with incomes of more than 2000 Euros! Who earns that in [locality 3]? And many people do not rent to migrants because they are migrants, and if they are racialized it is even worse… (SP-5-M02).

The way migrants are treated by local officials, in contrast, was mostly described in positive terms (only one person mentioned the issue of institutional racism, in relation to the health and social services). For example, Sam (SP-5-M07), who has no valid residence or work permit and thus earns his money as a street vendor, noted that even the local police treat him quite well and normally let them sell without causing too much trouble – unlike in other localities where he had previously worked as a street vendor, the police usually do not give them a fine but just tell them to leave.

Brief summary of main insights for Locality 5

The situation in the second medium-sized town in the sample is very different from that in locality 3; firstly, because the share of foreign residents is much lower; and secondly, because partly due to its particular geography there is virtually no residential segregation. As has been discussed, both of these traits are perceived as rather conducive to migrant integration. As in the case of locality 3, also here the **geographical/spatial dimension** appears as particularly

relevant. In stark contrast to the other medium-sized city, however, it is precisely the absence of any migrant (-dominated) neighbourhood or street that is characteristic for locality 5. What seems to explain this absence is the high population density and lack of space for the city to grow, as well as the fact that historically it has been a very mixed city where people of different classes and socioeconomic status had been living next to each other. The increasing demand for touristic (in summer) and student (during the rest of the year) flats has lately put a huge strain on the local housing market, with steeply rising prices forcing more and locals to move away while at the same time keeping the share of immigrants low. In terms of the **social dimension**, this low share of migrant population in combination with the fact that there is a strong dominance of people from Latin America who basically share the same language, religion, and many other cultural traits including traditions like the carnival with the local (majority) population, obviously facilitates everyday integration. Also the vibrant local culture and very active (also politically) civil society provide opportunities for newcomers to engage and become part of the associative fabric of the city. The very high unemployment rate, on the other hand, makes that relatively many locals work in job sectors that in other localities are almost exclusively dominated by migrant workers (like the care, cleaning, and similar services) and might well perceive immigrants as more of a competition. Thus, coming to the **ideational-political dimension**, it should be highlighted that the very low number of immigrants who (permanently) live the locality also made it easier to avoid local politicisation of the issue, and even if a political party wanted to, it is difficult to construct immigration as a threat to such a city. Even more so, if it is a city that so heavily depends on tourism and is known for – and proud of – its openness and welcoming character. While quite a few migrant interviewees agreed with the official image of the local population as open and easy to approach, they do not find it easy to make friends, i.e., enter in more substantial exchange and longer-term relationships with them. When it comes to **factors related to governance**, at least one participant explicitly highlighted the relatively new local government (a left-wing coalition formed in 2019) as a strong and willing partner for civil society organisation including the traditionally very strong and influential trade unions. It is difficult to say, however, whether this dynamic really leads to different outcomes or concrete positive changes in migrants' lives.

3.6.   Locality 6: small town, Andalusia

Background information

Locality 6 is a small town off the Mediterranean coast but nonetheless an important destination for day visitors and tourists. The municipality is the main economic power in the interior of the province, with a higher per capita income than coastal cities and a local economy that successfully transitioned from agriculture to industrial manufacturing. While its unemployment rate lies slightly above the national average, its economic situation is much better than in most of the region. Within the province it is the municipality with the highest employment rate (68% among working age people). This gives the municipality the ability to spend quite a lot on social policies and local welfare support, as several interviewees highlighted.

Population growth remains significantly below the national average, as does the share of foreign residents living in the city (the largest groups are Brazilian, Romanian, and Moroccan, followed by British citizens), even though their number has recently been growing considerably. The transition from agriculture to industry (and services) also changed the profile of immigration, from temporary agricultural workers who used to return to their country of origin at the end of each harvest season, to people escaping conflicts and/or poverty. Accordingly, the local population is just starting to get used to immigration und the resulting cultural diversity, as a local councillor noted (during fieldwork phase one):

> [Locality 6] is not a small city, it's quite big for this region… but it still has a kind of village-mentality… and to change this mentality isn't easy. But slowly, slowly it is changing. Immigration has been a relatively recent phenomenon compared to larger Spanish cities. So, the people here first had to get used to it before they could open up and welcome the newcomers. So, in this sense the small size and rural nature of the city is not helping (SP-6-02).

Since 2011 the municipality has been governed by the conservative Partido Popular (PP), following almost 30 years of PSOE. The locality represents an interesting case regarding the reception of asylum seekers, since it was the first municipality in the region where a reception centre was established (in 2016) in response to the so-called "refugee crisis" of 2015. Already in 2015, the conservative municipal government set up a partnership with the regional and national governments as well as various NGOs to accommodate 330 asylum seekers in the town and neighbouring municipalities.

Relevant Infrastructure

In spite of their relatively small size, the locality has all the relevant infrastructure: various schools, youth centres, sports facilities, supermarkets, social services (located close to the city centre), and religious sites: The town is particularly known for the large number of (Christian) churches and convents. There are also two (practically invisible) mosques / Islamic prayer rooms. Public transport within the town is quite limited but it is also not very necessary due to its small size. There are several parks, but all located outside of the city centre, and also in the further surroundings of the town there are a lot of nature areas and natural sights.

In terms of missing infrastructure, it should be noted that locality 6 has no ethnic market, nor its own train station (the closest one is a 20-minute drive away) so people depend on buses to reach other cities. That said, however, the locality's position in between several larger cities, gives it good access to several airports (all located approximately one hour away), and lately it has been emerging as an important regional logistics centre.

The town itself is characterised by relatively little residential segregation (the issue was noted more in terms of socioeconomic status than ethnic origin/background) and migrant as well as non-migrant respondents described it as a very quiet and safe city with a very low crime rate.

As already noted, the locality was the first Andalusian municipality to host a reception centre for asylum seekers. Already in 2015, the municipal government, despite being conservative, set up a partnership with the regional and national government as well as several national and local NGOs to accommodate more than 300 asylum seekers in the locality and the neighbouring municipality. In 2016, one of the major refugee-serving NGOs (CEAR) opened a local branch and reception centre in the locality where it accommodates around 50 asylum seekers (38 individual reception places and two flats (in the same building, for refugee families). This centre is still in operation and has almost always been fully occupied.

Local organizational landscape

The comparatively low share of foreign population is not only visible on the streets of locality 6 (where little cultural diversity can be spotted), but it is also reflected in the towns' organisational landscape, within which migrant organisations play a relatively minor role compared to other localities. There are, however, several NGOs and support groups (listed in table 5), including Caritas and the Red Cross, as well as one of the major refugee-serving NGOs in Spain. Another relevant actor is a national NGO with close ties to the Catholic church that has a long tradition in the reception of former convicts. Over time, this organisation has extended its work for the re-integration of ex-prisoners to young (unaccompanied) migrants who had left the youth protection system upon turning 18. Nowadays, migrant integration is one of the organisations' core lines of work.

According to our migrant and non-migrant informants, there have never been any larger public protests against immigrants or refugees (or immigration more generally), nor is there an established organisation or group that would organise or call for such protests at the local level. That said, however, there have (quite recently) been situations of tension. Just a few weeks before the start of the second round of fieldwork and coinciding with the political campaign for the regional elections in Andalusia, a group of young, hooded men had attacked the headquarters of two NGOs well-known for their work in support of migrants and refugees (they destroyed some furniture, shouted anti-immigrant slogans, and left graffities calling for the expulsion of immigrants from the locality). They also sprayed the symbols of the far-right VOX party, which for the first time made the third place in the regional elections (with 13% of the votes in the whole region, 11% in the municipality). According to our informants, this has been an isolated event, but it was perceived as a warning and potential turning point since it was the first time something like this had happened in the municipality. While the political climate in the locality has been described as friendly and rather pro-migrant, with regular and constructive meetings between civil society, the city council, and other parts of the local population, interviewees could not recall any significant mobilisation in favour of the locality's migrant and refugee population.

Table 5: Overview of the most relevant NGOs active in the field of migrant/refugee integration (some names have been changed to not undermine the anonymity that has been promised to all research participants)

Name	Year of foundation	Formal/Informal	Purposes and activities	Leadership and membership (e.g., locals and migrants, only migrants, only locals)
CEAR (local branch)	Reception centre opened in 2016	Formal		The director is a span citizen but only recently moved to the locality
Fundación Prolibertas (local branch)	Org founded in 2001	Formal		Mostly locals
XY Acoge (local branch of a nation-wide network of support groups)	2003/4	Formal		Locals and long-term residents with migrant background
Caritas (local branch)		Formal		Mostly locals
Red Cross (local branch)		Formal		Mostly locals

Detailed description of how you conducted fieldwork in Locality 6

Fieldwork in locality 6 was carried out during four days in the middle of July 2022, (between the 19 and the 22 of July). Also here, the researcher had contacted several key contacts in advance via email, who acted as gatekeepers (mostly NGO representatives) and helped identifying relevant observation sites and reaching potential interview and focus group participants. Overall, the researcher conducted a total of nine interviews, one mixed focus group with a total of nine participants, and around five hours of participant observation at different sites across the city centre.

Participant observation:

To carry out the participant observation, the researcher selected two parks, located in the North and West of the town, following the suggestion of one of the key gatekeepers who recommended them as places that are usually occupied by both locals and immigrants, as well as by people of different ages (from children to the elderly). One of them was a large municipal park behind the local bullfighting stadium (SP-6-OBS1); the other one was a smaller park located in the vicinity of the municipal soccer field and other sports facilities (SP-6-OBS2). Both sites are located outside of the city centre, and both were open places with benches that allowed people to sit down to talk and share space and time. In the immediate vicinity of both places there were grocery stores and several bars/restaurants.

Due to the high temperatures that occur in the municipality during the summer (period in which the participant observation was carried out), which made it almost impossible to find

people in the street during the hours of maximum heat, the researcher decided to visit both places at night (which was when people began to go out into the street). Participant observation at the two sites thus took place in the evenings of July 19 and 20.

In-depth interviews with post-2014 migrants

A total of nine interviews (two interviewees, a couple, were interviewed together) were conducted in the locality. To do this, the researcher visited the city a week before to meet with representatives of three NGOs that work in the locality. Of these three entities, two had a long history in the town developing integration and reception programs. Due to this experience, they had contacts with immigrants who had been residing in the town for several years. Thanks to these meetings prior to field work, the researcher had various contacts and scheduled the vast majority of interviews in advance.

One of the possible selection biases in the sample was caused by the role of the facilitators, since none of the interviewed immigrants came from an environment other than that of the NGOs present in the locality. Despite this, an effort was made diversify the sample in terms of gender, origin/nationality and age. However, it is true that there was a certain over-representation of Latin American profiles (more present in the locality) with a medium-low level of education, while other world regions (especially Africa and Asia) are underrepresented. Likewise, it was not easy to schedule interviews with Latin American women, since many of them worked in the care sector (as interns or making home visits) with schedules that took up all or most of the day. Finally, it was also difficult to find long-term residents in the town who were willing to participate. According to the facilitators, this was due to the fact that they were completely integrated into the social structure of the town and did not need to go to the different entities of the third sector.

Focus group discussion

Also the focus group was organised and conducted with the help of local facilitators (the same NGOs), and took place at one of their headquarters. Since finding participants proved extremely difficult, an attempt was made to summon the people who had already participated in an interview. For the sample of local residents, the researcher approached two neighbourhood associations, spoke with people he met on the street and with the same facilitators, who also helped in promoting the focus group among the local population.

Unfortunately, on the same day of focus group, several immigrants (all women) wrote an email/WhatsApp message saying that they ultimately could not attend, which caused an over-representation of men (locals and immigrants) in the sample. Likewise, during the first minutes of the discussion group, one of the immigrant women who came, left and did not participate actively. Despite this, the discussion group brought to light important aspects of integration in the locality and different opinions could be contrasted.

After the focus group, the researcher organized a small snack with the participants, and they continued talking about the topics that emerged during the focus group. One of the most interesting and beautiful things that took place in those moments was the organisation of a

soccer match between immigrants and locals. Likewise, one of the local participants was informing two immigrants about the possibilities of obtaining both Spanish nationality and various long-term residence and work permits. Finally, it should be noted that there was no moment of tension between the participants.

Discussion on social interactions, individual attitudes, and migrants' experiences

This section presents some key insights from the data collected in locality 6 through participant observation, (migrant) interviews and focus groups and aims to provide a better understanding of (1) post-2014 migrants' social relations and their interactions with non-migrant residents, (2) the individual attitudes that members of both groups have towards each other, and (3) migrants' concrete experiences of inclusion and exclusion in the locality.

Social relations and (everyday) interaction

Just as in other localities, most interviewees described their everyday lives in locality 6 in binary terms, as they are either working (if they have a job, otherwise they are or looking for one) or resting from work. Several migrants even went as far as to state that they think they spend most of their time in the street, going from one job to another or looking for new ones. Their working hours vary depending on the type of job, but they generally leave very little time for socialising, especially considering that many interviewees have more than one job.

It is thus hardly surprising that most of the friendships they have managed to make since they arrived in the locality resulted from relations at work (as noted by several interviewees), either with colleagues or clients. The fact that they usually do not work in ethnic businesses (of which there seem to be very few in locality 6) makes that these acquaintances are also with locals, as Luciana, a 46-year-old Brazilian who works in domestic care, noted: "The only contact I have with locals is with the elderly people for whom I work" (SP-6-M06). Even though it is not easy to turn these relations into friendships, it sometimes does happen and having (even very few) local friends is perceived as extremely helpful, as mentioned by Abdil, a young asylum seeker from Morocco: "When I have problems in terms of work, housing, etc. I go to a friend of mine who is from here [from the locality] and almost every time he manages to help me" (SP-6-M02).

When asked about their closest and most important personal relations, however, post-2014 migrants usually point to (close) family members, who either reside within the same locality or in the country of origin. When asked who they tend to go to when they have a problem, many also mention their social worker or people working for NGOs or support groups in the locality – two of which are mentioned particularly often – who have helped them in many different ways. The case of Abdil is a good example: "I was recommended this course by a social worker at [one of the NGOs]. She recommended me, signed me up, got me my internship, talked to the director. She almost did everything for me, I only had to study, pass the courses and work" (SP-6-M02).

Apart from their employment situation and relations with NGOs, many migrants mentioned age as an important factor regarding their integration and most agreed that it was beneficial to be young. Abdil, who had arrived as an unaccompanied minor, explained why:

> There are differences depending on whether you arrive to Spain as a minor or as an adult. Minors usually have civil servants that help them, take care of them, they are taught the language…. Adults do not receive this kind of help, they must do it on their own: find jobs, learn the language, etc. It is way easier to arrive as a minor (SP-6-M02).

There is no clear consensus regarding the role that gender plays for migrants' social relations in the locality, even though several respondents suggested that it is easier for women to find (often informal) employment, usually in the care sector.

Only very few migrant interviewees mentioned other specific sites or locations (apart from their workplace) where they would go to socialise and interact with locals. Emiliano, a post-2014 migrant from Colombia, mentioned one of the parks where the researcher conducted participant observation (SP-6-OBS1) as a good space to meet people (SP-6-M05), whereas Laura, a 49-year-old woman from Venezuela considered bars (in general) as the best place to meet new people, although this obviously involves spending money (SP-6-M09). A very common context for interaction – and in this sense locality 6 seemed similar to locality 5 – are the various local festivities that happen in the town and are often organised by the municipality. All the interviewees have attended at least one such event, and they all described the experience as positive and enriching. For Emiliano, they are also a welcome opportunity to make friends: "In the park they put food trucks and a skating ring, a lot of things to do activities which I like very much… so they are good spaces to meet people and get to know each other and talk with them" (SP-6-M05).

Similarly, many migrants expressed their satisfaction with activities organised by one of the NGOs and sometimes in collaboration with a neighbourhood association, or one of the local schools, as mentioned by Abdil: "On the very next day after I arrived there was an activity that involved going to a school and give a talk about migrants' experiences and so I went to tell them my story. It went very well and the kids from my age treated me as a friend" (SP-6-M02). The school environment was also mentioned by parents, like Ana María (an asylum seeker from Venezuela), as a crucial site of inclusion and positive interaction: "The fact that the kid was able to start going to school within the week we arrived is very inclusive and helped us a lot" (SP-6-M03). She and her husband Roberto are both members of the parents' association and are keen to highlight that they go to every meeting, where there are both locals (around 60%) and immigrants (40%). Moreover, they also have a WhatsApp group where they can ask questions concerning the school and their kids and where parents help each other out.

Somewhat surprisingly, several interviewees noted that the (after)effects of Covid19 pandemic, which obviously brought all of these activities to a sudden halt, were still

noticeable, since many associations had not yet fully recovered and reactivated all their events and activities.

Individual attitudes

According to the perceptions of (most) interviewees and focus group participants, locality 6 appears to be a rather closed society, which some of them relate to its small size (and village character) which easily gives newcomers the feeling that "everyone already knows everyone" as several migrants have noted. Luciana put it like this: "In here the groups are very closed because they have known each other for a long time, they have grown up together, and if they do not know you it's difficult to join these groups […] They don't have the need to make more friendships" (SP-6-05). A local focus group participant confirmed this perception and related it to the town's geographic location: "We are a city in the interior, and quite conservative. It's not like the port cities that are open and are used to receiving migrants for a long time" (SP-6-FGP1). While some migrants suggested that locals generally seem to lack the necessary awareness and knowledge regarding immigration, almost all of them agreed that once they have settled in, they have found locals to be more open and welcoming. Interestingly, one respondent suggested that what increases acceptance among locals is the growing demand for workers: migrants are accepted as workers: "here they don't look at you as a migrant, but they are interested in having a workforce" (SP-6-06).

As in other localities, migrants remembered relatively isolated experiences of discrimination and (initial) rejection and related them to the usual narratives and (negative) stereotypes that local people tend to have about migrants; and also here, their accounts often suggested that they have interiorised at least some of these prejudices. As a result, they sometimes describe what clearly are racist behaviours on the part of individual locals (often potential landlords) not as racism but as rather understandable reactions to previous experiences that they might have had with other migrants from the same country. Abdil's account provides a good example:

> When I was looking for an apartment, I called several people and once they knew I was from Morocco they no longer offered me the apartment... [but] this is not because they hate Moroccans; it is because the previous one had left a bad impression. […] I once entered an apartment where a Moroccan was living, and he really had it in a very poor state… (SP-6-02).

Only one migrant interviewee used the word racism to describe his experience, even though most of them had encountered situations of racism and discrimination, especially when looking for apartments. As had also been mentioned by respondents in locality 5, racist comments are often "made like if they were a joke so one has to know how to handle these situations" (SP-6-05), as Emiliano put it.

More or less directly related to their personal experiences in the locality (and with the local population) are migrants' plans or aspirations for their own future: Almost all interviewees have come to this particular town either because they had (extended) family there, or as

asylum seekers who had been allocated to the local reception centre. When asked about their aspirations for the future, the majority absolutely wanted to stay and live in the locality, mainly because of its calm and quiet atmosphere. Slightly fewer interviewees were planning to leave – often in search of better employment or living conditions – but had not yet managed to do so. Also a local focus group participant said that a common perception was that migrants tend to leave the town for bigger cities with a better economic situation and more opportunities (SP-6-FGP8).

Experiences of inclusion/exclusion

Post-2014 migrants' experiences of inclusion and exclusion in locality 6 largely mirror those found in other localities. The public education and healthcare systems were mostly described as inclusionary contexts, and many migrants highlighted the practical support and/or orientation or specific training they received from civil society organisations. While – in contrast to many other localities – nobody mentioned migrant organisations in this context, it became clear that migrants' "own" ethnic communities do nonetheless play an important role and significantly facilitate inclusion in different spheres. In the case of locality 6, the largest and oldest migrant community are the Brazilians, and both interviewees from Brazil mentioned the importance of having a wide network of family members or other compatriots, since those who have been residing in the locality for a longer time usually help the newcomers to adapt, find jobs, housing, and to meet new people. Luciana, for example, who had arrived from Brazil three and a half years ago, very well remembered that at the beginning "everyone helped me… to get a job, find a place to live… and this was mostly done by the Brazilians who already lived here" (SP-6-06). She later also noted, however, that this same community is what kind of "traps" her in the locality: "I want to leave but I can't, I always end up coming back because I find a job thanks to my Brazilian contacts" (SP-6-06).

As already mentioned above (by Abdil), and as in all the localities, it is in relation to the housing market that post-2014 migrants report most (explicit) exclusion. In fact, most of the interviewed migrants had experienced racism and discrimination when trying to find or rent a flat. Some of them mentioned the need to build trust with the landlord or even to know them personally (or at least have a common friend). In addition to this, and even though housing prices are significantly lower than in other localities, migrants also report the usual economic and documentary barriers that they found difficult to overcome. When it comes to finding employment, the interviewed migrants primarily mentioned administrative difficulties – related to the homologation of their previous qualifications as well as their legal status and corresponding documentation. Fewer of them also mentioned language barriers and the need of a private car in order to get to work; and one of them, a young man from Mali, referred to racism that he had faced when applying for jobs (SP-6-08). The same person also mentioned (language) problems when trying to access the local health services:

> When I arrived here, I didn't know the language so people could not understand me. For instance, I had to go to the doctor with a translator or someone accompanying me and many times I have left there still hurting. […] People need to have patience

to listen to us and make the effort to understand. But they force you to go with a translator almost everywhere. For instance, in the medical centre they have a free translation service, but they do not use it… (SP-6-08).

His case suggest that the healthcare system is only inclusive for migrants from Spanish-speaking countries, which is also true for many other institutional contexts. Notably, most interviewees who said they were very comfortable living in Locality 6 already spoke the language when they arrived in the locality, whereas those (two) who did not, reported much more difficulties, and experienced more exclusion and rejection. This, of course, might not only have to do with their language skills, but also the more general cultural proximity from which especially Latin American migrants benefit.

Brief summary of main insights for Locality 6

The data obtained from migrant interviews, the focus group discussion, and the observations suggest that in terms of migrants social relations, interactions, attitudes, and experiences, locality 6 is very similar to locality 2. While there is (at least until recently) very little immigration and no concrete problem or conflicts related to migrant integration, there is relatively little interaction between locals and newcomers in everyday life. The quiet small-town character and relatively good economic situation (compared to the rest of the province) seem rather conducive to positive or at least unproblematic community relations: Regarding the **ideational-political dimension**, we find that the (conservative) local government and a majority of the population are aware that migrants are a much-needed labour force, especially in the care sector. Like in locality 2, attitudes towards immigrants thus seem to become more positive even though not all locals are ready to fully accept and embrace the resulting diversity. The fact that a large majority of the post-2014 migrants that stay/ed in the locality (beyond initial reception) are Latin Americans surely helps in this sense, as does the absence of political mobilisation against immigration (although there are indications, including victory of the conservative and far-right parties in the regional elections in June 2022, that this might be changing). The **social dimension** appears as particularly crucial, both at the individual and group level: individual characteristics (particularly age, gender, family situation, and ethnicity) significantly shape integration opportunities and trajectory; the various NGOs provide indispensable support (both material and emotional) while there is a surprising absence of migrant organisations. Even so, mutual support and exchange within ethnic communities – in this case particularly the Brazilian community – play a crucial role for post-2014 migrants' integration and access to resources (particularly housing and employment). In terms of **governance**, also the interviewees in locality 6 often refer to exclusionary consequences of national law and policy but hardly ever to what the local government does (or should be doing). What many of them value as helpful for their integration are the various local events and festivities that are mostly organised by the local government, which even though it is led by the conservative party seems to have a positive and welcoming attitude towards immigration. Relevant **geographical/spatial characteristics** include the locality's small size

and rather remote location (off the coast and without a train station), as well as the low level of residential segregation, both of which are perceived as conducive to integration, even though the former makes the town less attractive for younger people (including migrants).

4. Main findings in comparative perspective

4.1. Reciprocal interactions and attitudes, and migrants' experiences of integration

The overall impression obtained from the interviewees' and focus group participants' accounts as well as our own observations in the five localities is that post-2014 have relatively few meaningful relationships and regular interactions with "locals". This is true for all selected localities and largely due to the fact that there is little everyday encounter beyond the necessary exchanges at markets, workplaces, or public institutions, that would give rise to long-lasting relations. Most of people's social relations happen at home or at work, and often within their own (ethnic) community. A very frequent complaint among migrant interviewees (across all localities) is that they have very little time besides their work and family obligations, during which they could actually interact more with other people. In addition, they very often perceive the "local" population as rather closed and thus difficult to get in closer and/or longer-lasting contact with. This was mentioned in all localities apart from locality 5 (where making contact seems somewhat easier but the resulting interpersonal relations tend to remain shallow), and particularly often in the two Catalan towns (localities 1 and 3), where the "locals" – in addition to being perceived as especially closed and colder than in other parts of the country – also speak their own language (Catalan) that was often described as an additional barrier and marker of difference. These two are also the most clearly and visibly segregated localities in the sample, and this high level of residential segregation was often mentioned as limiting post-2014 migrants' relations and interactions with locals. Across all localities, also migrants' individual characteristics (age, gender, family situation, ethnicity), as well as the sector in which they work, seem to significantly shape their opportunities for interaction, whereby NGOs and migrant associations are crucial sources of support for newcomers but can also function as bridges between them and the "autochthonous" population. Some (but not all) interviewees' accounts suggest that in small localities (L1, L2, L6) it is easier or quicker to build social capital due to the fact that in such towns "everybody knows everybody", but this arguably also makes personal contacts even more necessary (and leads to effective exclusion of people without such contacts).

The relatively few specific contexts and concrete sites where migrants and non-migrants tend to interact more frequently are largely the same across the selected localities: at work, in school, or through trainings, courses or other activities usually organised by local NGOs or support groups. In the case of the latter, the contact is often described in very positive terms but is obviously limited to a small section of the local population who are already aware of, and interested in, migrants' and refugees' difficult situation in the country and the locality. While they are actively trying to welcome newcomers and in many practical ways help them to settle in, the majority of the localities' local populations do not seem to perceive it as their responsibility to deepen their own (personal) relations with migrants nor to improve

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intercultural relations in general. That said, the comparatively low level of politicisation around immigration and migrant integration – which sets Spain apart from most other European countries – is also notable at the local level: In none of the selected localities did interviewees report any significant mobilisation or organised protests against the arrival or settlement of migrants and refugees, whereas several of them have seen local demonstrations of solidarity with migrants and refugees, although never related to the local but rather the European context. What these small-scale mobilisations usually denounce is not the local government and its policy towards newcomers but national and EU immigration and asylum policies (and their deadly effects that become most visible at the EU's external border).

Locals' attitudes towards migrants and refugees are obviously very mixed and it has not been possible to identify any significant difference between the various localities in this sense, apart from the relatively widespread perception that in Catalonia (localities 1 and 3) – and to some extent also in locality 2 – the local population is particularly closed and difficult to become part of. According to some respondents, as will be discussed in the next sub-section, locals seem to be/come more accepting of immigrants if important sectors of the economy heavily depend on migrant labour (like the meat industry in locality 1, or the care sector in locality 2). While it is difficult to capture and assess changes over time based on the limited data we have collected (at only one point in time), the interviewees' general perception was that things are getting better: The locals – especially in smaller localities with little experience of immigration before 2014, like locality 2 and 6, are getting more and more used to cultural diversity and thus (as a society) become more open and welcoming; while individual migrants need time to learn the language, understand the local culture, get used to the new environment and find their place in the labour market and many other spheres. Unsurprisingly, newcomers who have spent more time (several years) in the respective locality tend to have more and closer connections with locals compared to those who arrived more recently (sometimes just a couple of months ago). A somewhat surprising finding is that many migrants' own perception and understanding of "integration" contradicts (more recent) academic debates and conceptualisations – as a "two-way process", mutual responsibility, if not "Whole-of-Community" effort – in that many of them see it primarily as their own duty to adapt in order to be accepted by the majority population, which cannot be expected to adapt to them as the newcomers.

In all localities, post-2014 migrants encounter inclusion in some spheres and (at the same time) exclusion from others. Their experiences of inclusion are very often related to the help and support – whether practical, financial, or emotional – that they have received from NGOs or migrant associations (sometimes more informal local support groups). Migrant interviewees also described their experiences with the public school (if they have children) and healthcare systems as overall positive, inclusionary, and attentive to their (children's) needs, although with some notable exceptions: In locality 1, the arrival of refugee families from Syria and Afghanistan created some dispute about the school meals not including a halal meat option; and in locality 6, there were complaints about a lack of effort on the part of the local healthcare providers to overcome language barriers that some migrants were facing

(both issues are discussed in more detail in the WP4 country report). Even migrants in irregular situations usually manage to get a health card and to register their kids for school without major problems, although very often they thereby rely on the help of NGOs (which also help overcoming the language barrier). A particularly crucial step towards integration in the Spanish context is the inscription in the local population register (*empadronamiento*), a process that in most localities is being facilitated by the local administration (which in principle has the statutory obligation to do so). The only locality in which migrant interviewees reported problems in this regard was locality 3, where migrants without a stable address are only registered temporarily, as also discussed in the WP4 country report.

Post-2014 migrants' economic inclusion depends more on the specific local context and labour market conditions, and thus usually happens quicker in localities with a good economic situation and low unemployment rates (like locality 1) than in those with a weak economy and high unemployment rates (like locality 5). In addition, and across all localities, their labour market access is strongly determined by their legal status, whereby migrants without work permit can only find work in certain (low wage) sectors like agriculture or domestic care. Here it is important to note the high share of respondents in irregular situations (between one third and half of the respondents in each locality), which is characteristic of the Spanish context. In all localities national immigration law was frequently mentioned as the primary source of exclusion.

That said, many migrant interviewees mentioned (usually minor, and rather isolated) experiences of racism or discrimination by individual citizens that they encountered in public or by (former) employers. Racist attitudes are particularly widespread and very openly expressed in the private housing sector, where it overlaps with popular prejudices about certain groups and a general lack of trust towards foreigners. While we are unable to assess (let alone compare) the real scale of the problem, it was most often mentioned by interviewees in localities 1 and 3, but also in all other localities. What clearly seems to propel this "real estate racism" ('*racismo inmobilario*') are tight local housing markets which not only lead to steeply rising prices, but also additional income and documentary requirements imposed by the owners or the real estate agencies. According to most of our respondents this problem has become more acute in recent years, and many see it as a serious threat to social cohesion and intercultural relations. The personal accounts of our migrant interviewees clearly show how unjustified exclusion in one sphere – especially if it is as fundamental as housing – significantly undermines both their ability and aspiration to establish social relations and increase interaction with the non-migrant population.

4.2. Value of social/ideational-political/governance/spatial dimensions/factors in explaining and understanding interactions/attitudes/experiences

Post-2014 migrants' social relations and (opportunities for) everyday interactions with "local"/long-term residents are intimately linked to the attitudes that both groups have towards each other. Both of these aspects significantly shape the migrants' individual experiences of integration, which almost always include moments of inclusion as well as exclusion. All these are core elements of the integration process and do not only depend on each other but are also conditioned by a plethora of contextual factors. Based on the insights and data collected in five small and medium-sized towns located in different parts of Spain, we have tried to better understand what these factors are, and how they shape post-2014 migrants' integration trajectories. Here we will focus on a selection of factors that appeared particularly relevant in all or most of the selected localities. Most of them are more or less directly related to one of the key explanatory variables based on which the cases had been selected in the first place: locality size, level of cultural diversity (previous immigration), economic and demographic conditions, and (local) political leadership.

One thing that many of the very diverse factors that we will discuss in the following seem to have in common (and probably share with many others), is that they can potentially work both ways: for and against integration. They can positively and negatively influence the frequency and quality of social relations and everyday interactions and contribute to positive as well as negative attitudes. In other words, they can have inclusionary and exclusionary (or divisive) effects, potentially even both at the same time. Quite often they are conducive to the integration of some groups or sections or (legal) categories of newcomers but unhelpful or even harmful for others. While in everyday practice these factors usually work in combination and thereby variously reinforce or contradict and undermine each other, here we try to discuss them (and their potential effects on integration) separately.

One factor (directly related to the variable "cultural diversity") that appears as particularly crucial is the **existence, size, and level of organisation of established migrant communities** in a locality. Our sample includes localities with a relatively long history of immigration (localities 1 and 3) as well as others that have only more recently started to receive significant levels of immigration. The latter is particularly true for locality 2, where the various communities nonetheless seem very well organised and are represented by their own local associations; as well as locality 6, where the level of self-organisation is lower. In both cases (and in contrast to localities 1 and 3), the immigrant populations are very much dominated by Latin Americans. This is also true for locality 5, which historically received little immigration but as a port city has always had close (commercial and cultural) ties with Latin America. The existence of well-established ethnic communities in a locality not only tends to attract further immigration from the same country or region, but it also significantly affects the local integration of these newcomers. Our findings clearly show that established migrants and their associations are often the first and sometimes the main providers of support and orientation for newcomers. By providing information and crucial local contacts, and because they organise local events and activities, they also, at least potentially, serve as "bridges" between the local, so-called "autochthonous", population and the various migrant communities, as well as between different ethnic communities. In addition, they are also crucial points of contact for

local governments and can function as formal or informal communication channels that potentially work both ways. While all these potential functions are hugely beneficial for the local-level integration of newcomers, they always come with the risk of leading or at least contributing to a real or even just perceived "ghettoization", i.e., they make it possible for people to establish themselves within "their own" ethnic community while failing to establish relationships and exchange with the rest of the local population. The situation in localities 1 and 3 suggest that this latter (negative) effect is stronger/more likely when there is also a high level of residential and/or labour market segregation.

This second crucial factor – the level of **residential (and other) segregation** – also seems to be linked to the level of previous immigration but primarily reflects the spatial dimension, i.e., the geography and layout of a town or city. While several localities in our sample are described as extremely segregated (again locality 1 and 3), the others (localities 2, 5, and 6) exhibit very low levels of segregation. The effects that this has on especially recent migrants' social relations and everyday interactions with the non-migrant population are obvious, since more segregation, i.e., effective separation in space (and thus also socially, economically, etc.) means less contact, less trust, less exchange, and thus less integration. This is also reflected in our data, even though less segregation does not automatically lead to more contact. In addition, and especially in the context of everyday racism and discrimination, a close/d ethnic community can provide a sort of save haven, within which newcomers can get along and, for example, find a place to live, even if they do not (yet) speak the local language, have the necessary documents, or financial resources.

A third factor that is at least indirectly linked to the variable "political leadership", is the **level of politicisation of immigration**, which in Spain in general is (still) relatively low compared to most other EU countries, including those covered by the Whole-COMM project. Generally speaking, a polarised and predominantly negative discourse and generalisations around immigration undermine community relations as well as interpersonal trust (which is important for migrants' access to some of the most fundamental resources including housing and employment). While there is relatively little variation between the selected cases in this sense, several of our interviewees suggested that the recent success of the far-right party in regional elections is threating social cohesion and changing the debate also at the local level. While we could not identify systematic differences between localities governed by conservative parties (localities 1, 3, and 6) and those with left-leaning (progressive) governments (localities 2 and 5), we did find that progressive parties often tend to shy away from the topic since they fear it will otherwise be taken over by their political competitors. This can easily lead to a lack of public and policy attention for issues that would require a solution but are thus not being addressed, or at least not through official polices. (This was mentioned by interviewees in locality 2 but also locality 1, which is governed by a conservative party with a rather progressive stance on integration). It is in this sense that a lack or low level of politicisation can also have a negative effect on migrant integration in general, or that of specific groups that would need particular support.

A fourth factor – related to the variable "demographic conditions" – that has emerged from our data as making a significant difference is **an aging (and sometimes also shrinking) local population**, which particularly characterises locality 2, and to a lesser degree also localities 5 and 6. Also here we found the potential for positive as well as negative effects on post-2014 migrants' integration. On the one hand, an older population tends to be less used to, and thus more sceptical or even fearful of immigration. In part, this is because migrants generally tend to be young/er and intercultural differences tend to overlap with intergenerational differences and conflicts (the widespread stereotype around Latin American migrants listening to loud music late at night is a good example). On the other hand, and this has been mentioned particularly often in locality 2, an aging population creates demand for migrant labour (especially in the care sector), and this can lead to more acceptance and a more positive image of immigrants coming to the locality. At the same time, as the many migrants (mostly women) who work in this sector have highlighted in interviews, it is a type of work that is not particularly conducive to their own integration (given the long working hours, isolated workplaces, lack of contact with other generations, etc.).

In more general terms and linked to the variable "economic/demographic situation", we found that a fifth important contextual factor can be a **local economy in urgent need of (migrant) workers**. This is the case for most selected localities but with regard to different economic sectors: factory production in locality 1, care (as well as agriculture) in localities 2 and 6, and hospitality in locality 3. On one hand, such demand plays in favour of a relatively easy and quick labour-market integration of newly arrived migrants, in addition to the already mentioned (positive) effect on attitudes towards migrants as necessary workers. On the other hand, however, such – usually sector specific and strongly gendered – demand channels migrant workers into particular sectors and often traps them in temporary and low wage segments of the labour market. Many of our migrant respondents had to abandon their careers and felt that they were "wasting" their previous studies, professional training, and work experience in order to fill specific gaps in the local economy. Importantly, this also puts a heavy strain on their social relations and interactions, since the kind of work that they are welcome to do usually leaves them very little time (and money) for socialising outside of the workplace, where also their co-workers are mostly migrants, which further limits their opportunity for interactions with non-migrants.

Next to employment, a second fundamental resource and key prerequisite for successful integration is housing, and in this context, we have identified a **tight housing market (in combination with real estate racism)** as a sixth crucial factor that significantly shapes migrants' relations, attitudes, and experiences. This has become extremely clear from the data collected in the two Catalan towns (localities 1 and 3), as well as in locality 5. In all of them, there is a huge demand for housing and very limited supply, which makes it generally very difficult and expensive to rent, and which very clearly furthers racist discrimination on the part of private owners. According to many migrant interviewees who have experienced these exclusionary practices first-hand, they not only complicate their settlement in very practical terms, but also undermine their integration efforts and ambitions for staying in the locality in

the longer-term. Our findings suggest that the (local) state often fails to provide effective protection against this often shockingly explicit discrimination; but we have also found instances where this creates a potential for solidarity – between migrants but also from sections of the local population – that can be expressed in public protest, organised squatting, and other forms of collective struggle. Here, the temporary occupation of parts of the university in locality 3, which led to the rehousing of several former unaccompanied minors, is a good example. Through such movements, migrants can not only make their specific claims visible but also gain access to, and support from, grass-root political movements, and thereby build social relations and gain a sense of belonging.

Strong and active social movements are one of many things that can mark the difference between medium-sized towns (like localities 3 and 5) and small towns or even rural areas. Three of the selected localities are small towns and all of them, though especially localities 2 and 6 have often been described as "safe and quiet little towns" that work more like a village. This "**village character**" is another (the seventh) factor with important implications for migrant integration, which is related to the variable "locality size". On one hand, post-2014 migrants living in these localities tend to miss various sites and services – like shopping malls or clubs – that could provide additional opportunities for social interaction. In addition to this, small and rural towns are more likely to have (very) little experience with immigration and local populations that are still "getting used to the presence of immigrants", as several non-migrant participants admitted. The lack of cultural (as well as other) diversity makes especially racialised newcomers stand out and often face everyday racism and discrimination. On the other hand, it is also often highlighted (by migrant and non-migrant respondents) that a context in which "everyone knows everyone" can be very beneficial for the integration of post-2014 migrants, since the relations that they build – be it with neighbours, their social worker, or local officials – tend to be more personal and thus (at least potentially) more trustful. Overall, small communities have potential advantages as well as disadvantages for integration, and it seems to largely depend on migrants' individual characteristics (and family status) whether they perceive this smallness as a limitation or an opportunity for them. For example, many young/er migrants and refugees (without children) who we interviewed in small towns were planning or aspiring to move to bigger cities, whereas older people and families were usually planning to stay.

This brings us to a last – though by no means least important – factor, which is the **migrants' own motivation and agency**. While their (often quite specific) reasons for wanting to stay or leave are extremely diverse, it seems that overall, their integration also depends on whether or not they had chosen to live in the locality and (even more importantly) whether or not they want to stay in that particular place. It is no surprise that those interviewees who wanted to stay tended to report more (motivation to build) social relations and interaction with locals, more positive attitudes (also by the local population towards them) and more experiences of inclusion than exclusion. Post-2014 migrants who did not want to stay and build their lives in the locality where we interviewed them, in contrast, often and understandably had a less positive outlook and experiences, and less ambitions to make friends and other connections.

Not all but many of them had been assigned a reception place under the asylum or humanitarian protection programme and had not known anything about the locality until they arrived there. The relationship between migrants' (destination) choice and future aspirations on one hand, and their integration motivations and trajectory on the other, could be a potential avenue for further analysis (based on a larger sample) within work package five.

5.   Concluding remarks

The aim of this report was to better understand the role that local contexts play in shaping integration outcomes for post-2014 migrants. Based on a mix of qualitative data (in-depth interviews, focus groups, and participant observation) collected in five Spanish SMsTRAs we have tried to identify similarities and differences in terms of interactions between post-2014 migrants and long-term residents, the individual attitudes they have towards each other, as well as migrants' specific experiences of inclusion and exclusion. Spain constitutes and interesting case for such analysis because compared to many other EU member states it has a relatively short history as a country of (net) immigration, its immigration regime produces (and implicitly allows) a lot of irregularity, and the issues of asylum, immigration, and integration have not become as politicised as elsewhere. All of these characteristics were clearly notable at the local level: In several of the selected localities immigration was perceived as a relatively recent phenomenon that many locals still have to get used to; migrant irregularity is an omnipresent condition that is affecting (or has affected) the majority of our largely self-selected migrant participants; and in none of the selected localities did interviewees report any significant mobilisation or organised protests against the arrival or settlement of migrants and refugees.

Within this (national) context, the five selected localities represent rather diverse local environments, spread across three Spanish regions: Catalonia (L1 and L3), Castile and Leon (L2), and Andalusia (L5 and L6). **Locality 1** is an economically thriving small town that looks back on a comparatively long history of (labour) immigration and (still) heavily relies on it. Its active (conservative) government and civil society do a lot of work to maintain good community relations and thereby face the challenge of residential segregation. **Locality 2** is a quiet and somewhat remote provincial capital (of a province known for its aging and shrinking population) that is still getting used to immigration even though it is needed. It offers limited opportunities for young generations and most post-2014 migrants had been sent there rather than choosing it. **Locality 3** is a strongly divided city, economically thriving, conveniently located and with a diverse migrant population. It is an attractive destination for many post-2014 migrants but the strong segregation (along ethnic and socioeconomic lines) and the very expensive and discriminatory housing market significantly obstruct their integration. **Locality 5** presents itself as the "open" city by the sea, but it hardly has space to fit its long-term resident population, largely owing to market forces that instead accommodate the rising demand for tourist flats (and student housing). The severe lack of affordable housing and employment opportunities makes the town unattractive for newcomers and renders immigration essentially a non-issue. **Locality 6** is a safe and quiet small town with a relatively good economic situation (compared to the rest of the region) and little residential segregation. Even though the conservative government has been rather active in the reception of asylum seekers, the share of foreign residents (mostly from Latin American countries) has remained relatively low.

In spite of this considerable diversity however, we found very similar overall situations and only few, rather nuanced, differences in terms of integration outcomes, i.e., interactions between post-2014 migrants and long-term residents, the individual attitudes they have towards each other, as well as migrants' specific experiences of inclusion and exclusion. In every locality we encountered some post-2014 migrants who seemed and felt very well integrated and included, and others who did not feel part of, nor fully accepted by, the local population.

The general perception of many of our interviewees was that while there are few concrete problems and no significant conflicts related to migrant integration, there is relatively little interaction between locals and newcomers in everyday life. Also, different (ethnic) groups tend to get along fine but do not interact very much with each other. Across all five localities, we have found that the majority of post-2014 migrants we interviewed have few significant **relations and regular interactions** with "locals", which is largely because there simply is little everyday encounter beyond the necessary exchanges at workplaces, markets, or public institutions, that would give rise to long-lasting relations. Most migrants' social relations happen at home or at work, and often within their own (ethnic) community. Although most of them agree that having more "local" friends would be beneficial for their integration, they usually lack the time, financial resources, but also the occasions to make contact with the "local/autochthonous" population, which they often perceive as rather closed and difficult to access. The relatively few specific contexts and concrete sites where migrants and non-migrants tend to interact more frequently are largely the same across the selected localities: at work, in school, or through trainings, courses or other activities usually organised by local NGOs or support groups. NGOs and migrant associations are not only crucial sources of support for newcomers but can also function as bridges between them and the long-term-resident population. More than (local) policies or concrete features of a locality, it is the migrants' individual characteristics (age, gender, family situation, ethnicity), as well as the sector in which they work, which primarily seem to shape their opportunities for interaction.

The **locals' individual attitudes towards migrants and refugees** are obviously very mixed and based on the collected (non-representative) data it has not been possible to identify any significant difference between the various localities in this sense, apart from the widespread perception that in Catalonia (localities 1 and 3) – and to some extent also in locality 2 – the local population is particularly closed. The two Catalan towns also stand out because of the Catalan language – that was often described as an additional barrier and marker of difference – and the fact that they are the most clearly and visibly segregated localities in the sample. That said, however, interviewees in all localities reported (rather isolated) instances of discrimination and everyday racism; but none of them remembered any significant mobilisation or organised protest against the arrival or settlement of migrants and refugees. The only sphere in which racist attitudes are surprisingly widespread and openly expressed is the private housing sector, where they overlap with popular prejudices about specific country-of-origin groups and a general lack of trust towards foreigners.

In all localities, post-2014 migrants encounter **inclusion in some spheres and exclusion from others**. Their experiences of inclusion are very often related to the help and support – whether practical, financial, or emotional – that they have received from NGOs or local migrant associations (sometimes more informal support groups). Migrant interviewees also described their experiences with public schools (if they have children) and the healthcare system as overall very positive and inclusionary, even for migrants in irregular situations. Their economic inclusion depends more on the specific local context and labour market conditions, and thus usually happens quicker in localities with a good economic situation and low unemployment rates (like locality 1) than in those with a weak economy and high unemployment rates (like locality 5). In addition, and across all localities, their labour market access is strongly determined by their legal status, which explains why national immigration law appears as the most frequently mentioned source of exclusion.

In section 4.2 we have discussed various **contextual factors that have the potential to facilitate or hinder integration** at the local level, all of which are more or less directly related to one of the key explanatory variables based on which the cases had been selected: locality size, level of cultural diversity (previous immigration), economic and demographic conditions, and (local) political leadership. Since these factors are very diverse and in everyday practice always work in combination and thereby variously reinforce or undermine each other, it is difficult to assess how determinant each of them really is. One thing that many of them have in common, however, is that they can potentially work both ways: for and against the successful integration of newcomers. This is particularly true for the *existence of established migrant communities* and the *"village character" of small and rural towns*. A *high level of segregation* and a *tight (and inherently racist) housing market* tend to have a negative effect on integration outcomes, whereas an *aging and shrinking population* and *local demand for migrant labour* have (mostly) positive effects.

In addition, our findings suggest that **migrants' own motivation and agency** – especially whether or not they are planning to stay in the locality – also play a fundamental role. Interviewees who said they want to stay tended to report more (motivation to build) social relations and interaction with locals, more positive attitudes (also by the local population towards them), and more experiences of inclusion than exclusion. Is it the more successful integration that makes them want to stay, or was it their aspiration to stay that has helped their integration? Most probably a combination of both. What ultimately shapes local integration outcomes, then, is the interaction between migrants' individual characteristics and personal aspirations on one hand, and a wide and diverse range of contextual factors on the other. It should thus be no surprise at all, that these outcomes are always highly uncertain.

These findings are certainly relevant in the context of **the current arrival of Ukrainian refugees**, who will face many of the same issues. Given the specific focus of this project (on "post-2014 migrants") and because at the time of our fieldwork only one of the selected towns (locality 3) had received notable numbers of Ukrainian refugees, however, the whole issue is hardly present in our data and there is not much that can be said about whether and how the

Russian invasion of Ukraine has affected or might affect social relations, interactions, mutual attitudes, and migrants' experiences. What is clear, and that has been noted by the very few participants who did comment on this issue, is that as White Europeans who are automatically granted Temporary Protection Status, the conditions for their integration will in many ways be different. Understanding these differences and how they play out in practice will require additional research designed to answer this very question.

6.   References

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ANNEX 1: List of migrant interviewees

Interview Code	Interview date	Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Nationality	Time in locality	Legal status
SP-1-M01	13/06/2022	Moha	27	M	Morocco	6 years	In process of regularisation
SP-1-M02	14/06/2022	Esperanza	25	F	Peru	2 months	Irregular
SP-1-M03	14/06/2022	Malik	31	M	Senegal	3 years	Irregular
SP-1-M04	15/06/2022	Omar	28	M	Gambia	1,5 years	Resident
SP-1-M05	15/06/2022	Liliana	68	F	Argentina	3 years	Resident
SP-1-M06	15/06/2022	Sebastian	35	M	Colombia	1,5 years	Resident
SP-1-M07	16/06/2022	Karina	38	F	Armenia	1 year	Refugee
SP-1-M08	16/06/2022	Amina	19	F	Morocco	1 year	Resident
SP-2-M01	25/10/2022	Oskar	23	M	Dominican Republic	7 years	Resident
SP-2-M02	25/10/2022	Carmen	38	F	Venezuela	5 years	Humanitarian protection
SP-2-M03	25/10/2022	Rosa	30	F	Peru	4 months	Irregular
SP-2-M04	25/10/2022	Julian	30	M	Colombia	2,5 years	Irregular
SP-2-M05	25/10/2022	El Capitan	52	M	Venezuela	6 months	Humanitarian protection
SP-2-M06	26/10/2022	Ani	38	F	Honduras	6 years	Refugee status
SP-2-M07	26/10/2022	Reda	21	M	Algeria	2 years	Irregular
SP-2-M08	27/10/2022	Babacar	28	M	Senegal	3 years	Asylum seeker
SP-2-M09	27/10/2022	Moha	29	M	Tunisia	3 years	Irregular
SP-2-M10	28/10/2022	Asma (and Hilal)	43 (50)	F (M)	Syria	2 years	Refugee status
SP-3-M01	05/07/2022	Emilio	28	M	Colombia	9 months	Irregular
SP-3-M02	05/07/2022	Nicolás	38	M	Venezuela	3 years	Irregular
SP-3-M03	05/07/2022	Carolina	32	F	Honduras	4 years	Irregular
SP-3-M04	05/07/2022	Bessy	33	F	Honduras	7 years	Irregular
SP-3-M05	06/07/2022	Santiago	71	M	Venezuela	5,5 years	Resident

SP-3-M06	15/07/2022	María	32	F	Honduras	5 years	Humanitarian protection
SP-3-M07	21/07/2022	William	32	M	South Africa	3 years	Resident
SP-3-M08	21/07/2022	Valentina	32	F	Colombia	4 years	Irregular
SP-3-M09	25/07/2022	Daniela	31	F	Colombia	4 years	Resident
SP-5-M01	22/06/2022	Valentina	52	F	Mexico	8 years	Resident
SP-5-M02	22/06/2022	Carolina	58	F	Colombia	12 years	Resident
SP-5-M03	06/07/2022	Elizabeth	33	F	Dominican Republic	4 months	Irregular
SP-5-M04	07/07/2022	Renata	18	F	Mexico	7 years	Resident
SP-5-M05	07/07/2022	Valeria	48	F	Mexico	4 years	Resident
SP-5-M06	08/07/2022	Flor María	65	F	El Salvador	8 years	Resident
SP-5-M07	08/07/2022	Sam	34	M	Senegal	5 years	Irregular
SP-6-M01	19/07/2022	Isabella	45	F	Brazil	6 years	Resident
SP-6-M02	19/07/2022	Abdil	21	M	Morocco	4 years	n/d
SP-6-M03	19/07/2022	Ana María	53	F	Venezuela	4 months	Asylum seeker
SP-6-M04	19/07/2022	Roberto	49	M	Venezuela	4 months	Asylum seeker
SP-6-M05	20/07/2022	Emiliano	32	M	Colombia	4,5 years	Resident
SP-6-M06	20/07/2022	Luciana	46	F	Braz il	3,5 years	Resident
SP-6-M07	20/07/2022	Zunilda	41	F	Paraguay	7 years	Resident
SP-6-M08	21/07/2022	Ousmane	30	M	Mali	1,5 years	Asylum seeker
SP-6-M09	21/07/2022	Laura	49	F	Venezuela	1 year	Asylum seeker

ANNEX 2: List of Focus Groups Participants

Focus Group Code	Focus Group Date	Participant Category	Nationality	Gender
SP-1-FGP1	28/07/2022	Local	Spain	Male
SP-1-FGP2	28/07/2022	Local	Spain	Male
SP-1-FGP3	28/07/2022	Local	Spain	Female
SP-1-FGP4	28/07/2022	Local	Spain	Male
SP-1-FGP5	28/07/2022	Local	Spain	Male
SP-1-FGP6	28/07/2022	Post-2014 migrant	Colombia	Male
SP-1-FGP7	28/07/2022	Post-2014 migrant	Honduras	Male
SP-1-FGP8	28/07/2022	Post-2014 migrant	Honduras	Female
SP-1-FGP9	28/07/2022	Long-term resident	Georgia	Female
SP-2-FGP1	28/10/2022	Local	Spain	Female
SP-2-FGP2	28/10/2022	Long-term resident	Dominican Republic	Female
SP-2-FGP3	28/10/2022	Long-term resident	Ukraine	Female
SP-2-FGP4	28/10/2022	Long-term resident	Ecuador	Male
SP-2-FGP5	28/10/2022	Local	Spain	Female
SP-3-FGP1	21/07/2022	Local	Spain	Female
SP-3-FGP2	21/07/2022	Post-2014 migrant	Colombia	Male
SP-3-FGP3	21/07/2022	Post-2014 migrant	Colombia	Female
SP-3-FGP4	21/07/2022	Post-2014 migrant	Colombia	Male
SP-3-FGP5	21/07/2022	Long-term resident	Colombia	Male
SP-5-FGP1	07/06/2022	Local	Spain	Male
SP-5-FGP2	07/06/2022	Post-2014 migrant	Mexico	Female
SP-5-FGP3	07/06/2022	Post-2014 migrant	Mexico	Female
SP-5-FGP4	07/06/2022	Long-term resident	Mexico	Female
SP-5-FGP5	07/06/2022	Post-2014 migrant	Dominican Republic	Female
SP-5-FGP6	07/06/2022	Long-term resident	Dominican Republic	Male

SP-5-FGP7	07/06/2022	Local	Spain	Female
SP-6-FGP1	22/07/2022	Local	Spain	Male
SP-6-FGP2	22/07/2022	Local	Spain	Female
SP-6-FGP3	22/07/2022	Post-2014 migrant	Venezuela	Male
SP-6-FGP4	22/07/2022	Post-2014 migrant	Colombia	Male
SP-6-FGP5	22/07/2022	Local	Spain	Male
SP-6-FGP6	22/07/2022	Local	Spain	Male
SP-6-FGP7	22/07/2022	Post-2014 migrant	Venezuela	Female
SP-6-FGP8	22/07/2022	Local	Spain	Male
SP-6-FGP9	22/07/2022	Post-2014 migrant	Mali	Male

PROJECT PARTNERS

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