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Housing and segregation of migrants

Case Study: Terrassa, Spain



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About CLIP

In 2006, the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, the city of Stuttgart and the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (Eurofound) established a ‘European network of cities for local integration policies for migrants’, henceforth known as CLIP. The network comprises a steering committee, a group of expert European research centres and a number of European cities. In the following two years, the cities of Vienna and Amsterdam joined the CLIP Steering Committee. The network is also supported by the Committee of the Regions (CoR) and the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR), and has also formed a partnership with the European Network Against Racism (ENAR).

Through the medium of separate city reports (case studies) and workshops the network enables local authorities to learn from each other and to deliver a more effective integration policy. The unique character of the CLIP network is that it organises a shared learning process between the participating cities, between the cities and a group of expert European research centres as well as between policy makers at local and European level.

The CLIP network brings together more than 30 large and medium sized cities from all regions of Europe and includes: Amsterdam (NL), Arnsberg (DE), Antwerp (BE), Athens (GR), Diputació de Barcelona (ES), Bologna (IT), Breda (NL), Brescia (IT), Budapest (HU), Copenhagen (DK), Dublin (IE), Frankfurt (DE), Helsinki (FI), Istanbul (TR), Izmir (TR), Kirkcaldy (UK), Lisbon (PT), Liège (BE), City of Luxembourg (LU), Matarò (ES), Malmö (SE), Prague (CZ), Sefton (UK), Stuttgart (DE), Sundsvall (SE), Tallinn (EE), Terrassa (ES), Torino (IT), Turku (FI), Valencia (ES), Vienna (AT), Wolverhampton (UK), Wrocław (PL), Zagreb (HR), Zurich (CH).

The cities in the network are supported in their shared learning by a group of expert European research centres in:

Bamberg (European Forum for Migration Studies (EFMS));

Vienna (Institute for Urban and Regional Research (IST));

Amsterdam (Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES));

FIERI (Forum of International and European Research on Immigration);

Wrocław (Institute of International Studies);

Swansea (Centre for Migration Policy Research).

There are four research modules in total. The first module was on housing – segregation, access to, quality and affordability for migrants – which has been identified as a major issue impacting on migrants’ integration into host societies. The second module examined equality and diversity policies in relation to employment within city administrations and in the provision of services. The focus of the third module is intercultural policies and intergroup relations. The final module (2009-2010) will look at ethnic entrepreneurship.

The case studies on housing were carried out in 2007.

Acknowledgements

The researchers at the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES) of the University of Amsterdam are responsible for this report on Terrassa. An enormous effort has been undertaken to find all necessary data on Terrassa for this report, and invaluable help was provided by the contact person of Terrassa Municipality, Joan Chicon (International Relations Department). Many officials and other parties who are involved in integration policy, housing policy, the statistical service and specific projects areas have been interviewed, as the list at the end of the report indicates. They have provided reports, statistics and comments on the concept version of this report. Secondly, representatives of neighbourhood social work, two volunteer associations of inhabitants and a volunteer Senegalese association have been willing to provide information. Thirdly, researchers from the University of Amsterdam and the Autonomous University of Barcelona have supplied data and useful comments. The author wishes to thank all those who have cooperated in giving information, in particular Joan Chicon for coordinating the search of data.

The author is completely responsible for the content of this report and the copyright of the report remains with Eurofound.

Background

Brief history of migration to Spain

Spain is situated at the crossroads of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, Europe and Africa. Between 700 and 1200, the south of Spain was part of several Muslim empires and considerable movement took place towards Morocco in the south and Italy in the east. In 1236, the Christian reconquest (*reconquista*) progressed to the last Islamic stronghold, Granada, and a period started in which the empire became a successful seafaring and colonising nation. The Spanish empire was one of the largest in world history and included areas in Africa, Asia, Oceania, as well as a large part of the current US and of South America and the Caribbean. More specifically, it included the following areas:

- Equatorial Guinea, Spanish Morocco and Spanish Sahara in Africa;
- the Philippines in Asia;
- Guam, Micronesia, the Northern Mariana Islands and Palau in Oceania;
- Mexico and a large part of the current US in North America;
- Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala and Panama in Central America;
- Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela in South America;
- Cuba, Dominica, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Tobago and Trinidad in the Caribbean.

Moreover, the Canary Islands, as well as Ceuta, Melilla and the other places of sovereignty (*plazas de soberanía*) on the north African coast have remained part of Spain.

Except in the US, Spanish is still the national language in many of these territories and some movement of people occurs, for instance from Spain to Central and South America and back. In short, Spain's history is characterised by a strong international orientation.

In the first 80 years of the 20th century, the economic situation in Spain was not strong. Emigration became more common than immigration. Between 1850 and 1950, 3.5 million Spanish people left for the Americas (Ortega Pérez, 2003). From 1950 onwards, Spain's workforce moved to the richer industrial areas in northern Europe. Because of the 36-year dictatorship of General Franco, Spain became internationally isolated. Only some former emigrants to, and political refugees from, South America immigrated to Spain. After General Franco's death in 1975, Spain made the transition to a democratic state and the economic situation quickly improved, with King Juan Carlos as head of state. The constitution of 1978 expresses respect for linguistic and cultural diversity within a united Spain, contrasting with the suppression during General Franco's rule.

Currently, the country is divided into 17 autonomous regions with their own elected authorities. The level of autonomy of each region differs. The northern regions of Catalonia, the Basque Region and Galicia have a special status, with their own language and other rights. Catalonia has extra powers in taxation and judicial matters since the referendum of 2006 when a Catalan constitution was approved. One of Spain's most serious domestic issues is a residue of the dictatorship era and relates to the autonomous regions: the problem with the armed nationalist and separatist organisation 'Basque Homeland and Freedom' (*Euskadi Ta Askatasuna*, ETA) and the tension in the northern Basque Region.

Emigration of guest workers to the north came to a halt due to the worldwide economic crisis of 1973. Since 1975, 650,000 Spanish people have returned to the country, while about two million Spanish persons improved their position and continued to live abroad (Borkert et al, 2007). On the other hand, a considerable proportion of the foreign residents in Spain in 1981 were retired people from the European Union who moved to the Spanish coast.

Economic growth increased further when Spain became a member of the EU in 1986. The Spanish economy boomed from 1986 to 1990, averaging 5% annual growth. After a European-wide recession in the early 1990s, the Spanish economy resumed moderate growth in 1994. Immigration accelerated quickly after this, and Spain changed from being an emigration country to an immigration country. Between 2000 and 2004, the number of migrants to Spain tripled, amounting to 7% of the population or 3,050,847 persons. In 2004, Spain received the largest number of immigrants in the EU. Table 1 outlines the biggest immigrant groups at the end of 2006.

Table 1: *Largest immigrant groups to Spain, by country, 31 December 2006*

	Number	% of total pop
Total	43,964,000	
<i>EU Member States (in 2006)</i>		
United Kingdom	175,870	0.4%
Italy	98,481	0.2%
Germany	77,390	0.2%
<i>Rest of Europe</i>		
Romania	211,325	0.4%
Bulgaria	60,174	0.1%
Ukraine	52,760	0.1%
<i>Non-Western countries</i>		
Morocco	543,721	1.2%
Ecuador	376,233	0.8%
Colombia	225,504	0.5%
China	99,526	0.2%
Peru	90,906	0.2%
Argentina	86,921	0.1%
Dominican Rep.	58,126	0.1%
Total South Americans		
	1,064,916	2.4%
Total immigrants	3,021,808	7%

Source: *Statistical Bulletin (Boletín Estadístico), Permanent Observatory on Immigration (Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración), January 2007*

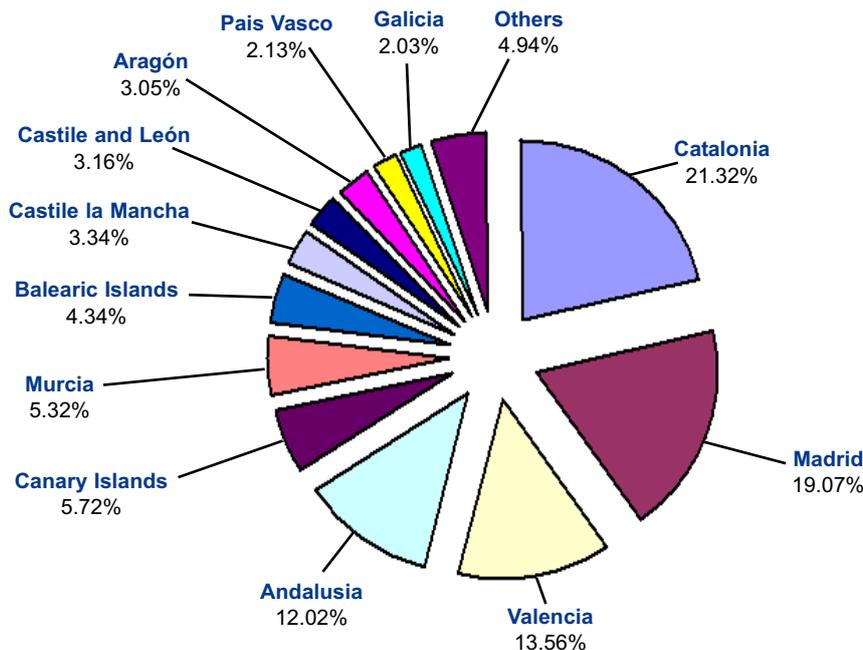
Borkert et al (2007, p. 28) note that Spain has a significant number of irregular entries and/or stays. Irregular immigrants can access the national health system by registering at the municipalities. Research has shown that half of the immigrants registered at the municipality do not possess a valid residence permit. However, due to several large regularisation programmes, many former irregular migrants have been legalised. On the other hand, Spanish authorities failed to renew all residence permits within the compulsory period due to understaffing.

Brief history of migration to Catalonia

Catalonia has been economically more successful than many other parts of Spain. It played a leading role in the industrialisation at the beginning of the 19th century and is still ahead in gross domestic product (GDP) and economic growth. Fast growing industry attracted labourers from other parts of Spain, particularly from the southern region of Andalusia where the agricultural sector was collapsing. Andalusians were considered to be different from the native

population in terms of language and habits, since they did not speak Catalan and many of them were farmers. These national migrants were sometimes concentrated in housing districts near industrial areas like the cities of Barcelona and Terrassa. Since 2000, labourers also come from countries outside the EU. Figure 1 shows that Catalonia receives 21% of all immigrants in Spain, compared with 19% for the central region of Madrid, 14% for the eastern region of Valencia and 12% for Andalusia.

Figure 1: Immigrant population in the different Spanish regions (%)



Source: *Permanent Observatory on Immigration* (<http://extranjeros.mtas.es/>)

As Table 2 shows, the proportion of immigrants in Catalonia is higher than the share of immigrants in Spain as a whole. Catalonia is subdivided into four provinces, one of which is the province of Barcelona, encompassing Terrassa. The percentage for the Barcelona province includes slightly more South Americans and Asians, and slightly fewer other Europeans and Africans. However, the data should be treated with caution due to the different sources and estimates used.

Table 2: Immigrant categories to Catalonia and province of Barcelona, by continent, 31 December 2006

	Catalonia		Barcelona province	
	Number	%	Number	%
Total Spanish	* 6,256,110	88	c. 4,885,000**	91%
Total immigrants	* 878,890	12	441,599	9%
EU Member States	84,265	1	55,882	1%
Rest of Europe	54,495	1	23,117	0.5%
Africa	216,852	3	126,642	2%
South America	212,615	3	172,858	3.5%
North America	3,054	0	2,592	0%
Asia	71,027	1	60,064	1.2%
Other	521	0	444	0%

Note: * Due to missing data, another source is used here. ** Estimate for 2007.

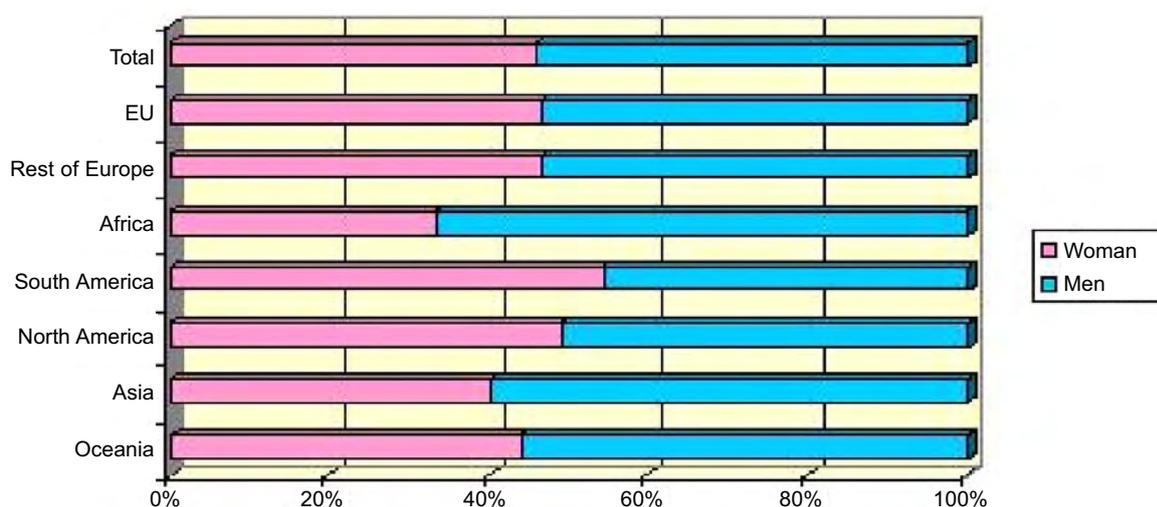
Source: *Statistical Bulletin, Permanent Observatory on Immigration, January 2007*

The average proportion of immigrants in Catalonia is about 12%, although some cities reach higher figures; for example, the share in the city of Barcelona is 15%. In Terrassa, the proportion of immigrants has recently increased from 3% in 1999 to 10% in 2004. It is clear that the economic boom that took place from 2000 to 2006 led to a surge of economic activities, especially in the construction sector, on which the Spanish economy depends heavily.

Composition of immigrant and ethnic minority populations

The immigrant groups in Spain are relatively new, so most of them still have the nationality of the country of origin, except for about 10% of the Moroccans and 10% of the Chinese. Another consequence is that the proportion of men still exceeds the share of women in most ethnic groups, whereas among the indigenous Spanish population the proportion of women is slightly higher. Figure 2 shows that this imbalance is particularly apparent among African and Asian immigrants, 66% and 61% respectively of whom are men. The groups with the lowest proportion of women are Senegalese (81% men) and Pakistanis (85% men). The share of women (54%) exceeds men only among immigrants from South America, or Ibero America as it is referred to in the figure.

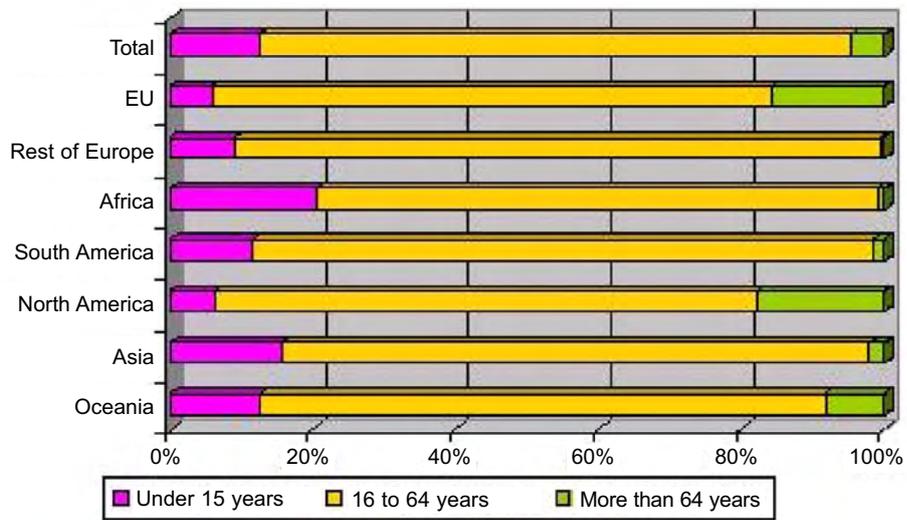
Figure 2: Male–female ratio of immigrant groups in Spain, 31 December 2006 (%)



Source: *Permanent Observatory on Immigration*

Another consequence of the recent arrival of immigrants is that no large numbers of older people have yet emerged, as Figure 3 shows. The large majority of immigrants are of working age (15–64 years). Only immigrants from the EU and North America have a considerable number of older persons. While the proportion of people aged over 64 years is 18% among the Spanish population, few older people are found from the rest of Europe, Africa, South America and Asia.

Figure 3: Age division of immigrants in Spain, by continent, 31 December 2006 (%)



Source: *Permanent Observatory on Immigration*

One of the most significant sociodemographic features in recent years has been the increase in the number of older people in Spain. However, in many cases, no decline of the population has been reported in cities, primarily due to the very different age profile of immigrants. The estimated fertility rate in Spain in 2006 was only 1.28 children for every woman, which is one of the lowest rates in Europe. Immigrants account for an important proportion of the number of births. On the other hand, not all ethnic groups are characterised by a large number of children, since there is a surplus of single men. The proportion of children aged 0–15 years is highest among African immigrants.

The total unemployment figure in Spain was 8.3% of the economically active population in the fourth quarter of 2006, and the unemployment rate in Catalonia was 6.7% (Monthly newsletter of labour statistics, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs – now known as the Ministry of Labour and Immigration (*Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración*, MTIN)). Although immigrants were attracted by the strong economic situation, not all of them find work. Table 3 outlines the distribution of unemployment benefit among Spanish and foreign workers: 90% of recipients are native Spanish people while 10% are immigrants. However, some immigrant groups appear to be more likely to experience unemployment than others. South Americans seem to have more problems finding work than the other groups, while North Americans, Asians and those from Oceania are below the mean unemployment figure.

Table 3: *Distribution of unemployment benefit among Spanish and foreign workers, by continent, Spain, 2007 and Catalonia, 2005*

Origin	Spain 2007		Catalonia 2005	
	Number	%	Number	%
Native Spanish	16,995,200	90	Unknown	-
EU countries *	595,453	3	60,823	-
rest of Europe *	69,354	0	38,430	-
Africa	371,414	2	102,062	-
South America	6,844	0	150,554	-
North America	708,442	4	1,426	-
Asia	119,876	1	42,855	-
other	5,017	0	214	-
Total immigrants	1,876,400	10	396,860	-
Total	18,871,600	100	-	-

Notes: * *Bulgaria and Romania were part of the EU in 2007 but not in 2005. Unregistered immigrants also receive welfare.*
Source: MTIN

National policy context

Spain did not have an immigration policy until the 1980s. When it joined the EU, the country was under pressure to restrict the entry of non-EU citizens. The immigration policy of 1985, regulated by the Law on Foreigners (*Ley de Extranjería*), considered most immigration as a temporary occurrence and immigrants were conceptualised as workers who required regulation by the then Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (Ortega Pérez, 2003). When the non-governmental organisation (NGO) Amnesty International criticised the toughness of the foreigners law in 1989, a first attempt was made in 1990 to draft an integration law (Borkert et al, 2007). This led to the establishment of the General Directorate for Migration (*Dirección General de Migraciones*). Initiated by liberal politicians, a large regularisation of illegal immigrants took place in 1991. However, this ultimately had little impact since, three years later, 50% of the immigrants who had legalised their status with a one-year work permit had returned to an irregular status. To compensate for ineffective and restrictive admission policies, regularisation programmes have taken place in 1994 (on grounds of family reunification), 1996, 2000, 2001, 2002 and 2005.

Besides measures to control immigration, a start was made towards programmes for immigrants' social integration. In 1994, the government presented an 'Interministerial Plan for the integration of immigrants', with the intention of granting immigrants the same civil and social rights and responsibilities as Spanish citizens. The concept of integration was in this manner directly linked with citizenship and the philosophy was based on the principle of equal rights and freedoms for every person. In line with the institutional rights of the autonomous regions, Spain tends to promote and recognise the cultural autonomy of migrants (Borkert et al, 2007, p. 29). The policy was not directed at specific groups, but at granting equal rights – for instance, for immigrant children at schools.

The Law on the Rights and Freedoms of Foreigners in Spain and their Integration was passed in 1998, which focused clearly on integration and the political and social rights of non-EU immigrants. It came into force in January 2000.

When the People's Party (*Partido Popular*) came to power in 1996, this centre-right government, led by Prime Minister José María Aznar, was interested in liberalisation and privatisation. A new body – the Government Delegation for Foreigners and Immigrants (*Delegación de Gobierno para la Extranjería y la Inmigración*) – was established within the

Ministry of Interior Affairs (*Ministerio del Interior*), which meant a shift of power away from the then Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. In 2000, the so-called 'Greco Plan' was presented, which pursued a direction of migrant adaptation. The Greco Plan addresses four key areas (quoted from Ortega Pérez, 2003):

- global, coordinated design of immigration as a desirable phenomenon in Spain, as a member of the EU;
- integration of foreign residents and their families as active contributors to the growth of Spain;
- admission regulation to ensure peaceful coexistence with Spanish society;
- management of a shelter scheme for refugees and displaced persons.

In the Greco Plan, the autonomous communities played an important role in implementing immigrant integration. In addition to Spain's work permit system, the country has experimented with a labour quota system to respond to long-term and short-term shortages in the labour market. While it was intended to regulate the immigration flow, many illegal immigrants considered the system as a way of gaining legal status and most applications came from undocumented immigrants already in Spain. The system was transformed in 2002 so that applications can only come from abroad based on bilateral agreements with Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Morocco, Nigeria, Poland and Romania.

The current left-wing government, comprising the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (*Partido Socialista Obrero Español*, PSOE) and led by José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, came to power in 2004 and was re-elected in 2008. It tends to focus more on improving the social provisions and work situation for immigrants. Officials who work for immigrants experience this as a more positive strategy, and the money allocated for initiatives in the field of social work has increased.

However, the complicated bureaucratic system limits the possibilities. National laws, regional Catalan laws, provincial Barcelona laws, the county level and the municipality administration make things rather complex, a situation which is further exacerbated by the limited municipal budget. Immigrants' access to social services depends on their registration in the municipal administration.

Profile of Terrassa

Brief description of the city

Terrassa is situated 25 kilometres (km) from the city of Barcelona and is part of the Vallès Occidental County, in the province of Barcelona. It is located at the foot of the Sant Llorenç del Munt Mountain. The city dates back to Roman times, when it was named Egara. Several interesting buildings from the Middle Ages – such as a castle and the Sant Pere churches, as well as a large bridge – show that Terrassa has been influential in the area in the past; other buildings from the beginning of the 20th century underline this point. The textiles industry was one of the reasons for the economic attractiveness of the city from 1900 onwards. Large textile factories in the city centre were built around 1907. Terrassa has the reputation of being an artistic town, and has been called the ‘Catalan Athens’. Many modernistic buildings based on the style of the famous architect Antonio Gaudí are present, such as the Masía Can Freixa art building, dating from 1907–1910. Furthermore, the city’s successful textiles industry has left many interesting architectural highlights, factory buildings, shops and houses of factory owners. Related to this sector of economic activity, a university was founded offering technical subjects that could serve the textiles industry. As occurred in most of Catalonia, the booming economy between 1950 and 1960 led to an influx of a large number of Andalusians and – to a lesser extent – immigrants from other parts of Spain. Recently, international immigrant groups have moved to Terrassa.

The old city centre was built between 700 and 1900. The first expansion phases took place around the 1920s with the growth of the textiles industry. At that time, the first areas for labourers were built around the old city centre. The second extension phase occurred in the 1950s, during General Franco’s reign. The Franco government developed a five-year plan in 1950 and, because only Catalonia and the Basque Region were economically successful at the time, the government stimulated further economic growth in these areas. Catalonia was a place where poor workers from the rest of Spain could find employment. The national government invested in building the first four social housing blocks – high-rise flats that were disconnected from the city centre with no buses or services or shops. Employees had to arrange their own transport to their factories and to the city centre to shop or to go to the doctor.

After about 20 years, in 1970, the quality of the apartments declined and they were sold to the inhabitants. Almost all inhabitants bought their flats; thus, hardly any rentals are now left.

In 1978, with the return of democracy, a new housing law was implemented and the situation changed significantly. The city could act autonomously and developed its own city planning. The empty areas between the city centre and the isolated blocks were connected in order to redesign Terrassa as one town. Missing services such as parks, schools and offices were built and sanitary facilities such as sewer systems and bathrooms were improved. Buses started to run and, in 1986, the railway line to Barcelona was opened. At this time, no social houses were available, but buying a house was still possible with limited money. The 1993 city plan reorganised the town as a connected unity. Several extra bridges were built over the rift that divides the east and west parts of the city, and old buildings were renovated.

Terrassa has high-rise blocks only at the edge of the city; the houses built in the 1950s were mainly four to six-floor apartment buildings.

Figure 4: Construction cranes on Terrassa skyline



Source: *Author*

Between 2000 and 2006, a second economic boom took place, causing a substantial rise in house prices – of up to 24% in 2003. The average price of a house in 2005 was €264,000. The consequence is that, even for middle-class people, it is no longer as easy to buy a house and a need for public housing has emerged. With the 2002 Urban Catalan Law, project developers were forced to assign a proportion of their buildings to social housing. Terrassa was the first city to implement this requirement. Currently, an action plan has been developed to move towards more social housing, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

Terrassa's position in the region is central for the surrounding villages and smaller towns, although the city of Barcelona is the busy capital nearby. Terrassa is the second largest municipality in the Vallès Occidental County, after Sabadell (203,317 inhabitants); it is much bigger than the next city, Sant Cugat del Vallès, which has only 70,514 inhabitants. Terrassa also has the biggest surface in the county (70 square km), while Sant Cugat del Vallès (48 square km) is the second largest city in spatial terms.

The city council of Terrassa is governed by the Catalan Socialist Party (*Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya*, PSC), together with the ecologist, socialist and left-wing coalition from the Green Initiative for Catalonia – United and Alternative Left (*Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds – Esquerra Unida i Alternativa*, ICV-EUiA) and the pro-independence Left Catalan Republican Party (*Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya*, ERC). The second major party – the Catalan centre-right party, Convergence and Union (*Convergència i Unió*, CiU) – obtained five seats in the 2003 local elections. Currently, both the Terrassa and the Catalan government have the same political coalition; furthermore, the national Spanish government is also mainly liberal, which makes it easier for the Terrassa administration to operate.

Terrassa is relatively wealthy in the region. The gross family income is the second highest in the county and the fourth highest in Catalonia. In 2001, the gross family income was €10,390 a year, although large differences arise between the city districts. Between 1996 and 2002, the gross family income increased by 36%. In 2006, Terrassa had an unemployment rate of 11% of the economically active population, which is 3.26 percentage points above the Catalan average. A problem is that the population is ageing: there is a shortage of people aged 18–45 years and immigrants have to fill that gap. Most of Terrassa's labour force is employed in industry; however, the services sector is growing fast, whereas both construction and agriculture are in decline. In addition, the size of companies – measured by the number of employees – is decreasing.

City's migrant population

The migrant profile described above for the rest of Catalonia is also true for Terrassa. International immigration is rather new, dating from the last 10 years. On 1 January 2006, Terrassa had a total population of 201,442 inhabitants, 22,032 of whom were foreigners (12%). In 1995, only 3,528 foreigners (2%) were living in the city.

As Table 4 shows, the largest immigrant groups in Terrassa are Moroccans in first place (5%), followed by people from Ecuador (1%), Columbia (0.5%), Senegal (0.4%) and Argentina (0.4%).

Table 4: *Immigrants in Terrassa, by country of origin, 1 January 2006*

Nationality	Women	Men	Total	%
Spain	90,914	87,036	177,950	88%
Morocco	3,714	6,873	10,587	5%
Ecuador	1,593	1,409	3,002	1%
Colombia	617	477	1,094	0.5%
Senegal	168	759	927	0.4%
Argentina	433	413	846	0.4%
Dominican Republic	339	205	544	0.2%
China	284	292	576	0.2%
Romania	244	235	479	0.2%
Bolivia	228	178	406	0.2%
Peru	214	201	415	0.2%
Italy	197	306	503	0.2%
Chile	169	210	379	0.2%
Others	1,840	1,894	3,778	2%
Total	100,954	100,488	201,442	100%

Source: *Terrassa administration (Ajuntament de Terrassa)*

As Table 4 reveals, some groups have a sizable surplus of men, such as Italians, Moroccans and Senegalese. In other groups, women are in the majority, such as is the case among immigrants from Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia and the Dominican Republic. This disparity is caused by the kind of jobs available in Terrassa. A certain labour market segment tends to find migrants employed in unqualified jobs, featuring low salaries, high staff turnover and a lack of promotion. The activities of men are concentrated in the manufacturing and construction sectors, which need intensive labour, while the activities of women tend to predominate in domestic services, hotels and catering, and elder and childcare. Undocumented immigrants have also developed a wide range of activities in the undeclared economy. For example, Senegalese men sell newspapers, DVDs and leather goods on the street. Thus, while the precarious conditions of the labour market affect the whole society, the problem appears more pronounced among foreigners.

Migrant women have less access to the labour market than men do; as noted, their role tends to be limited to domestic services and to care at home or in geriatric institutions. Precarious employment conditions and the incidence of the irregular economy make it difficult to change from an illegal to a legal status. Since their employment contracts are not for permanent posts, immigrants are constantly changing their administrative situation. Upward mobility is hard to achieve, except in some parts of the manufacturing and construction sectors where a permanent job implies a better labour position. Generally speaking, migrants are one of the most vulnerable groups in the labour market – alongside

young people and women – and have less negotiating power; they depend on jobs that can disappear when the economy declines. Only eastern Europeans have better opportunities, because of their higher educational and training level. However, even these groups can become frustrated as their educational level does not match their occupational category.

Obstacles appear in relation to health at work. Precarious conditions, such as dangerous tasks and high-risk activities, may lead to a higher occurrence of accidents. On the demand side, illegal business practices are common, such as no overtime payment, no recognition of sickness or no payment of social security. Intense physical work causes more health problems, and this leads to workers being dismissed and being replaced by a younger person. In some ethnic communities, particularly among the Latin Americans and Moroccans, legal vulnerability is combined with poor negotiation power and lack of knowledge of labour rules. Labour training by trade unions and employers would be suitable for immigrants entering the labour market, who do not speak the language and have limited education. Meanwhile, some communities – such as the Pakistanis and Chinese – who have a strong tradition of entrepreneurship, pursue self-employment.¹

Municipal integration policy

Terrassa strives to face the sociocultural, ethnic, demographic and economic changes that have affected almost all collective aspects of life, including work, organisation and living together. To this end, the city is among those in the Vallès Occidental county that developed an Action Plan on immigrant integration issues as early as 2003. A department was set up to manage the new citizenship, which coordinates a variety of direct or indirect initiatives and social agents in Terrassa. These transversal actions are meant to adapt the society towards diversity and towards new practices in order to live together.

The ‘Terrassa plan for the management of immigration, diversity and living together’ (*Pla per a la Gestió de la Immigració, la Diversitat i la Convivència de Terrassa*, PGID) of February 2003 defines a coherent strategic framework for the local reality. This action plan aims to foster integration through the involvement of all government levels, to improve the settlement process of immigrants, to encourage integration in the social network and to enhance the welcome and integration procedures undertaken by the indigenous population. The PGID has been divided into five main work axes:

- welcome policies and tools for immigrants;
- settlement management;
- adaptation of public services to population diversification;
- collective development of a new living-together model;
- management of the interterritorial and interadministrative cooperation.

The overall objective is to manage the aspects from the perspective of an integration policy framed within the welfare state and with due respect to legal and democratic values. The PGID aims to develop an intercultural integration policy that is based on different approaches, depending on its aspects. The plan shows an assimilationist position regarding universal principles; however, it also includes intercultural aspects and some multicultural elements such as the right of migrants to preserve their own ethnic background. Taken as a whole, the model is a crossbreeding of these approaches.

¹ No data are available on the socioeconomic status of Spanish and immigrant groups in Terrassa, or of their mean income.

The PGID states that integration can be understood as a bidirectional process of integration between migrants and the indigenous population, incorporating both acceptance and adjustment. It stipulates some aspects that are considered relevant for the integration of newcomers; among these are employment, training and housing. The latter is one of the city council priorities with regard to the integration of migrants. Fewer difficulties in – or even better help towards – gaining access to housing implies a more successful integration, whereas too much difficulty leads to failure of the process.

The city council has adopted two key tools: the Permanent Observatory of Interculturality and the New Migration Roundtable. The former was created with the aim of supervising the council's internal actions and discussing the council's interventions before their submission to the roundtable. The latter aims to be a service for debate, counselling and participation, to provide a follow-up and assessment of the local policies linked to integration and, above all, to offer a shared working space for the different organisations involved.

Hence, the New Migration Roundtable is composed of migrant representatives, NGOs, neighbourhood associations of Terrassa, political groups with democratic representation in the city council, various council departments and other entities. All of these actors enable the development of an important network to facilitate counselling to migrants, to pursue local policies and to solve the possible socioadministrative barriers that immigrants often face.

The participant members of the PGID include Terrassa City Council and its municipal companies: the Department for Citizenship and Civil Rights, the Municipal Institute for Health and Quality of Life (*Institut Municipal per a la Salut i la Qualitat de Vida*, IMSAV), the Municipal Board of Education (*Patronat Municipal d'Educació*, PAME), the Department for Women (*Ca la Dona*), the Municipal Institute for Social Services (*Institut Municipal de Servicis Socials*, IMSS) and political parties. Further members of the PGID include trade unions, the Information Centre for Foreign Workers (*Centro de informació para trabajadores extranjeros*, CITE), the Mutual Aid Association of Immigrants in Catalonia (*Associació d'Ajuda Mútua d'Immigrants de Catalunya*, AMIC), the Catholic charity Caritas, the Red Cross, the Centre for European Initiatives and Research in the Mediterranean (CIREM), the Terrassa County Business Confederation (*Confederació Empresarial Comarcal de Terrassa*, CECOT), neighbourhood associations, cultural and social migrant associations, and the Language Normalisation Centre; the latter promotes the Catalan language.

It should be noted that migration is a new reality in Spain and it changes the social structure. As stated in the PGID, as in other official guidelines, the main local objective of current policies is to incorporate developments and to guarantee social cohesion and respect for society, as well as personal development and individual rights.

City and national discourse on integration

Both at national and local levels, the aim of the discourse on integration is to guarantee social rights. Since the national, Catalan and local political structures are all currently liberal, few differences arise among them.

For local policymaking, the specific aim is to maximise the service supply for immigrants in terms of accessibility and adaptation to migrant features – not only cultural, but also with regard to their social structure. Migrants, as is commonly understood at both national and local levels, should have the same social equality as the rest of the Spanish or Terrassan citizens. From this perspective, foreign nationals are socially included alongside the indigenous population, and foreigners in a situation of social vulnerability are treated in the same way as other vulnerable groups.

However, in practical terms, cities face challenges and do not always have the resources or the competences to tackle them. The main challenges include:

- quantitative migration flow management;
- management of the settlement of migrants and their inclusion in basic social systems, such as the labour market, housing, language, health and education;
- adaptation of the collective working and organisational structure of the society in terms of cultural diversity, religious freedom, lifestyles and behaviours, individual and collective values and vital needs;
- developing a new ‘living-together model’, where the indigenous population and foreigners might share physical and social space, in order to ensure cohesion, social peace and an integrated society with respect for the recognised rights of all persons.

With the new Regional Constitution of Catalonia, which entered into force in August 2006, some of these competences will be adopted at regional level. This means that more funding will be allocated to the regional and local levels.

Inter-city cooperation

Terrassa’s City Council Department for International Relations is part of the Mayor’s Presidential Area designed to develop Terrassa’s positioning in a situation of increasing internationalisation, to monitor the public policies generated in this regard and to analyse the city’s implementation of these policies. Other activities include participation in city networks, bilateral cooperation and projects in the different spheres of municipal action. The department also acts as a driving force and provides support to other municipal departments and organisations in the city in any matters pertaining to European and international relations.

Terrassa participates in the following networks:

- European Cities for Development and Co-operation (ECDC) – a network of European cities promoted by Terrassa;
- the European Network of Social Authorities (ENSA) – a network of cities and European regions with the aim of promoting international cooperation in the social field;
- the European Transregional Network for Social Inclusion (*Réseau Européen Transrégional pour l’Inclusion Sociale*, RETIS) – a political institution composed of European regional and local communities working together in the social policy field;
- the URB-AL regional aid programme – a decentralised cooperation programme co-financed by the European Commission and aimed at local authorities in the EU and Latin America, as well as other local development organisations. URB-AL Network 14 considers public security in the city, URB-AL Network 13 encompasses towns and the information society and URB-AL Network 12 focuses on women and the city;
- the Catalan Council of the European Movement;
- the Art Nouveau Network;
- the Association of Town Centre Management (ATCM);
- SAFE – European cities and regions for road safety;
- the European Textile Collectivities Association (*Asociación de Colectividades Textiles Europeas*, ACTE);

- the Network of Local Authorities for the Information Society;
- the European Forum for Urban Safety;
- EUROCITIES – the network of major European cities, and its Economic Development Forum, Mobility Forum and Knowledge Society Forum, known as Telecities;
- the International Association of Educating Cities;
- Mayors for Peace;
- the European network of cities for local integration policies (CLIP).

Other EU projects include:

- P2P Major Events (e-TEN) – using person to person social networking technology for several city events through trans-European e-services;
- E-Teams (Interreg IIIC East) – creating a platform for enterprising and small companies focused on internationalisation through interregional entrepreneurial teams;
- Partner Initiatives for the development of Mobility Management Services (PIMMS) (Interreg IIIC West) – exchanging experiences between cities with regard to mobility management as an innovative approach to promote sustainable mobility;
- a project on the entrepreneurship of immigrants in the countries of origin – this is a Spanish initiative operating at national level.

Housing situation

Housing stock and market

The housing market in Spain has been subject to considerable changes in the last 30 years. In the first half of the 1980s, rental housing in Spain constituted about 60% of all housing. However, by the beginning of the 21st century, this proportion did not even reach 10% and social renting by municipalities amounted to only 2% of the total supply. By way of contrast, the average for 2007 in the 15 EU Member States (EU15) before the enlargement of the EU in 2004 is over 15%. In recent years, the attitude of the public has been strongly oriented towards buying a house. Firstly, no rent protection exists; therefore, a landlord can double or triple the rent every five years. Secondly, buying a house has been profitable, since house prices escalated at a high rate in the last 10 years. Mortgage provisions made it easy to buy, with low interest rates and a time period of 50 years. Speculation and buying and selling at a fast rate encouraged this pattern further.

Since 2002, Catalonia is trying to increase the proportion of social housing in new buildings. As noted earlier, economic growth depends to a large extent on construction. With the 2002 Urban Catalan Law, project developers were forced to use a proportion of their buildings for social housing. Terrassa was the first city to implement this requirement and developed the Local Urban Coordination Plan that was approved in 2003. It aimed to address the demand for building houses, to provide land and to respond to future growth requirements. The annual increase in demand was about 20% in 2003 and 12% in 2004, according to figures of the Catalan Land Institute (*Institut Català del Sòl*, INCASOL).

At the time of writing, Terrassa intended to build about 28,828 new houses in the near future, which implied strong growth in construction activity. The increasing demand is due to the growing number of industrial workers and university students, as well as people who find it too expensive to live in the city of Barcelona. However, in 2007, the proportion of rental housing was still only 9%; data on the proportion of private rentals are not available. According to municipal officials, about 30% of the people who are looking for a new home need some kind of help as they cannot find an affordable house. Young couples spend more than half of their income on their mortgage. Nevertheless, the number of applicants who express interest when a house is being sold is much higher than when a house is being let.

The building effort is concentrated in designated development areas both in the city centre and in the suburbs. At the time of writing, Terrassa had more large building projects – promotions as they are called in Catalan – than other big cities in Spain. When a building project is planned, the housing department needs to cooperate with project investors, since the municipality does not have enough money. Because of the financial arrangement around the building process, it is not likely that an area of 100% municipal-owned social housing will develop in the near future.

When the new apartments are ready, the developers have to sell a reasonable amount to be able to raise funds and keep the finances in balance. According to Catalan law, 30% of the apartments have to be sold at a reduced rate, while 70% can be sold commercially at the market price. In Terrassa, 10% of the land and 20% of all projects are reserved for affordable housing. The building of so-called ‘protected’ housing does not mean in Catalonia that these houses will become the property of the authorities or of the privatised Municipal Housing Company of Terrassa (*Societat Municipal d’Habitatge de Terrassa S.A.*, Somuhatesa) that rents them out; however, they are sold at a reduced rate – for instance, €125,000 for 80 square metres. These protected houses are not meant for the poorest section of the population. The income margins that apply for people who want to buy such houses are well above the minimum and run into the middle class. Since a large number of applications are received and the selection is done by lottery, there is a good chance that the houses will be sold to a middle-class family.

The number of houses rented out by Somuhatesa to vulnerable groups in the housing market – such as single mothers, unemployed people or immigrants – is still limited; it amounted to about 400 houses in April 2007. This total is growing however. These vulnerable groups experience considerable problems in getting a house independently. The price of the houses let by the municipal company is around €200 a month.

Significance of market segments

Private ownership

Since homeownership comprises 89% of the total market, it is the most significant segment. This means that newcomers in Terrassa with limited income have difficulties entering the housing market and might have to live in lodgings or share with others.

Because of the large proportion of privately owned houses, the local authorities have relatively little power to demolish apartment blocks or to reconstruct areas in neighbourhoods. The financial resources of the Catalan cities are limited as they do not own a lot of ground or houses. To demolish one block, they have to buy out all the inhabitants and provide them with affordable new housing. Thus, large neighbourhood reconstruction projects are not undertaken. At the time of writing, only one small-scale plan was in effect in Terrassa to demolish a six-floor apartment block situated too close to other buildings. It is also difficult to change the lay out of the city and sometimes, when an area is being renovated, some owners refuse to cooperate and a part is left that is not improved.

Although Terrassa has managed to improve the city centre and to renovate the old parts in a beautiful way, some areas south of the centre look rather rundown.

Another consequence of the large share of homeownership is that, not only among the Spanish population but also among immigrants, more homeowners are present in Terrassa than in other European cities. Moroccan families have bought apartments in blocks that are not well-maintained and often live with many people sharing one house. They have joined the owner associations of the buildings and have become members of these special social communities. Indeed, much of the actual integration process of immigrants takes place within these owner communities. The Moroccans in Terrassa are often from the countryside around the Rif mountains in northern Morocco and have no previous experience of living in apartment blocks. Problems of dirt and noise, the common responsibility for the maintenance of the building, and communication between the indigenous owners and immigrants all occur in these blocks. On the one hand, discussion about the payment of maintenance charges can cause quarrels, since most immigrants have limited money. On the other hand, this integration in the local community has many positive aspects: people take care of children and older neighbours, they arrange community activities in the common room of the building and they work in the common grounds around the apartment block. The process that takes place within these communities is significant for the integration of the newcomers. In countries where immigrants mainly take up social housing, less contact is made between them and the indigenous inhabitants, and they share fewer experiences.

Housing owned or controlled by the city

Somuhatesa is a company within the city's administration. Its staff are located in the municipal building but it acts as a private company because of financial regulations. The housing association's board of directors consists of the same politicians as the city government, as well as project developers and builders. In 2007, it owned very few apartments, since the need for affordable rentals is a new development; however, the intention is to increase this number. The few apartments that Somuhatesa holds are relatively new and of good quality.

The laws and regulations concerning housing stock and funding come to a large extent from the Catalan regional government, while the municipality is responsible for their implementation. The Catalan government has introduced both rent and buying subsidies. However, the city has limited room for manoeuvre, mainly due to its restricted budget.

Supply, quality and cost

At the time of writing, the supply and demand situation was out of balance. Demand exceeds supply and house prices have been rising by 20% a year. Because almost no provisions are made for the poorer segment of the market, poor

people depend on renting a room in the private market. While hostels and lodgings are officially forbidden, they are needed for people with limited means.

In most cases, the quality of housing depends on the owners and their associations. The municipality tries to encourage the renovation of privately owned blocks by giving subsidies and support. Nevertheless, it is not always easy to convince the owner associations, since they have to cover part of the cost. On the other hand, the value of well-maintained houses increases. The complaint is sometimes heard that Moroccan owners tend to block expensive renovations, since they have limited financial resources.

As noted earlier, the average price of a house in Terrassa in 2005 was €264,000. With an annual increase of more than 20% in recent years, prices have risen to an almost impossible level. Combined with the fact that little social housing is available and almost no provisions are made for immigrants, it may be concluded that it is most difficult for anybody with limited money to find an affordable home.

Developments and trends

In 2007, Terrassa was changing its profile from being a town with almost only private-owned houses to one with a limited proportion of social rentals owned by the municipal housing company. It will take at least a decade before the share of social housing reaches a similar proportion as in the EU15 (15%). If house prices were to continue to rise, it would become even more difficult to enter the private sector. It is considered a structural weakness that little provision is made for poor people; the risk of social unrest increases during an economic crisis. In such a situation, poorer homeowners – and among them many immigrants – would be the first people to lose their jobs and not be able to pay their mortgage. Forced selling at a lower price and homelessness could then cause considerable unrest in the poorer areas. The municipality has managed to stop almost all ‘shanty town’ development; however, that strategy becomes much more difficult when the number of unemployed people increases. Around other towns in the region, some immigrants live in the forest in self-made shelters.

It is expected that the immigrant population will increase further and the fact that no provisions exist to help newcomers to get a house or a room will lead to problems in the future. In the short term, the need arises for hostel-like facilities with clear safety, price and crowding rules.

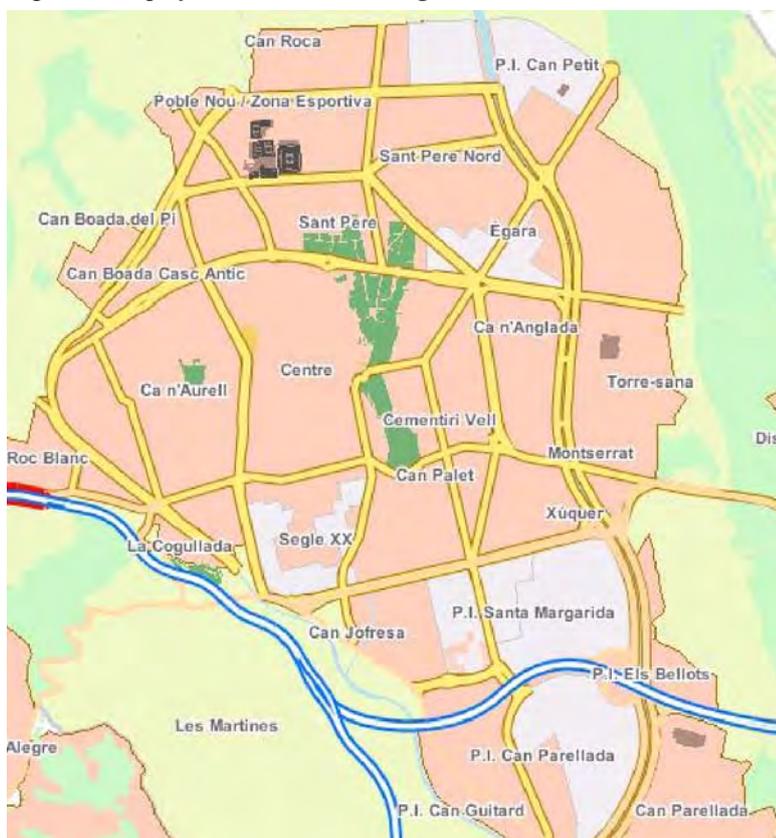
Disadvantaged neighbourhoods

The definition of a disadvantaged area is standardised in Catalonia. Such an area shows the following characteristics:

- a deterioration of quality and conservation of the housing and public space;
- demographic problems caused by an older population profile and/or a rapid increase or decrease in the population – migration is a notable factor in this regard;
- considerable economic, social or environmental problems;
- deficits in the planning of services or the capacity to solve social problems, for instance services such as transport, parking, schools or healthcare.

Some four or five indicators are outlined per characteristic and the area gathers a certain number of points depending on these indicators; these points are then added up. When the total score reaches a certain threshold, the area is prioritised and receives more attention. Priority is also given for old historic inner cities, large estates and marginal developments, such as informal housing. Regarding disadvantaged areas, a neighbourhood plan (*Pla de Barris*) is devised.

Figure 5: Map of Terrassa with its neighbourhoods



Source: Terrassa administration

Within Terrassa, the areas that receive most attention are on the east side of the city centre: Ca n'Anglada, Torre-Sanna, Vilardell and Montserrat. In Ca n'Anglada, the oldest part of the city, the houses are of relatively low quality, with a problem of decaying concrete; in some blocks, bathrooms are lacking and there are no elevators, which is a problem particularly for older or disabled people. One of the apartment blocks is too near the others and has insufficient direct light, according to the current standard. The three other disadvantaged areas are on the other side of the gorge and have limited access routes and a lack of facilities. More high-rise buildings are in this part of the city. Nevertheless, a new connecting bridge over the gorge has been built and the existing bridges improved. Parks and squares have been refurbished, street lighting has been repaired and one of the schools in Vilardell has been renovated. In general, however, too much traffic travels through the area and the public transport needs to be broadened. Apart from physical improvements, the municipality is aware that it has to cope with the demand for public services – using limited resources – among poor segments of the indigenous population and immigrants, both on low incomes. Terrassa is trying hard to address this challenge.

Social violence

One of the main reasons why Terrassa became aware of a growing problem around the integration of immigrants and prepared a diversity policy was a riot that occurred between Moroccans and Spanish people in the Ca n'Anglada neighbourhood in 1999. This incident was reported in the national press so became widely known. The neighbourhood was built for immigrants from southern Spain who arrived during the 1950s and 1960s (Ballarín Elcacho et al, 1996). Because of the street structure, it was physically isolated from the city centre. Its inhabitants did not speak Catalan and already had a history of fighting within their trade union against the authorities over the rights of textile workers. When Moroccan men started to arrive in the 1990s, they moved into the northernmost blocks of Ca n'Anglada. The Spanish

population felt threatened and started to move out, concerned both that house prices would decline and that the area would deteriorate further. Many Spaniards also felt that their squares and other public spaces were being taken over by the Moroccans who loved to sit outside, just like the Spanish people. During a neighbourhood festival, some fighting erupted on one of the squares. People were injured, cars were set on fire and a demonstration was held. The remainder of the festival had to be cancelled. Because of this event, immigration and its influence on neighbourhoods was put on the political agenda.

Mobility within the city

In general, the housing pattern of the native population traditionally was to live in the parents' house until marriage and then buy an apartment or house of their own, and then – if they have money – buy a better house. Since the social welfare system is not as well developed in Spain as in northern Europe, the mortgage has to be paid before people retire. It is considered as a right that young couples need a house; however, currently, the prices are so high that it is difficult for young couples to buy a home. This is one of the reasons for the recent building effort.

In the case of immigrants, the housing pattern often starts by renting a room in somebody else's house, or renting in a hostel or lodging. A special group of immigrants are those working in domestic services and minding children. They often live in the house where they work, which is usually not in the poorest areas. A next step could be to buy a house with two others who have a permanent income. For example, a situation where three men buy a house is not uncommon among immigrants. When the house owners' income increases, partly because of earning rent from extra tenants in the house, a second apartment is bought and the first one is let completely. It is clear that this system gives the opportunity for abusive practices.

Housing situation of residents with migration background

Unlike the indigenous population, which mainly consists of homeowners (85%), immigrants live more often in rented houses (58%); only 25% are owners, while the remaining 17% probably sublet. It is assumed that everyone buys a house, but in reality access to housing is difficult for immigrants due to their limited income and the high prices in the construction sector. According to a census from 2001, the lowest proportion of homeownership in Terrassa occurs among people from Ecuador (24%), Romania (26%) and Argentina (27%). Moroccans more often buy their house (55% buy, 44% rent), while those from the Dominican Republic and Peru are at the high end of the scale (72% and 64% respectively).

No housing provisions exist for immigrants. They join in the lottery that takes place when 'protected' affordable houses are sold, but their chances are limited. On the private market, houses are sold through networks, advertisements and estate agents. Immigrants tend to be discriminated against. Owner associations and project developers are afraid that the value of their property declines if too many immigrants are living in a building. They anticipate social problems and are reluctant to rent houses to immigrants, particularly Moroccans. In some cases, the lottery is not as blind as it is supposed to be, and only a few immigrants are successful in their application.

It is easier for immigrants to buy apartments in blocks where people from their country already live. From the demand side, this has advantages, since it is easier to live in a community with friends and relatives offering mutual aid and informal networks, as well as some shops with products from the country of origin. On the supply side, however, Spanish people prefer to sell their apartment when the number of foreigners increases, because they are afraid that the value will decline. This does not mean that houses are cheap in the areas where immigrants live.

Housing aspects of disadvantaged neighbourhoods

As noted above, the houses in Ca n'Anglada, Torre-Sana, Vilardell and Montserrat are, in general, of a lesser quality than in other parts of Terrassa. They are not as well renovated and less well painted. Electricity wires are hanging from some buildings and street lighting is not always working. In these neighbourhoods, the satellite dish receivers tend to indicate where the immigrants live (Figure 6), and Moroccans and Senegalese in particular are the most visible in the streets.

The schools in these neighbourhoods have a mixture of children from Catalan-speaking and non-Catalan speaking backgrounds. Although the teachers have experience with Spanish children from other regions who do not speak Catalan, the low educational level of the new immigrant adults is a new challenge. Language training is important so that they can reach the average educational level in Catalonia.

No statistical information is publicly available regarding the safety and crime rate in Ca n'Anglada, Torre-Sana, Vilardell and Montserrat in comparison with other parts of Terrassa. However, on a walk around the neighbourhoods, the authors felt they looked very unsafe. As part of the research for this case study, only one bar seemed to be watched by the police because it was supposed to sell marijuana.

The municipality is aware that the public services in these neighbourhoods require extra attention, because of the greater need and demand for the limited resources.

Figure 6: *Immigrant neighbourhood of Montserrat*



Source: *Author*

Quality of housing for migrants

Large families – that is, those comprising more than five members – represent 8% of the total number of families in Terrassa. Both among Spanish and EU citizens, this proportion holds. In general, they are concentrated in houses of 61–90 square metres. Among Africans, however, 41% of the families have more than five members, among Latin Americans this proportion is 38% and among eastern Europeans it is 29%. Overcrowded housing units with more than eight members are rare among Europeans (1%), but frequent in the other foreign groups (between 8% and 13%).

Moreover, the number of immigrants who live in small houses (less than 45 square metres) is three times as high (7%) as among natives (2%). In contrast, the number of people who live in large houses (greater than 105 square metres) is 17% among foreigners and 25% among Spaniards.

Conditions for specific groups of migrants

Spain has a considerable number of undocumented immigrants. Most of them are registered in the municipal administration, which gives them access to education and healthcare. However, the Spanish court has forbidden the pursuit of undeclared persons through the municipal database, so the police are not allowed to use the data.

The position of undocumented immigrants is of course more problematic than that of immigrants with a work permit or a Spanish passport. Nevertheless, they all depend to a large extent on the private housing market. Only a permanent employment contract gives immigrants the possibility of applying for a mortgage. No income rules protect low-income groups from taking out a mortgage that is too expensive.

Segregation

The total proportion of immigrants in Terrassa is about 12%. The city is divided into six city districts, which differ in the share of immigrants. Table 5 shows the number of foreigners who live in the various districts; the total concentration for each district can be calculated by adding the number of Spanish people.

National groups tend to congregate in certain areas. For instance, Moroccans and Senegalese are concentrated in districts two and six, more Colombians are in districts three and six than elsewhere, while Chinese people are concentrated in districts one and four. Sant Pere Nord in district six has a concentration of South Americans. On the other hand, no areas are without immigrants, and some groups – such as people from Ecuador – are spread through all districts. It is worth noting again that people in domestic service and nannies also live in the richer parts of town.

Table 5: Concentration of foreign-born ethnic groups, by district, 2005

District:	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total	%
Total Spanish	29,777	13,835	27,138	32,815	39,782	34,603	177,950	88%
Morocco	626	3,618	1,735	1,572	847	2,189	10,587	5%
Ecuador	439	588	387	522	455	568	3,002	1%
Colombia	158	159	205	137	155	264	1,094	1%
Argentina	194	84	93	146	189	129	846	0%
Dominican Republic	42	95	99	86	76	146	544	0%
Bolivia	47	37	71	59	82	110	406	0%
Chile	60	40	70	51	76	82	379	0%
China	112	93	52	196	69	54	576	0%
Senegal	72	254	166	62	81	292	927	0%
Cuba	66	12	62	66	48	64	318	0%
Venezuela	64	7	30	53	42	35	231	0%
Peru	59	64	53	82	85	72	415	0%
EU Member States	389	111	208	265	336	151	1,460	2%
Other	939	256	611	944	1,044	585	2,707	3%
Total foreign born	3,267	5,418	3,842	4,241	3,585	4,741	23,492	12%
Total population per district	33,044	19,253	30,980	37,056	43,367	39,344	201,442	100%

Note: District data include people born outside Spain; some of these hold Spanish passports.

Source: Terrassa administration

Looking more closely at the neighbourhood level, certain neighbourhoods within the districts have the highest concentrations of immigrants. Table 6 shows that three neighbourhoods have a concentration of non-EU immigrants that amounts to more than 30% of the population. The first neighbourhood is Montserrat in district two: 37% of its population are non-EU immigrants. This is a high-rise area with flats of more than 10 floors on the eastern edge of town, with considerable numbers of Moroccans and South Americans. The second highest concentration is found in Can Palet II, just southeast of the centre in district three; 34% of its population are non-EU immigrants. The third concentration is Ca n'Anglada, an area with flats of a maximum of six floors, located east of the city centre in district two; 33% of its population are non-EU immigrants, including more than 3,000 Moroccans and 254 Senegalese.

Table 6: *Neighbourhoods with highest proportion of foreigners, 1 January 2006*

Neighbourhood	Spanish	Non EU immigrants	% non EU immigrants
Montserrat	1,261	748	37%
Can Palet II	783	408	34%
Ca n'Anglada	9,079	4,473	33%
Egara	3,215	893	22%
La Maurina	6,330	1,426	18%
Guadalhorce	1,112	207	16%
Sant Llorenc	4,005	745	16%
Xúquer	1,017	163	14%
Can Palet	10,248	1,579	13%
Sant Pere Nord	13,242	1,904	13%
Plaça de Catalunya – Escola Industrial	4,289	576	13%
Total Terrassa	177,950	22,032	11%

Note: See Figure 5 for the location of the neighbourhoods.

Source: Terrassa administration

Experts state that segregation will automatically occur with the current arrangement of the housing market and the large proportion of owner-inhabited houses in Spain. Immigrants tend to group together in neighbourhoods with low quality houses, since these are the least expensive parts of town. Limited access to houses forces them to live in each others' apartments, and the first chance to buy something is usually in the close vicinity. Meanwhile, Spanish owners move out and, when the neighbourhood becomes known as a 'Moroccan' neighbourhood, nobody else wants to live there except Moroccans. The local authorities have few instruments to influence where people live, since all houses are privately owned. This process has taken place in the last 10 years and will probably continue; it is expected that greater segregation will occur.

The size of the three neighbourhoods with a non-EU immigrant population above 30% – Montserrat, Can Palet II and Ca n'Anglada – is about 7% of the total surface of Terrassa. The highest concentration areas are small parts within the neighbourhoods that are considered disadvantaged.

Accessibility of housing market

It is most difficult for immigrants with limited means to find their first house. As explained, usually they have to rent a room in somebody else's house or in a pension or lodging. Sometimes, they can rent a full apartment. For migrants, relationships based on family and friends are the most common channel to get access to housing (65%). Secondly, they use estate agents (17%). Thirdly, they gain access through advertisements (12%). Finally, in a few cases, migrants find housing through associative networks or NGOs (1.6%), or through the mediation of a public institution (1.1%). In the region of Catalonia, migrants tend to avail of real estate agents more often (23%) than in Terrassa.

Differences arise between ethnic groups. Friendship networks (20%) and advertisements (15%) are important among Latin Americans to gain access to housing. Africans tend to use estate agents more frequently (23%) as well as family (19%). Finally, eastern Europeans tend to use national friends to get housing (37%).

The longer people stay in Spain legally and with a job, the more they use estate agents' services. When immigrants are buying their first house, the mortgage provider asks that they must have a regular job and work permit; on that basis,

they can join the same competition as the Spanish applicants. Newly arrived immigrants with low incomes and undeclared employment resort to informal migrant networks to find a place to stay.

Particularly in the areas with a number of Moroccans, tensions sometimes arise between the Spaniards and immigrants. Issues that cause irritation among the Spaniards include language – that is, the lack of Catalan – religion, the position of Moroccan women, the authoritarian habits of Moroccan men, clothing, food smells, alleged delinquency and harassment of Spanish women. While Terrassa has had labourers from other parts of Spain, it has not yet recognised cultural diversity as an asset.

Institutional setting and relevant actors

The privatised Municipal Housing Company of Terrassa (*Sociedad Municipal d'Habitatge de Terrassa S.A.*, Somuhatesa) arranges matters concerning renovation works and new housing. Its duties are as follows:

- providing and preparing the land, developing the streets, initiating development plans and construction work. Somuhatesa promotes council housing in different city locations in order to ease access to housing for those who have difficulties in this regard. Over 300 council houses are built every year and some of them are sold;
- managing public flats, renting them out and maintaining them. To increase the number of rentals, the company acts as a mediator in letting private property. The mediator provides the owner with the certainty that the technical state of the house will remain the same or that the authorities will repair the fault and make the tenant pay for repairs;
- fostering renovation of houses and buildings, including promoting restoration work, the installation of elevators with private funds, improving buildings with specific needs and removing architectural barriers. This responsibility includes offering advice to citizens through the Local Housing Office (*Oficina Local d'Habitatge*) on subsidies for private owners towards renovation projects, allocating money for public flats and consultancy for groups of owners who want some kind of renovation. An example of the latter role is the attempt to convince owner associations that elevators are needed in apartment blocks with more than four floors. Elevators are necessary particularly because of the increasing number of older people, as well as to facilitate persons with disabilities. However, immigrants with limited financial means find them unnecessary and expensive, so they do not want to add to the common costs.

Somuhatesa depends on the council and works in coordination with the Municipal Urban Management (*Gerència Municipal d'Urbanisme*), which is responsible for city planning. This entity is the city council's autonomous agency that was initially set up to execute the general urban planning law from 1983. Currently, it represents the Catalan Office for the Territorial Planning of Areas. Its competences include granting urban licences, town planning and territorial management, as well as disciplining offenders of the planning laws.

In addition to the group within the social affairs office that implements the diversity policy and takes care of all immigrant provisions in Terrassa, a special office implements the neighbourhood law of the Catalan government, as in other cities. In Terrassa, it is called the Technical Office for a Neighbourhood Plan (*Oficina Tècnica del Pla de Barris*), and was established in 2004 in the framework of the city's neighbourhood plan for 2005–2008. The office explicitly combines social and urban affairs, and is a pilot project for interventions in other neighbourhoods. Its functions are to operate as a front-line service in coordinating different programmes within the plan, to act as the meeting point for the different working groups and to assess reports for the Catalan government. It has set up a 'time bank' of voluntary activities for older people (see below).

Another neighbourhood office is the Municipal Association for Ca n'Anglada (*Sociedad Municipal de Ca n'Anglada*), which aims to improve the housing policy for this neighbourhood. Some competences of the city council have been transferred to this office since June 2006.

Non-municipal actors

Although the Catholic Church owns houses for poor people in other Spanish cities, this is not the case in Terrassa. The Church does own some private Catholic schools.

Migrant associations arrange cultural, social and religious activities but are not very involved in the field of housing. Their sole participation is in the implementation of the PGID. The civil society has tried to organise temporary lodgings, together with Caritas and the Red Cross (*Cruz Roja*).

Other initiatives include rental housing management intermediation, which aims to ease renting issues between migrants and private landlords through mediation, and organising information and advice agencies for migrants seeking housing. The objective is to give advice and personal support to migrants. Normally, this service is combined with other measures, such as help in finding a job or basic language training. Some regional governments and councils have created migrant centres with intercultural mediators aiming to provide support in relation to a variety of aspects concerning conditions for immigrants; housing is one of these elements.

Housing policy

Vision, concepts and administration policy

On the one hand, policymakers in Terrassa state that they consider housing to be a crucial element in ensuring good diversity management. Concentrations of immigrants already exist in certain neighbourhoods, for instance Moroccans, and the authorities believe that an efficient housing policy is required to integrate them.

On the other hand, no specific instruments exist to provide immigrants with a house. With a rental housing stock of only 9%, even less of which is public housing, the local authorities do not have much to work with. The most important instrument currently being used is to encourage sales in a cheaper segment of the market and to increase the number of public rentals as quickly as possible. Terrassa fosters newly built housing through economic incentives and rewards investors that promote housing in the cheaper segment.

Meanwhile, private owner associations are supported. The municipality also tries to encourage renovation work and the improvement of privately owned blocks by giving funding for specific projects, such as adding bathrooms. The neighbourhood policy targets immigrants more directly than the housing policy. Trying to help immigrants by means of social services is easier for the local authorities to achieve in a city where most of the housing is privately owned.

Local conflicts have influenced policymakers' perception of the situation. The riots and demonstrations in the Can n'Anglada area in 1999, for example, caused a sudden awareness of the problems in this neighbourhood. This realisation led to an improvement of facilities and greater resources to face these specific challenges. The participation structure of the New Migration Roundtable – in which citizens talk with the politicians and officials of the city council – makes a negotiation process possible. Citizens can highlight their demands and the requests are incorporated into the public agenda. Due to this manner of working, better conditions in certain neighbourhoods have been achieved, such as public lighting, safety, public transport and public facilities.

Criteria for defining success or failure of housing measures

Criteria for defining the success or failure of the housing measures have not yet been applied. In general, in all public policies, assessment is a vital aspect to be developed. Therefore, assessment indicators to ameliorate public housing policy would have an added value. Such indicators could include the following, namely the:

- number of building projects and the number of affordable houses in each of them;
- total number of applications;
- number of migrants among applicants;
- number of migrants gaining access to city council housing by buying or renting;
- number of people working in the city council or in public companies who are trained in multicultural issues.

Comparison and relationship to national policy

No notable differences arise between the national policy and Terrassa's municipal policy, beyond the respective legal competences. Generally speaking, both policymaking levels take into account a similar integration concept from which the housing policy is developed. However, some formal reports at national level use the term 'assimilation', whereas this is no longer used at local level, where 'integration' is considered the suitable term.

The Catalan parliament approved a housing law on 12 December 2006, which considers housing as a general interest service; it was the first law of the parliament's 2006–2009 term. The main points of this law are that housing should be

treated in a holistic manner and include issues such as harassment, overcrowding and undercrowding. Provisions for social housing have become general interest services. In the past years, numerous demonstrations took place in Spain calling for ‘dignified housing’; the largest rally was held in Barcelona. The new housing law also includes an economic aid system for renting, which is now applied in the current housing plans.

Recent policy changes

The bomb explosions on the commuter train in Madrid on 11 March 2004, in which 191 people died, significantly influenced national policy. Because this attack took place just before the elections, it considerably affected the outcome. The Aznar government had allied itself closely with the US and UK governments, and was cooperating militarily in the war in Iraq, despite the fact that the majority of Spanish people were against this war. Prime Minister Aznar was quick to blame the Basque separatist group ETA for the bombings. However, as the election day approached, suspicion mounted that Islamic militants were involved and some people concluded that Mr Aznar’s policy on the Iraq war had invited the aggression. Several people suspected of having links with Islamic militancy were later detained over the attacks. Following the election, the new Prime Minister, Mr Zapatero, ‘described both the war and the occupation of Iraq as a “huge disaster”, and pulled Spain’s 1,300 troops out of the country’ (British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)).

Catalonia’s already left-wing government had also been very clear in its standpoint against the Iraq war. After Mr Zapatero’s election victory, the national and regional governments could work more easily together. The rest of Europe was surprised that the Madrid explosions did not lead to a considerable increase in anti-immigrant or anti-Muslim sentiment in Spain at national, regional or local level. However, although racism in Spain is not an unknown occurrence, immigrants were not blamed for the attacks. Within a month, the EU announced an anti-terrorist policy. In fact, so far, there seems to be less anti-Muslim sentiment in Spain than in northern European countries. This tendency is seen at national, regional and municipal level.

Tenancy agreements

Hostels and pensions are forbidden in Catalonia, which is meant to prevent exploitation. However, it would actually help migrants if hostels were allowed within certain rules on safety and overcrowding.

No regulations exist on the maximum amount of rent that house owners can ask for when they let apartments; rates are determined by the market.

As described earlier, a system has been set up whereby the municipality acts as a mediator between a house owner and a tenant. This system was established because owners were reluctant to let their apartments over concerns of possible damage or poor maintenance. A large part of this concern actually had to do with prejudices against immigrants. As part of the research for this case study, for instance, stories were told about Moroccans allegedly slaughtering sheep on balconies.

The municipality functions as a mediator by signing a contract with the house owner to keep the apartment in a satisfactory condition, and the tenant signs a contract with the mediator regarding help when technical problems occur. The mediator can resort to legal means to force the tenant to pay for the technical problems that are the fault of the latter.

Public discourse

Both Spanish people and immigrants in Terrassa are convinced that everyone has the right to buy a house. The main complaint is that speculators have the opportunity to buy and sell, and therefore have driven the prices to an almost impossible level. Renting an apartment is risky, since no protection is given on rental prices and a house owner can double them every five years. Of course, incomes have also been rising, albeit at a slower rate than house prices, and the

prices are in some cases merely reaching a level found in other popular areas in Europe; however, these arguments are seldom discussed.

Most Spanish people are not in favour of high concentration areas of immigrants. Although Spain did not react negatively towards Muslims after the Madrid bomb, racism does surface in neighbourhoods, according to the research carried out for this case study. The riots in Ca n'Anglada in 1999 were a warning that social relations could deteriorate if the concentration of Moroccans, for example, were to increase further.

Role of media

It is not easy to cooperate with the media in improving the image of disadvantaged neighbourhoods. As stated in the local diversity PGID, the local media – MCM in general and some local newspapers in particular – maintain a non-collaborative position concerning migration issues. They tend to confirm prejudices and have been found to publish insufficient and false information. For the media, housing, neighbourhood problems and migration are an issue. Immigration is often shown as problematic and unpleasant, focusing on illegal migrants, poverty, mafia groups and delinquency; needless to say, the media has considerable influence in increasing or dispelling society's prejudices.

It should also be acknowledged that specific programmes such as 'Just a World' (*Un Sol Món*) on Catalan TV (TV3), in cooperation with a local foundation focused on migration issues (*Fundació Jaume Bofill*), aim to show the personal experiences and daily life of settled immigrants. They discuss best practices launched by organisations involved in migration matters. Several commissions have been established in various public entities at local and regional level – such as the Immigration Secretariat of the Catalan government – to analyse the issue.

Interventions on housing and integration

Physical improvement of housing

The building of new housing blocks and the physical improvement of neighbourhoods is taking place in many parts of Terrassa. Considerable attention is being paid to the area where the riots with Moroccans took place in 1999 – Ca n'Anglada. However, building projects are restricted there because of the limited space. As noted earlier, one apartment block needed to be demolished because it was too close to other buildings; for the rest, a renovation programme is underway. As previously explained, such renovation work has to be agreed with each block and much discussion is needed to convince the owners. In the northern part of Ca n'Anglada, the Moroccan owners do not readily cooperate since they have very limited financial means. Therefore, they do not consider elevators as their first priority, taking the view rather that it is not their business since older Spanish people are the main beneficiaries.

The largest building project under preparation is in Torre-Sana, where a completely new neighbourhood will be added. At the time of writing, the ground had been prepared, plans approved and construction was starting. One part – Torre-Sana-Habitatge – includes two large U-shaped apartment buildings, which will provide 900 homes: about 20% one-bedroom, 45% two-bedroom, 25% three-bedroom and 5% four-bedroom. Another part is Torre-Sana-Edifici (A–H), which includes 490 new apartments in differently shaped flats; the number of rentals still had to be decided.

Several smaller building projects are also underway, including Can Roca II (95 apartments for sale and 34 to let), Carretera de Montcada (23 apartments for sale and seven to let), Baldrich (13 apartments for sale), Ronda Ponent – Sant Lluís (47 apartments for sale and 37 to let), Palet I Barba (14 studios to be rented by young people), Sant Ildefons/Sant Leopold (45 apartments for older people) and many others. In Can Roca II, a three-bedroom apartment of 80 square metres would be sold for €125,000 and the rents would be around €200 a month. The same place would cost €600 to rent on the private market. The Can Roca II has won an architectural prize because of the solar heating systems that are integrated into the walls of the apartments.

Figure 7: *Can Palet construction site*



Source: *Author*

Infrastructural improvements

In Ca n'Anglada, Montserrat, Torre-Sana and Vilardell, the public space is being improved, by fostering different avenue axes and making the neighbourhood more attractive for new inhabitants. Trees are planted along the large connecting roads. A large community centre has been built, which includes an elder care home and a medical service. An older building is now used as the Ca n'Anglada neighbourhood centre; this houses the Technical Office for a Neighbourhood Plan for Ca n'Anglada, Montserrat, Torre-Sana and Vilardell.

A multi-sports park, built in district two, is part of the neighbourhood plan. The existing sports facility is only a concrete square with a fence around it. The sports complex will include football and basketball fields, a swimming pool, a tennis court, a gym and a bar.

Financial support for housing programmes

As part of the Housing Law of December 2006, the Catalan parliament has established an Urban Solidarity Fund to support municipalities encountering particular difficulties in achieving their goals. The Catalan parliament is well aware that renovation has been neglected in the past and that degradation, segregation and overcrowding can become a danger to the social stability of the cities.

For private owners, the possibility exists to get support for renovation work. In addition, limited rent subsidies and house buyer subsidies are available.

Local social policy measures and projects

The Neighbourhood Plan Office employs coordinators and social workers for the neighbourhood. It encompasses social projects, such as the reception of new immigrants, an information service, an employment service, courses and support for older people. It was established by means of a subsidy of €17 million from the Catalan government, while the municipality of Terrassa paid the other half of the required funds. The various projects undertaken are outlined below.

Immigrant reception

Once registered, new immigrants are immediately guided to the project coordinator of the reception service. They can get juridical advice and a welcome session, and are sent on a Catalan language course of eight to 10 lessons; in addition, they receive about 20 hours of social training on the services in Terrassa. The latter training explains about healthcare, education, the labour market, rules, laws and the constitution, as well as correct behaviour in the cultural environment and concerning relations between men and women, for example.

Language courses

After the above, immigrants can continue with advanced language courses in Catalan. Language courses in Spanish are also available, as well as oral Arabic (*Darija*) for Spaniards. All courses are free and have professional teachers.

Training and employment

Uneducated unemployed persons are offered training courses in four fields of economic activity: retail trade, cleaning, painting and metal work. This programme is specifically directed at young people aged between 18 and 25 years who have not completed any job training. Immigrant families usually have a work permit for the father; however, when sons reach 18 years, they need an independent work permit. An employer has to request a work permit for them, which is difficult to arrange for the children of immigrants. The courses introduce the young people into a system that gives them the chance to prepare for a job and helps them to find work.

Information

At least three times a year, a public lecture is organised with a known speaker on issues such as 'Women and Islam', 'Cities and immigration' or 'Andalusian immigration'.

Neighbourhood work

Neighbourhood work includes activities for older people or for children, activities to keep the neighbourhood clean, or an exchange of small services like shopping for older people or collecting children from school, based on the concept of a voluntary time bank (*el banc del temps*). Another initiative throughout Catalonia is an information leaflet on behaviour

in public places, such as where to put litter and rubbish, acceptable noise levels in the street, keeping dogs on a lead and in relation to satellite dish receivers. Information is also provided concerning living in an apartment building, such as how the owners' association works, as well as more practical issues such as not watering plants on the balcony or window ledge when someone is passing below, not leaving prams or bicycles in corridors and not making excessive noise in the building.

Cultural events

Every now and then, an international cooking event (*cuisine du monde*) is organised, where immigrant and Spanish women cook dishes from all over the world. Furthermore, world dance and music (*danse et musique du monde*) meetings are held in a civic centre. In addition, a henna workshop attracted Romany people in the area. These events are meant to encourage the Spanish population to learn about their new neighbours and to meet each other.

Participation

Within district two, a total of 60 associations exist for young people, older people, immigrants and cultural groups. The Neighbourhood Plan Office arranges boards of inhabitants who address different issues and are active in the neighbourhood. For instance, every six or seven weeks, a meeting of about 20 citizens is arranged to talk about keeping the neighbourhood clean. Several different issues involve a group that meets and an executive committee of about seven or eight people.

Moreover, some discussion on the radio is organised, as well as neighbourhood talks about the past, present and future.

Cultural diversity management and mediation

A translation service is offered as well as the possibility to call a mediator if conflicts occur between inhabitants in certain apartment blocks. The results are good: three out of four conflicts are resolved before they escalate from a complaint into a bigger conflict. Most complaints pertain to rubbish, cleaning, not paying the common maintenance fee and noise. With the generally larger number of children among immigrant families, and often eight to 10 people sharing a house, this situation can generate significant noise levels. Beds have to be moved to facilitate the sleeping arrangements for so many people and neighbours downstairs are disturbed by the noise. The combination of young Moroccans with many children and high activity levels, on the one hand, and elderly Spanish people living alone or as couples, on the other hand, increases the chance of conflict. About 90% of the complaints come from Ca n'Anglada.

House visits

At the time of writing, 2,047 house visits had been organised by people who speak Arabic, French and other languages. This is a prevention policy, entitled 'Fostering living together'. The representatives first visit the president of the owners' association, and then all of the inhabitants. They present the information booklet about living in apartment buildings and, if social problems have arisen, the people involved are referred to offices that can help. These activities focus on breaking down cultural barriers within the block, and fostering living together in a positive atmosphere and with mutual respect.

As part of this programme, a three-session exercise on first aid and fire protection is provided as a first step to get to know the people and encourage them to join in a communal activity. This strategy enables the municipal representatives to access the building and to identify conflicts and prejudices.

Anti-segregation policy measures

As already explained, Terrassa assigns a proportion of its new building stock for affordable sales and rentals. This is not directly meant as an anti-segregation measure; however, it indirectly functions as a way of mixing people who are less well off with those who are on better incomes. Measures to support access to affordable and decent housing have been

discussed in more detail earlier. As previously outlined, the municipality of Terrassa allocates 10% of the ground and 20% of all projects for affordable housing; project developers are not allowed to sell all of the units at the full market price. In addition, rent and buying subsidies are available in Catalonia.

Moreover, the New Migration Roundtable provides an important forum and network to help migrants to integrate more easily.

According to information from researchers in Barcelona, the Catalan government is much more convinced of the need to provide housing for immigrants than most inhabitants are. The Spanish population is often concerned that the arrival of immigrants will lead to social problems in their building, and municipalities have to operate between these two perspectives.

Measures and projects for specific migrant groups

No special housing programmes exist for the most vulnerable migrant groups in the housing market. All housing measures are targeted at all low-income groups. Nevertheless, several social measures have been initiated, as described above, such as an information service and translation service.

Safety measures

In the event that more police activity is needed to improve safety, this becomes apparent in the number of police officers in certain neighbourhoods. Local residents can request a greater police presence if they feel insecure and the city council attempts to respond to this demand by increasing the number of police on the streets. Likewise, the local police are assigned responsibilities in sensitive areas, in order to give a coordinated and efficient response to local needs. The police have participated in roundtable meetings with citizens in disadvantaged neighbourhoods to listen to them, identify potential solutions and explain the local policy on the issues concerned.

In addition to the police, civic agents walk around in the city. Their main task is to observe whether rules on parking, controlling animals and street litter are respected.

Monitoring of housing developments for migrants

The Municipal Statistics Institute monitors developments in the migrant population; it publishes the Terrassa Statistical Yearbook. Data on housing were also collected in a housing census in 2001. Many departments gather data, such as the urban affairs department; some of the data can be found (in Catalan) on Terrassa's municipal website.

A full list of links of organisations that gather some form of information on Terrassa is also available on the website. Two particularly important bodies in this regard are the Barcelona Provincial Council (*Diputació de Barcelona*) and the National Institute of Statistics (*Instituto Nacional de Estadística*, INE).

As mentioned earlier, Terrassa has a Permanent Observatory of Interculturality. It was created with the aim of supervising the council's internal actions and discussing the council's interventions before their submission to the roundtable.

Key challenges and lessons for CLIP

Overall, two characteristics of Terrassa are striking: international immigration is relatively new – dating from the last 10 years – and the housing market is dominated by owner-occupied houses. Terrassa is active in initiating activities to support migrant integration; however, in the area of housing, the local authorities have limited power and money. Terrassa allocates 10% of the ground and 20% of all projects for affordable housing, and all project developers are forced to sell a proportion of their houses at a cheaper rate. The municipality intends to increase its social housing stock as quickly as possible, but it will still take time until this goal is reached.

Terrassa has opted for general measures for the poorer segment of the population rather than specific measures for newcomers or vulnerable groups. Because of the large share of private ownership, the city is not in a position to immediately demolish or renovate large areas, since some owners will always refuse to be relocated or to contribute towards the renovation work. Some critics argue that Spanish cities develop social policy, but do not implement far-reaching policies for immigrants in the areas of housing, work and education. Of course, it is easier to implement new social policies relatively quickly than to change the framework of three fields in which several established interests would have to adapt to meet new demands.

Considering the late start of the immigration, the integration policy in Terrassa has developed rather quickly and the implementation of social measures has been undertaken in a dynamic and energetic way. Measures include visiting immigrants in order to prevent problems in apartment buildings, providing induction courses and mediation services, organising the reception of newcomers, offering language courses and running training courses for unemployed people. The focus on disadvantaged areas of the city is also successful, with help and funding from the Catalan government. The combination of urban, infrastructural and social measures in the neighbourhood plan is one of the pillars of its success. The neighbourhood office has initiated a large number of activities in a relatively short period, and the house visits have led to intervention at the local level of the blocks. Trying to stop conflicts and working against prejudice at the level of an apartment block is an unusual and successful approach that the researchers have not seen in other cities.

Another interesting aspect is the civil society of Terrassa. The local associations are very active compared with those in many other cities. That such a large proportion of the houses are owned has an unexpected consequence. All apartment buildings have an owners' association, and these associations have an important role in communicating with immigrants. In fact, they are an important part of the social capital of the Spanish city. In apartment buildings owned by housing companies, such owner associations would not be necessary, and all of the communication on how to live together would not take place. It is an advantage that should not be underestimated that such associations take care of many of the integration issues, which would otherwise never be discussed. Owners know each other and tend to intervene when their interests are at risk. Owner associations not only take care of common repairs but also of social events.

On the other hand, the fact that so much of the housing is privately owned is a serious limitation for Terrassa's power to take action. Nevertheless, the policy outlined in the neighbourhood plan is well designed and could be successfully implemented in other cities in Europe.

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